

CHAPTER IX

THE SOUTH ASIAN COALITION ON CHILD SERVITUDE: A CASE STUDY

Section I The organisation

History of the South Asian Coalition of Child Servitude (SACCS):

The crusade against bonded labour and child servitude in carpet industry was started in 1983 under the auspices of the Bonded Labour Liberation Front. However, the organisation had a split in 1991 and SACCS came into being as the first coalition to fight against child servitude in the South Asian region. SACCS is not an NGO, but a conglomeration of over 200 voluntary organisations, human rights organisations and trade unions who have launched a mass movement against child labour. SACCS has also initiated the Save the Childhood Movement (Bachpan Bachao Andolan) which is directly involved in the campaign against child servitude in different forms.

Ideology of the organisation:

SACCS believes that all working children below 14 years of age are in child servitude. It considers the age of 14 for the definition of the child as the Article 24 of the Constitution of India states that children under 14 years should not be made to work in any factories, mines or other hazardous occupations. SACCS uses the term 'child servitude' because it believes that all situations in which children work are characterised by a master-slave relationship. According to SACCS, 'labour' is applicable in a capitalist or industrial set-up where an employee sells his/her labour under some system of minimum wages, hours of work, overtime, etc. Hence the relationship is that of an employer and employee. In the case of working children, there is no such system. The child who is working is entirely at the mercy of his master and hence it is 'child servitude'. SACCS aims at immediate abolition of child labour and not a gradual process of eliminating the problem. This view follows their theory on the causation of

the problem. It believes that child labour is a cause of poverty and not the effect of poverty. Therefore eradication of child labour is a pre-condition to the removal of poverty and not vice-versa. This point of view is reflected in their approach to work where the children from poverty stricken families are released from their work. It thus emphasises on the employment of adults in place of children and compulsory primary education for the children. It believes that the solution of the problem lies in political will and the peoples' mobilisation. It believes that the problem can be solved only by the governments by respecting the rights of the children. As children do not have any votes, they are not in a position to change the system by themselves. SACCS therefore fights to change the system on behalf of the children. With the changing global economic and political environment, it is of the opinion that child labour is a global issue and the involvement of the international community is critical for the eradication of child labour.

Context of work:

SACCS works with children who are employed in hazardous and non-hazardous occupations such as agriculture, carpet, glass and brick manufacturing industries, stone quarries and construction work. The organisation works with children who are in debt bondage of a kind where the families borrow money from the money lenders due to poverty, illnesses or other family requirements and instead of repaying the money, the families sell the labour of their children in return. It also works for the release of children of those parents who are given false promises by the agents/middlemen that their children would be taken to a school where they would be able to earn and send the money to the parents. These children are spread over the carpet belt which comprises of Mirzapur, Varanasi and Bhadohi areas of Uttar Pradesh. Their main area of operation includes states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana and Delhi.

Approaches of work:

For the abolition of child labour, SACCS has two main approaches. They can be divided into preventive and rehabilitative approaches.

Preventive approach: In order to ensure that more children do not join the ranks of the children in servitude, the SACCS has been giving a strong focus to activities at the preventive level. The main activities geared at the preventive level are:

Mass Awareness: In order to educate the masses about the magnitude and the gravity of the problem and to pressurise the governments to implement the legal provisions on the rights of the child, SACCS has been arranging several sit-ins, rallies, meetings, protest marches, street plays, etc. It has used the local, national and international media to sensitise the society about the evils of child servitude.

Consumer boycotts: Having received no help from the Government at the national level for the purposes of abolishing child labour, SACCS decided to attack the demand end of the problem. It began with the carpet industry which exports 98% of its total production to the West and which is one of the major employers of child labour. In an open market system, the consumers could take the final decision. Thus, SACCS evolved a system of selective boycotting of only those goods that were produced by children. Though the organisation is against the total boycott of goods, it advocates for the boycott of all those goods that are made through the economic exploitation of the children. On the other hand it offers alternatives to the industry such as employment of adults in place of children. It also initiated a system of affixing labels after scientific monitoring and independent inspections that no child's labour was involved in the manufacture of the goods. The monitoring system also ensured that the children were not pushed underground. Thus, the label of RUGMARK (given by the RUGMARK Foundation of India of which the

SACCS is an active member) guarantees the consumer that the carpet is manufactured without child labour. National level boycotts were also initiated against goods such as glass bangles manufactured by children in Ferozabad, fire crackers manufactured by children of Sivakasi, and shops and establishments such as hotels, workshops employing children. An important part of this was to sensitise the beneficiaries of the goods produced by child labour about the conditions in which children work which is achieved through the campaign strategy.

Rehabilitative approach: The rehabilitative approach consists of the following:

The Mukti Ashram: The SACCS observed that due to the bureaucratic apathy and the enormous delays in rehabilitating the victims, many children went back in bondage once they were rescued. This was aggravated due to lack of awareness and miserable socio-economic conditions of the children. It was under this context that SACCS thought that of a transitory vocational rehabilitation centre for the freed children which would help them to become self-supportive, build their self confidence and extricate them from the traumatic spell of slavery.

SACCS started the transitory rehabilitation- cum- social education centre called Mukti Ashram as a pilot project. This was meant for the freed bonded children who are released during the raids. The proportion of children coming from the carpet industry is larger than that of other sectors.

In most cases the children working in the carpet industry are not allowed to be in touch with their families for a number of years. Hence, on being rescued, the children are sent home for a month after which they are brought back to Mukti Ashram. In certain cases, where the family's situation is critical, the child is brought straight to the Ashram. During the

initial period in the transition camp, the child is allowed to be free and is not required to follow any particular routine.

During this period, the rescued children are very often in a state of shock as they are unable to believe that they are really free. At times, the shock can be so severe that a child had even lost his voice for a few weeks. In the initial fortnight, the child is observed and then a timetable for the child is drawn with their involvement.

The children are grouped according to their age. The younger group consists of children below 13 to 14 years and the older group consists of children above this age. The younger group receives basic literacy, social education and awareness of issues related to their health and hygiene whereas the older children receive vocational training in addition to the inputs given to the younger group. The course usually takes three months but can prolong if the trainees are slow in acquiring the necessary skills.

In vocational training, the child is taught about different tools, machinery and their use, measurements, and slowly the child is given inputs on the production of different goods. An assessment of this is made on the basis of how well the child has been able to manufacture the product. The curriculum is flexible and the child is provided the freedom to do whatever he wants to do in order to build his confidence. Each trainee receives training in a particular vocation of his choice among carpentry, welding, weaving, tailoring and masonry. While opting for the course, its utility in the trainee's area is also considered.

In the school, the children are taught the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic using story books, and environmental education methods. Besides this, social and civic education is also provided to the children which includes group discussions and informal talks related to community health, environment, social structure, political system, laws, communal harmony, women's issues, etc. The purpose of these sessions is to provide an option to the child to integrate in the formal school on returning

to his family. It is also important in building leadership qualities among children. This, according to SACCS is important, as the problem of child servitude especially in the carpet industry is perpetuated due to ignorance of the families and communities.

Mukti Ashram has a capacity of accommodating a batch of 60 children at a time. Besides this, there are 11 non-formal education and social conscience building centres for the freed bonded children and child labour run by SACCS in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana and Delhi. Since inception, the Ashram has trained 1000 children. The Ashram follows up on the children through its partners.

Strategies of work:

SACCS started its work with releasing and rehabilitating children from the carpet industry but soon realised that it is not an answer to solve the problem of child labour. Therefore it decided to link the issue with the political and the economic systems so as to build a threat on the government to safeguard the rights of the children. In order to do so, the organisation employed the strategies.

Direct action: SACCS started its activities against child servitude with raids, inspite of the risk involved in it. The organisation and its associates free child slaves through direct interventions, raids and by seeking help of the High Courts and the Supreme Courts. Villagers, parents, local leaders contact the SACCS activists for rescuing their children from the carpet industry. The activists of SACCS organise periodical raids in units where they suspect the engagement of children in slave-like conditions. About 27,000 children have been released from various occupations so far, 7000 of whom were from the carpet industry. The impact of the raids is strong. The employers are threatened of legal action. However, the organisation realised that children were getting replaced by other children in the carpet industry. Hence they realised that it was not enough to rescue the children

but it was also important to ensure that other children did not join the ranks of child labourers. Thus, the campaign strategy assumed importance in their work so as to expand the base of their work.

Campaigning: SACCS has been working as a pressure group and networking with various groups in order to further the cause of abolition of child labour. It has been conducting political campaigns by involving various parties and pressurising the Members of the Parliament to voice issues pertaining to child servitude. It has so far been able to get the Members of the Parliament to raise questions on the floor of the Parliament regarding child labour. In 1994 alone, 102 questions pertaining to child labour were raised in a single session of the Parliament. It has also been campaigning for the including child labour in the election manifestos of various parties since the 1993 Assembly elections.

SACCS has also been arranging long marches across different child labour endemic parts of the country to spread the message of saving the childhood of children who are presently in servitude.

Besides this, it has also formed links with the trade unions with whom the Trade Union Forum against child servitude got established. It has also formed Multi-Religious Forum Against Child Servitude along with the religious leaders of different faiths. Save the Childhood movement also has links with movements such as the minimum wages movement, housing movement, environmental movement, feminist movement, anti-alcohol and drugs movements.

Through its campaigning in the international forum, SACCS has influenced the foreign donors, especially from Germany, to direct its attention to the eradication of child servitude by raising consumer awareness and boycotting goods manufactured by children. SACCS demonstrated in front of the Western consumers and shattered their myths about the 'nimble fingers' of children which are supposed to be

crucial for weaving hand-knotted carpets. The character of donations given also changed from charity based work to struggles protecting the rights of the child. SACCS has determined the mood of the West to build a global momentum against child labour. Media, both national and international has been used effectively as part of the campaign strategy.

Staffing:

The Ashram has a staff of 10 members among whom two had been child labourers. The staff members are trained by the organisation and get internalised. The involvement of children in spreading awareness and fighting against child servitude is a salient feature of the movement. Besides this, SACCS have a paid staff of over 75 people of whom around 45 members work on a full-time basis. They are spread all over the country.

Funding:

Some of the funding agencies for their programmes are Christian Aid, Bread for the World, Misereor and TDH. Christian Aid which supports the Ashram's activities covers the entire cost of the trainees in terms of their transportation, food and accommodation; and costs of training are borne by the Ashram.

Section II Profiles of the child beneficiaries

This section presents the profile of the children who are the beneficiaries of the organisation. The researcher interviewed children from the transition camp who had been released in various rescue operations of SACCS. She also visited a village in Sonbhadra district of Uttar Pradesh where children who had been rescued and placed in the transition camp for three months were rehabilitated.

Personal Profiles:

Age: The average age of the children interviewed was 12.8 years.

Sex: All the respondents interviewed were boys as the sectors which are covered by the work of SACCS are primarily male-oriented.

Religion: Among the children interviewed, 90% were Hindus while 10% were Muslims.

Level of education: From the beneficiaries, 37.5% were enrolled in schools whereas the remaining 62.5% had never been enrolled. Of those who had studied, 60% of the children had dropped out after Class 2, 7% after Class 4, and 33% dropped out after Class 7. Among those who had not enrolled in schools, multiple reasons were stated: 96% stated that their parents were not interested in educating them, 56% had not joined school on account of poverty, 8% were put in bondage before they could join school, 16% did not have schools in their village and 12% did not know the reasons why they were not enrolled. Multiple reasons were stated by children for dropping out of the school. Illness in the family had lead to 7% of the children to drop-out of the school, 47% had dropped out because of poverty, 40% stated that they had no money to continue their schooling, 7% stated that they had dropped out on account of the death of their bread earner. More than half (53%) of the children mentioned that they were taken away to work by the agents and 13% of the children had dropped out because of school related factors such as beatings in the school, no teachers in the school, etc. Thus, one finds that economic factors have been responsible for the children not getting enrolled in schools as well as dropping out of the schools.

Migration status: As many as 72.5% of the children had migrated to the workplace while the remaining 27.5% worked while staying at their homes. All those who had migrated had migrated alone without their family

members. The reasons stated for migration were as follows: 55% of the children were sent with the agents/middlemen by the family for economic reasons while the remaining 45% were sent by their parents with the middlemen under the assumption that the children were being taken for providing education. This indicates that all the children who had migrated, had done so through the middlemen/agent who had links with the industry which was to absorb the child labourer. Almost all the children who had migrated were engaged in carpet work.

Ordinal position of the children in the family: More than half (60%) of the children were eldest in their families whereas 40% were not the eldest siblings in their families.

State of origin: Among the children interviewed, 35% originally belonged to Uttar Pradesh while 60% hailed from Bihar. Among the respondents there was one child each from Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. This indicates that the children who were covered by the organisation came from the four States in the North India which are known to be socio-economically backward. It also shows that children had been taken from one State to another by the middlemen for employment.

Family Profiles:

Family size: The average size of the respondents family was 6.2 members. From the children interviewed, 17 % had 2 to 4 family members, 38% came from families with 4 to 6 members, 38% came from families with 6 to 8 members, and 8% of the children had 8 to 10 family members.

Parental income: The average family income of the respondents was Rs. 888 per month. About 23% of the children had their parental income below Rs. 500, 55% had their parental income ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1000, and 22% had their parental incomes between Rs. 1000 to Rs. 2000.

Parental education: As many as 88% of the children had fathers who were illiterates, while only 12% of the children's fathers were found to be literate. All the fathers who were literate had studied up to Class 7. As many as 90% of the children had mothers who were illiterates and among the 10% who were literate, the level of education was till Class 2. This indicates that the children came from backgrounds where there was little history of parental education.

Employment Profiles:

Age of starting work: The average age at which the respondents had started work was 7.5 years. Among the children studied, 37% had started work while they were below the age of six, another 37% had started work while they were in the age group of 6 to 8 years, 18% had started work when they were between 8 to 10 years old, while 8% had started work while they were from 10 to 12 years old. Thus the average number of years for which the children had been working was 5.2 years. Only one child had been working since one year. More than half (58%) of the children had been working since two to four years, 20% had been working since 4 to 6 years, and another 20% had been working since more than six years. This indicates that the children had not only been working since a very early age, but they were also working for a long period before they were rescued by SACCS.

Nature of work done: Among the children interviewed, 63% of the children were engaged in carpet weaving, 25% worked in agriculture, 5% were engaged in work on the brick-kilns, and one child each was working in stone-cutting, hotel and domestic work. All the children worked outside their family settings. This coincides with the organisation's focus of work on the children working in the carpet industry.

Mode of recruitment: As many as 70% of the children were recruited through the middlemen/agents of the carpet industry whereas the

remaining 30% were referred to the employers by the children's parents. This indicates that a majority of the children had been taken away from their parents by the middlemen who later placed them with employers in different occupations. Almost all the children who were engaged in carpet work were recruited through the agent/middlemen.

Indebtedness: Nearly two-thirds (63%) of the children interviewed were given loans by the employers/middlemen whereas the parents of the remaining 37% of the children had not received any loans from the employer. The average amount of loans given was Rs.1936. Parents of more than half (60%) of the children were given loans up to Rs. 1000, while the others had received loans from Rs.2000 to more than Rs.3000. Three children did not know the amount of money that was advanced as loans to the child's family in return of the child's labour.

Change in the employer or sector of work: As many as 88% of the children studied had not changed the sector in which they were working, while 12% had changed the work that they were engaged in. A majority of those who had changed the sector of work had done so because their parents had wanted them to do so while one child had left due to poor wages. As many as 85% of the children interviewed had not changed their employer while 15% had changed their employer. Among those who had changed the employer, more than half of the children had changed employers more than three times and the remaining children had changed the employer for less than three times. The reasons for changing the employer were stated as follows: one third of the children had changed the employer as they had taken debts from other employers while the remaining two-third of the children had changed the employer as they were sold by the agents from one place to the other. Thus the children had not changed the employer voluntarily but were forced to do so by the middlemen or employers.

Reasons for working: The following multiple reasons were stated by the children for working: 43% of the children were pledged and therefore

made to work, 68% of the children were out to work on account of poverty, 15% of the children took up employment as their parents had forced them, 15% of the children had taken up employment because of the death of the bread earner, one child had joined work as the family had acute financial requirements. A majority of 70% of the children stated that they were lured away by the middlemen/agents of the carpet industry and put to work. This indicates that the force of poverty and the ignorance of the parents who were duped by the middlemen were the main reasons for the child's entry into servitude.

Attitudes towards work: All the children interviewed by the researcher had negative attitudes about their employment and did not like being working children. This can be explained by the fact that the children were forced into work because of poverty or by their parents.

Training received: As many as 68% of the children received training on the job while the remaining 32% did not receive any training while at work. A majority of those who were trained were trained by their employer and only three children reported of having trained by their co-workers. The average number of months for which the children had received training was 1.7 months. All the children who had received the training had received it for less than one year. Whether the child received training or not depended on the nature of work done by the child and it was found that the proportion of children receiving training was higher among those engaged in the carpet work than among those engaged in other occupations.

Odd jobs undertaken: More than half (55%) of the children studied had to undertake certain other odd jobs for the employer besides the tasks for which they were recruited. Multiple responses were given by the children with respect to the nature of such odd jobs, 68% of the children were engaged in agricultural work for their employers in addition to carpet weaving, 14% also did domestic work of the employer, 18% were asked to

run errands for the employer and 9% were made to do the personal work of the employer such as pressing his feet, etc.

Services received from the organisation:

All the children have been beneficiaries of the organisation from three to six months. This is due to the Ashram's course duration which is for three months. The children provided multiple responses with regards to the services received by them from SACCS. Among those interviewed, 65% stated that they received good food in the transition camp and 8% stated that they could have bath and oil in the Ashram. As many as 78% of the children said that they got a chance to play, 85% mentioned of receiving educational services, 33% received vocational training while 8% mentioned of receiving social education. More than one-third (35%) of the children stated that they were relieved from bondage by the SACCS, 88% stated that they were rescued from their work environment by SACCS while 45% stated that they were integrated with the families by the SACCS.

With regard to the impact of the services of the SACCS on the lives of the children, multiple responses were stated: 90% of the children felt that they were now free and relieved due to the intervention of the SACCS, 5% were mainstreamed in formal school, 55% stated of now receiving reading skills, 60% were now acquiring writing skills, while 20% were learning arithmetic. As many as 88% of the children mentioned to the researcher that the financial difficulty in the family still persisted, and 18% of the children had worked after being rescued and before coming to the transition camp.

With respect to the expectations from the organisation, none of the children stated that they want educational support from the organisation. 5% of the children wanted the organisation to provide them with loans, and the remaining did not respond to this question.

With respect to the future plans, children gave multiple responses. Almost one-third (30%) of the children mentioned that they would continue their schooling. Only 5% of the children stated that they would have to work in the same industry from which they were relieved as they did not have any other option while as many as 83% mentioned that they would have to do some other manual work after returning home from the transition camp. As many as 85% of the children stated that they may have to take loans from the employers in future also due to the acute poverty in their families. This indicates that the child beneficiaries find their basic conditions which forced them to work initially, unchanged because of which as high as 85% and 83% children stated that they would still get into bondage and manual work respectively. It is interesting to note that none of the children thought that they could pursue the vocation that they were trained in at Mukti Ashram.

Section III Impact of the work on children

This section attempts to analyse the impact of the intervention on the children. This is analysed in terms of the present status of the children, the differences in the hours spent on different activities and the scores of the children on the child labour-child rights continuum.

Present status of the child:

The distribution of children according to their the present status can be presented in the following table.

Table 17. SACCS - Distribution of children according to their present status

Present status of children	No. of children	% of total
Formal school going	2	5
Transition camp	34	85
Working children	4	10
Total	40	100

The researcher found that 5% of the children interviewed went to the formal school from the transition camp, 10% of the children who were rehabilitated in the villages were working at the time of the study and the remaining 85% of the children were in the transition camp.

The scores of the children according to their present status were as follows: For the children who are presently in the formal school, the average survival score before the intervention of the organisation was 7 out of 8 points, protection score was 14 out of 14 points, development score was 4 out of 5 points and participation score was 3 out of 3 points. Thus the mean total score of the children in the past who are presently in formal school was 28 out of 30 points. This indicates that the children who are now placed in the formal school by the organisation had worked in situations that severely threatened their rights to survival, protection, development and participation.

The past scores of children who are presently in the transition camp are as follows: The mean survival score was 4.88 out of 8, the mean protection score 12.6 out of 14, mean development score 4.38 out of 5 and the mean participation score was 3 out of 3 points. Thus, the past mean total score of the children who are presently in the transition camp is 24.8 out of 30 points. This indicates that for the children who are presently in the transition camp, the protection, development and the participation rights were also severely threatened. The children who are presently in the transition camp, however, enjoyed better protection of their rights than the children who are presently in the formal school before the intervention of the organisation.

For those children who were sent back from the transition camp and who are presently working, the scores are as follows: before the intervention of SACCS, the mean survival score was 5.5 out of 8, the mean protection score was 14 out of 14, the mean development score was 4 out of 5 points

and the mean participation score was 3 out of 3 points. Thus the mean total score was 26.5 out of 30 points. After the intervention of the organisation, the scores of the children are as follows: the mean survival score is 5 out of 8, the protection score is 9 out of 14 points, the development score is 4 out of 4 points and the participation score is 3 out of 3 points. Thus, the mean of the total score of working children at present is 21 out of 30 points. This reduction in the violation of the rights of the child particularly that of survival and protection is largely due to the fact that the working children are presently engaged in the occupations in their own village and have not migrated to other area, and secondly due to the change in the nature of work done (from carpet work to agriculture) which is inherently less hazardous and exploitative.

Whether the child is presently in transition school or not (as a dependent variable) was analysed with the age of the child, whether the child was enrolled in the school, ordinal position of the child, father's education, age at starting work, duration of work, level of education, child's religion, migration status, family size and family income as independent variables. The F-ratio obtained was 13.06 which is significant at 1% level of confidence. It was found that 83% (R Square=0.83) of the variance in the dependent variable, which is whether the child is in the transition school or not, could be determined by the independent variables in combination. Of this, age of the child (t ratio=5.57), whether the child was enrolled in the school (t ratio=4.85), ordinal position of the child (t ratio=3.57), father's education (t ratio=6.5) and duration of work (t ratio=3.69) were statistically significant at 5% level of confidence. This means that the above mentioned variables have a significant impact on the dependent variable on their own when other variables are kept constant. The other independent variables such as the level of education, child's religion, migration status, age at starting work, family size and family income are statistically insignificant at 5% level of confidence and thus do not influence the dependent variable on their own when the other variables are constant.

The present status as a working child was analysed with the independent variables such as age of the child, whether the child went to the school, level of child's education, child's religion, migration status, family size, ordinal position, father's education, age at starting work, duration of work and family income. The F-ratio obtained was 10.66 which is statistically significant at 1% level of confidence with R Square of 0.80 indicating that the relationship between the independent and the dependent variables is statistically significant and the variance of the dependent variable can be explained by the independent variables up to 80%. Among the variables, age of the child (t ratio=4.5), whether the child went to the school (t ratio=2.18), and duration of work (t ratio=2.7) are statistically significant at 5% level of confidence. Thus, the dependent variable is significantly influenced by these variables even individually when other variables are constant. The other variables such as the level of child's education, child's religion, ordinal position, migration status, family size, father's education, age at starting work, and family income are statistically insignificant and do not influence the dependent variables individually as their t- ratios are insignificant at 5% level of confidence.

Difference in the time spent on various activities:

The number of hours spent by the children on different activities were recorded. The data reveals the following:

With regards to employment: The mean hours spent on work by the children in the past were 16.5 hours per day, while the mean number of hours spent by children presently on work is 1.5 hours. This is largely because a majority of the children are presently in the transition camp where they do not engage in any work though a small proportion of beneficiaries studied were working after returning home from the transition camp. The difference in the time spent on employment after the intervention of the organisation can be presented in the following table;

Table 18. SACCS - Difference in the time spent on employment

Time spent on employment	Average number of hours
Prior to intervention	16.52
After the intervention	1.5
Average reduction	15.02

With difference in the number of hours spent on work as a dependent variable, and age of the child, whether the child was enrolled in the school, migration of the child, duration of work, level of education, age at starting work, ordinal position of the child and family income as independent variables, the F-ratio obtained was 5.9 which was significant at 1% level of confidence. That means the difference in the number of hours can be determined by the set of independent variables in combination. The variance of the dependent variable can be explained up to 60% with the independent variables in combination as the R Square is 0.60. However, among the variables, the variables such as the age of the child (t-ratio of 3.16), whether the child was enrolled in the school (t-ratio of 3.5), migration status of the child (t-ratio of 2.18) and the duration of work (t-ratio of 2.27) are statistically significant at 5% level of confidence. This indicates that these variables significantly contribute to the behaviour of the dependent variable on their own when other variables are constant. The other independent variables such as the level of education, age at starting work, ordinal position of the child and family income were found to be statistically insignificant at 5% level of confidence and thus do not influence the dependent variable individually.

With regards to household work: The mean number of hours that the child spent on household work in the past was 0.1 whereas, none of the children presently spend any time on household work. This is because a majority of the children worked away from their houses in the past and they are presently in the transition camp where they do not engage in

household work. The difference in the time spent on household work after the intervention of the organisation can be presented in the following table;

Table 19. SACCS - Difference of time spent in household work

Time spent on household work	Average number of hours
Prior to intervention	0.1
After the intervention	0
Average reduction	0.1

With regards to development: None of the children previously spent any time on development work in the past. However, the mean number of hours spent by children on development presently is 9.7 hours. This is once again because a majority of the children interviewed are from the transition camp where they receive developmental inputs. The difference in the time spent on developmental activities after the intervention of the organisation can be presented in the following table;

Table 20. SACCS - Difference in time spent on development

Time spent on developmental activities	Average number of hours
Prior to intervention	0
After the intervention	9.7
Average increase	9.7

A regression analysis was done to understand the extent to which the differences in the hours of development were determined by the independent variables such as the age of the child, whether the child was enrolled in the school, level of child's education, migration status, age at which the child started work and the duration of work. The F-ratio was 13.74 with the R Square value of 0.71 indicating that the differences in the

hours spent on development is determined by the independent variables up to 71% and this is statistically significant at 1% level of confidence. However, among the variables, the age of the child (with a t-ratio of 3.25) is statistically significant at 5% level of confidence. This means that only the age of the child significantly contributes to the variance when the other variables are constant. The other variables such as whether the child was enrolled in the school, level of child's education, migration status, age at which the child started work and duration of work are not statistically significant at 5% level of confidence and do not influence the dependent variable individually.

Protection/Violation of the Rights of the Child:

The scores of the children on the child labour-child rights continuum were calculated in order to understand the extent to which the children's rights were violated.

Survival Rights of the Child: With respect to the past scores of all the children¹ who are the beneficiaries of the organisation, the researcher found that the mean scores on survival was 5.05 (with a Standard deviation of 1.08) before the intervention. The past scores of the children on survival were analysed against the independent variables of level of child's education, migration status and the duration of work of the child. The F-ratio obtained was 4.18 which is statistically significant at 5% level of confidence signifying a statistically significant relationship between the dependent and the independent variables. However, only 25% of the variance of the past survival scores of the children can be determined by the independent variables of level of child's education, migration status and the duration of work of the child in combination. Among the variables, only the level of education (t ratio=2.48) is statistically significant at 5% level of confidence and hence has a statistically significant influence on the survival scores of the children, individually when the other variables are kept constant. However, the other variables such as migration status (t

ratio=1.6) and the duration of work of the child (t ratio=1.22) are statistically insignificant and do not determine the survival scores of the children individually. The present mean score of the children on the survival rights was 5 out of 8 points².

Protection Rights of the Child: The mean score on protection for all the children³ before the intervention of the organisation was 12.77 (with the Standard deviation of 2.42). The protection scores of the children in the past were analysed with the independent variables such as the age of the child, whether the child went to the school, level of child's education, migration status, age at starting work, duration of work, ordinal position of the child, and the family income. The F-ratio obtained was 1.14 which is statistically insignificant at 5% level of confidence. Thus, the protection scores of the children in the past cannot be explained by these independent variables and could have been due to other variables that were not covered under the study. The mean protection score of the children after the intervention was 9 out of 14 points⁴.

Development Rights of the Child: The mean development score of all the children⁵ before the intervention was 4.3 (with the Standard deviation of 0.47). The past scores of children on the development vector were analysed with the independent variables such as age of the child, whether the child went to the school, level of child's education, migration status of the child, age at starting work, duration of work, ordinal position of the child and the family income. The F-ratio obtained was 5.11 which is statistically significant at 1% level of confidence signifying a statistically significant relationship between the dependent and the independent variables. The regression analysis indicates that 56% of the variance in the past development scores of the children can be determined by the independent variables in combination. However, only the variable of child's migration status with a t-ratio of 4.55 is statistically significant at 1% level of confidence indicating that the development scores of the past can be determined by the child's migration status when other independent

variables are kept constant. The remaining variables are not statistically significant as they have a poor t-ratio and they do not influence the dependent variable individually. The mean development score of the children after the intervention is 4 out of 5 points⁶.

Participation Rights of the Child: The mean participation score of all the children⁷ after the intervention of the organisation was 3 with zero standard deviation. The mean participation score of the children after the intervention of the organisation is also 3 out of 3 points⁸.

Total Score of the Children: The mean of the total score of all the children⁹ before the intervention was 25.15 with a standard deviation of 2.9. The total scores of the children before the intervention of SACCS were analysed with the independent variables of age of the child, whether the child went to the school, level of child's education, migration status of the child, age at starting work, duration of work, ordinal position of the child and the family income. The F-ratio obtained was 1.01 which is statistically insignificant at 5% level of confidence. Thus the past total scores of the children cannot be determined by the given set of independent variables and there could be certain other variables influencing the total scores of the children in the past which were not covered under the present study. The mean total score of the children after the intervention is 21 points out of 30 points¹⁰.

Findings:

Thus, SACCS has been focusing on campaigning against the issue of child servitude at the national and the international level. In its micro-level work with the children at the Mukti Ashram, it was found that the children whose survival, protection, development and participation rights were severely violated were being provided a different atmosphere where they are not economically exploited and where their right to development was also fulfilled. However, the children who have returned from the Ashram to

their villages were in a situation where their survival rights were again being threatened. Even among children who are currently in the Ashram, the data as provided by the children indicates that there is a strong possibility of the children going back to their villages and beginning their work again. An examination of the protection/violation of the rights of the child indicates that on an average, the violation of the participation rights of the children was more severe than the violation of development rights, protection rights and survival rights of the child. However from the data about the present status of the children it is clear is that with an increased awareness of the plight of the children in the carpet industry, the chances of the same children going back to the carpet industry are slim.

Endnotes

¹ These past scores of children on survival are computed for all the children, i.e. those who are presently in employment and also those who have been removed from employment.

² This present survival score is applicable to only 10% of the total respondents who continued to work while the remaining 90% of the children were removed from employment. The past mean score on survival of this cohort of children who continue to work was 5.5 out of 8 points.

³ These past scores of children on protection are computed for all the children, i.e. those who are presently in employment and also those who have been removed from employment.

⁴ This present protection score is applicable to only 10% of the total respondents who continued to work while the remaining 90% of the children were removed from employment. The past mean score on protection of this cohort of children who continue to work was 14 out of 14 points.

⁵ These past scores of children on development are computed for all the children, i.e. those who are presently in employment and also those who have been removed from employment.

⁶ This present development score is applicable to only 10% of the total respondents who continued to work while the remaining 90% of the children were removed from employment. The past mean score on development of this cohort of children who continue to work was 4 out of 5 points.

⁷ These past scores of children on participation are computed for all the children, i.e. those who are presently in employment and also those who have been removed from employment.

⁸ This present participation score is applicable to only 10% of the total respondents who continued to work while the remaining 90% of the children were removed from

employment. The past mean score on participation of this cohort of children who continue to work was 3 out of 3 points.

⁹ These past total scores of children are computed for all the children, i.e. those who are presently in employment and also those who have been removed from employment.

¹⁰ This present total score is applicable to only 10% of the total respondents who continued to work while the remaining 90% of the children were removed from employment. The past mean total score of this cohort of children who continue to work was 26.5 out of 30 points.