

**TITLE: CHILD LABOUR**

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## **Abstract**

“Child Labour” is a serious violation of fundamental rights of children. From the rights based perspective, there can be no excuse for existence of child labour. It deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to their physical and mental development. Child labour is a global phenomenon; around 168 million children work, many full-time worldwide. It is essentially a socio-economic problem, inextricably linked to poverty and illiteracy. There is a consensus emerging that when a child is not in school, the child would perforce be part of the labour pool.

The purpose of this chapter is to sensitize the medical professionals to respond to this large society and public health problem, with a multidisciplinary approach. There is an urgent and essential need to develop a comprehensive plan to withdraw children from work and mainstream them into schools, in order to provide them basic right to education. Besides provision of health care and rehabilitation, the medical professionals can protect the rights of these vulnerable and exploited children by connecting them to socio-legal systems. A busy doctor can simply call Child Helpline Telephone number 1098, which is now available in more than 400 Indian cities, and immediately obtain assistance from locally available child protection systems. Medical professionals can spearhead an advocacy movement against child labour in their regions and render justice for all children, towards equity and democracy.

## **What is Child Labour? Introduction & Definition**

The International Labour Organization (ILO) has defined “child labour” as work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development (1). It refers to work that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; interferes with their schooling or requires them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.

Child labour is essentially a socio-economic problem, inextricably linked to poverty and illiteracy. In its most extreme forms, child labour involves children being enslaved, separated from their families, exposed to serious hazards and illnesses and/or left to fend for themselves on the streets of large cities – often at a very early age. Whether or not particular forms of “work” can be called “child labour” depends on the child’s age, the type and hours of work performed, the conditions under which it is performed and the objectives pursued by individual countries. The answer varies from country to country, as well as among sectors within countries.

Not all work done by children should be classified as child labour that is to be targeted for elimination. Children’s participation in work that does not affect their health and personal development or interfere with their schooling is generally regarded as being something positive. This includes activities such as helping their parents around the home, assisting in a family business or earning pocket money outside school hours and during school holidays. These kinds of activities contribute to children’s development and to the welfare of their families; they provide them with skills and experience, and help to prepare them to be productive members of society during their adult life.

## **Magnitude of problem**

Child Labour is global phenomenon. Global number of children in child labour has declined by one third since 2000, from 246 million to 168 million children. More than half of them, 85 million, are in hazardous work (down from 171 million in 2000). Asia and the Pacific still has the largest numbers (almost 78 million or 9.3% of child population), but Sub-Saharan Africa continues to be the region with the highest incidence of child labour (59 million, over 21%). There are 13 million (8.8%) of children in child labour in Latin America and the Caribbean and in the Middle East and North Africa there are 9.2 million (8.4%). Child labour among girls fell by 40% since 2000, compared to 25% for boys (1).

India has the dubious distinction of holding the largest number of child labourers in the world today. As per the Census of India 2001, there are 13 million child labourers in the age group of 5-14 years. There is a consensus emerging that when a child is not in school, the child would perforce be part of the labour pool. It is estimated that out of school children constitute nearly 18 percent of children. In absolute numbers, the potential child labour pool remains very high at above 40 million. These children do not go to school and have little or no time to play. Many do not receive proper nutrition or care. They are denied the chance to be children. More than half of them are exposed to the worst forms of child labour such as work in hazardous environments, slavery, or other forms of forced labour, illicit activities including drugs, trafficking and prostitution, as well as involvement in armed conflict (2, 3).

#### **Child labour distribution by branch of economic activity:**

Child Labour is found in all the sectors of Indian economy (4), such as

(a) Agriculture (commonest type of child labour, 58%) sector comprises activities in agriculture, hunting forestry, and fishing. In rural areas, children are engaged in agricultural and allied occupations as a part of family or individual

(b) Services other than domestic work (25.4%) This sector consists of wholesale and retail trade; restaurants/hotels, transport, storage, and communications; finance, insurance, real-estate, and business services; and community as well as social personal services.

(c) Industry (7.2%). This sector includes mining and quarrying, manufacturing, construction, and public utilities (electricity, gas and water). Children are engaged in various manufacturing process of different home-based industries such as brassware, lock, match, firework, diamond cutting, gem polishing, glassware, carpet making etc.

(d) Domestic work 6.9%

(e) Not defined 1.9%

#### **Categories of Child labour:**

Child labour is a term that covers a range and variety of circumstances in which children work (4,5).

Children may be working as:

(a) Street Children: Children live on and off the streets, such as shoeshine boys, rag pickers, newspaper-vendors, beggars, etc. Most children have some sort of home to go back to in the evenings or nights (children on the street), while other set of street children are completely alone without home (children off the streets) and are at the mercy of their employers. They live on the pavements, in the bus stations and railway stations. They are at the mercy of urban predators, as also the police.

(b) Migrant Child labour: Millions of families are being forced to leave their homes and villages for several months every year in search of livelihood (case of Ramu, see box 1). These migrations mean that families are forced to drop out of schools. All evidence indicates that migrations are large and growing. Children migrate from rural to the urban area or from smaller to larger towns/cities either with or without families.

(c) Bonded Child labour: Children who have either been pledged by their parents for paltry sums of money or those working to pay off the inherited debts of their fathers. Bonded children are in many ways the most difficult to assist, because they are inaccessible. If the carpet owner has bought them, they cannot escape. If the landlord in the village owns them, they will spend their life in servitude till they get married and can, in turn, sell their children.

(d) Children used for Sexual Exploitation: Many thousands of young girls and boys serve the sexual appetites of men from all social and economic backgrounds. Factories, workshops, street corners, railway stations, bus stops and homes where children work are common sites of sexual exploitation. Almost all such children are betrayed by those they trust and end up getting abused! The physical health, danger of HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases and psycho-social damage inflicted by commercial sexual exploitation makes it one of the most hazardous forms of child labour (example of Ruma, see box 1).

(e) Female working children, engaged in household activities: There are a large number of children, especially girls who are working in their own houses, engaged in what is not normally seen as “economic activity”. These children are engaged in taking care of younger siblings, cooking, cleaning and other such household activities (6). The girl child begins her work by helping her mother with household chores from the age of four or five (6). The problem of child labour situation is worse for girls than it for boys. A closer examination of the data reveals that more than 85% of female child workers are engaged in agricultural child labour (7). The girl working children are usually low paid and work for longer hours (7-8). Further, if such children are not sent to school, they will eventually join the labour force as one of the above categories of child labour.

(f) Agricultural child labour: India is predominantly an agrarian country. Agriculture is one of the hazardous occupations from the standpoint of child health and safety. In general, higher susceptibility to ill health arises, because children are deputed to undertake adult jobs with their immature bodies and minds (4, 8). Between the age group of 8-14years, majority of child workers are engaged in transplantation, crop watering, harvesting, irrigation, weeding, threshing and sowing. Children are employed in spreading fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides without any protection. They are also employed to operate modern powered agricultural machineries, making them more vulnerable to physical injuries (4, 7).

### **The International Labour Organization (ILO) Declarations**

Under the ILO Declaration on principles and rights at work, two Conventions Nos. 138 and 182 are fundamental Conventions. Every member States, even those who have not yet ratified these Conventions should respect, promote and realize their principles. ILO Convention No. 138 is on the minimum age for admission to employment and work. One of the most effective methods of ensuring that children do not start working too young is to set the age at which children can legally be employed or otherwise work. Hazardous work is defined as any work which is likely to jeopardize children's physical, mental or moral health, safety or morals should not be done by anyone under the age of 18 (9).

### **ILO Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour**

Kailash Satyarthi, India's Nobel laureate 2014 (10) has worked as a child rights advocate against child labour. Mr. Satyarthi founded the *Bachpan Bachao Andolan* in 1980, and has led the largest civil society initiative in the world against child labour in the form of the Global March against Child Labour in 1998, leading to ILO Convention 182 on Worst Forms of Child Labour (10). Convention No. 182 helped to focus the international spotlight on the urgency of action to eliminate as a priority, the worst forms of child labour, without losing the long term goal of the effective elimination of all child labour. The worst forms of child labour include:

(a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children (9,10).

### **Indian Constitutional provisions**

The concern for children in general and child labour in particular is reflected through the articles of the Constitution of India.

Article –23: Prohibition of Traffic in human being and forced labour,

Article –24: Prohibition of Employment of children in factories

Article 39 (e) & (f): Directive Principles of State Policy

Article 45: Provision for free and compulsory education for children

The Government of India formed the first committee called Gurupadswamy Committee to study the issue of child labour and to suggest measures to tackle it, way back in 1979. The Committee observed that as long as poverty continued, it would be difficult to totally eliminate child labour and hence, any attempt to abolish it through legal recourse would not be a practical proposition. The Committee felt that in the circumstances, the only alternative left was to ban child labour in hazardous areas and to regulate and ameliorate

the conditions of work in other areas. It recommended that a multiple policy approach was required in dealing with the problems of working children. Based on the recommendations of this committee, the Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act India was enacted in 1986 (11).

### **The Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act 1986.**

The Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act 1986 outlines where and how children can work and where they cannot. It defines a child as any person who has not completed his fourteenth year of age. Part II of the act prohibits children from working in any occupation listed in Part A of the Schedule; for example: catering at railway establishments, construction work on the railway or anywhere near the tracks, plastics factories, automobile garages, etc. The act also prohibits children from working in places where certain processes are being undertaken, as listed in Part B of the Schedule; for example: beedi making, tanning, soap manufacture, brick kilns and roof tiles units, etc. These provisions do not apply to a workshop where the occupier is working with the help of his family or in a government recognized or aided school (16). Part III of the act outlines the conditions in which children may work in occupations/processes not listed in the schedule. Section IV of the act outlines various remaining aspects such as penalties.

The technical advisory committee on the Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act 1986 child labour recommended domestic work and work in hospitality center as 'hazardous for children'. Effective October 10, 2006, the Ministry of labour, Government of India banned on employing children below 14 years, as domestic help in these occupations. The ban was aimed at "ameliorating the condition of hapless working children from psychological trauma and even sexual abuse." The penalty for flouting this law is jail term, ranging from three months to two years and fines that could range up to Rs 20, 000 (11-12).

### **Action against Child Labour: Rehabilitation & Intervention strategies**

From child rights based perspective; there can be no excuse for existence of child labour. There can be no discrimination between child labour and child work, or hazardous labour and non hazardous labour. The definition of 'child labour' must include children working for the families in their own homes, children in agriculture work, work rendered by girls and all other forms of work that deprive children of their right to education in a full time formal school. In other words, the definition of child labour must be inclusive and recognize all forms of child labour as prohibited (13).

It is unfortunate that our country resonates of heroic accounts of young children, who repeatedly risk their lives in their struggle to escape insults and humiliation in their work place (Box 1 & 2). There is an urgent need to recognize these voices against loss of

childhood, suffering and exploitation, hunger, lack of education, and the damage we cause them by not meeting their basic child rights.

Child labour not only prevents children from acquiring the skills and education they need for a better future, it also perpetuates poverty and affects national economies through losses in competitiveness, productivity and potential income. Withdrawing children from child labour, providing them with education and assisting their families with training and employment opportunities contribute directly to creating decent work for adults.

The fundamental principles of any nation's child labour policy should be founded on the following principles: (a) that among other factors, child labour causes and perpetuates poverty; (b) non economic factors play a significant causal role in sustain child labour; (c) lack of educational attainment is the most important non economic factor, which continues to entrench child labour generationally with in a vicious cycle of poverty; (d) child labour can significantly impede educational attainment for both out of school and in school children; (e) and poor families can and do send and support their children in school ( 13)

All Governments have taken proactive steps to tackle the problem of child labour through strict enforcement of legislative provisions along with simultaneous rehabilitative measures. State Government officials have conducted regular inspections and raids to detect cases of violations. Since poverty is the root cause of the problem of child labour, enforcement alone cannot help solve it. Recently, Government has been laying a lot of emphasis on the rehabilitation of these children and on improving the economic conditions of their families (14).

### **The National Policy on Child Labour 1987**

The National Policy on Child Labour 1987 seeks to adopt a gradual & sequential approach with a focus on rehabilitation of children working in hazardous occupations & processes in the first instance. The Action Plan outlined in the Policy for tackling this problem is as follows:

a) Legislative Action Plan for strict enforcement of Child Labour Act and other labour laws to ensure that children are not employed in hazardous employments, and that the working conditions of children working in non-hazardous areas are regulated in accordance with the provisions of the Child Labour Act.

b) The National Child Labour Project (NCLP) (1988) Envisages starting of projects in areas of high concentration of child labour. The scheme envisages running of special schools for child labour withdrawn from work. In the special schools, these children are provided formal/non-formal education along with vocational training, a stipend of Rs.150 per month, supplementary nutrition and regular health checkups so as to prepare them to join regular mainstream schools (13, 14).



### **The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN CRC), 1989**

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN CRC), adopted in 1989, is the first legally binding international instrument to incorporate the full range of human rights—civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights to a child (15). By agreeing to undertake the obligations of the Convention by ratifying it in 1992, India committed themselves to protecting and ensuring children's rights and they have agreed to hold themselves accountable for this commitment before the international community (16). In addition to the UN CRC, the United Nations General Assembly adopted two Optional Protocols in 2000. One concerning the involvement of children in armed conflict (ratified by India November 2005), and the second Optional Protocol on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography (ratified by India August 2005). The Committee on the Rights of the Child is mandated to monitor and report on the implementation of the UN CRC and optional protocols by ratifying governments. Article 32 of the UNCRC addresses child labour:

1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.
2. States Parties shall take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to ensure the implementation of the present article. To this end, and having regard to the relevant provisions of other international instruments, States Parties shall in particular:(a) Provide for a minimum age or minimum ages for admission to employment;(b) Provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment;(c) Provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article.

One way of responding to the problem of child labour is to use the UNCRC to guide the recognition of and response to child labour. In order to be effective advocates for children, one needs to be familiar with the language of CRC (17). The various articles of the CRC provide an excellent framework for a targeted advocacy campaign; and there are training modules available for civil society in many languages. While there is perhaps justifiable cynicism about the CRC being just another global policy statement without 'teeth', there are several examples from low resource countries that attest to the power of using such a tool in advocacy for children. A wonderful example is the African Child Policy Forum (ACPF) which established a CRC-based methodology to monitor African nation-states and their progress against the CRC (18, 19).

### **The National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) 2007**

The National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) was set up in March 2007, under an Act of Parliament of India (20). The Commission's mandate is to ensure

that all laws, policies, programs and administrative mechanisms are in consonance with the Child Rights perspective, as enshrined in the Constitution of India and also the UN CRC (15, 20). The Child is defined as a person in the 0-18 years of age group.

The Commission visualizes a rights-based perspective flowing into National Policies and Programmes, along with nuanced responses at the State, District and Block levels, taking care of specificities and strengths of each region. In order to touch every child, it seeks a deeper penetration to communities and households and expects that the ground experiences gathered at the field are taken into consideration by all the authorities at the higher level. Thus the Commission sees an indispensable role for the State, sound institution-building processes, respect for decentralization at the local bodies and community level and larger societal concern for children and their well being (20).

### **Right to Education (RTE) Act (2009)**

The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act (RTE) 2009, passed by the Parliament of India, makes education a fundamental right for all children between the ages of six and fourteen (21). The RTE Act makes elementary education free and compulsory. It sets quality norms for all school, working norms for teachers and mandates curriculum in all schools to be in consonance with constitutional values. It also mandates participation of civil society in the management of schools & reservation for children (25%) from the weaker section of the society.

National Commission for Protection of Child Rights has been mandated under Section 31 of the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 to examine and review the safeguards of the rights provided under the act and to recommend measures for its effective implementation; to inquire into complaints relating to violation of child's right to free and compulsory education and to take necessary steps as provided under Section 15 of the Commission for Protection of Child Rights, 2005. Towards realizing its commitment of Universalizing Elementary Education during 2013 onwards, the Commission has undertaken activities to provide for equity, inclusive, quality and sustainable education in India.

Education is a crucial child right (15,16). In linking child labour to education, the tasks of eliminating child labour and of universalizing education have become synonymous. One cannot be achieved without the other. In other words, the task of withdrawing a child from work becomes the same as inducting the child into school. A full time formal day school is the only form of school which guarantees the child the right to education.

There is an urgent and essential need to develop a comprehensive plan to withdraw children from work and mainstream them into schools, in order to provide them basic

right to education. This is indeed a challenging task, but can be attained with a united effort with a clear perspectives at all levels of the Government, elected representatives, policy makers, NGO's, education professionals, teachers, counselors, *panchayats*, municipal councilors, child rights activists, parents and juvenile justice and child protection systems.

**The ILO's International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)** was created in 1992 with the overall goal of the progressive elimination of child labour. IPEC currently has operations in 88 countries. It is the largest programme of its kind globally and the biggest single operational programme of the ILO (22).

IPEC has worked to achieve this in several ways: through country-based programmes which promote policy reform, build institutional capacity and put in place concrete measures to end child labour; and through awareness raising and mobilization intended to change social attitudes and promote ratification and effective implementation of ILO child labour Conventions. These efforts have resulted in hundreds of thousands of children being withdrawn from work and rehabilitated or prevented from entering the workforce. Complementary to this direct action throughout has been substantial in-depth statistical and qualitative research, policy and legal analysis, programme evaluation and child labour monitoring, which have permitted the accumulation of vast knowledge base of statistical data and methodologies, thematic studies, good practices, guidelines and training materials.

#### **Child Help Line Telephone 1098**

Child Help Line telephone 1098 is a successful example of public private partnership. It is operational in more than 400 Indian cities. Busy medical doctors and professionals can simply call this telephone number and connect these exploited children to socio-legal services. (23)

#### **Indian Child Abuse Neglect & Labour group (ICANCL group)**

The Indian Child Abuse Neglect & Labour group (ICANCL group) ([www.icancl.com](http://www.icancl.com)) is a nationally registered society, started in 1996, under the framework of Indian Academy of Pediatrics (IAP) ([www.iapindia.org](http://www.iapindia.org)) (24). The ICANCL group members volunteer their services for health care & rehabilitation of street and working children at drop in centers (DIC) managed by Project Concern International (PCI), a NGO in various slums of the New Delhi. The group also looks after health of street children at one short stay home (Shelter home) in outskirts of the city. The group has served more than 25000 street children since year 2000. A shelter home was started in year 2005, where 347 children have been rehabilitated; provided with formal education, vocational skills & job placement. Home repatriation has been achieved in 350 children (25). Advocacy, information and sensitization are the crucial issues in protection of these vulnerable children.

### **The Way Forward & World Day against Child Labour**

June 12 is the “World Day against Child Labour”. This day brings the spotlight on the rights of children to be protected from child labour and other violations of children’s fundamental rights. The urgent realization and effective implementation of the rights of the child are crucial for social justice and democracy. Children are not only adults of tomorrow, but are citizens of today and they need protection now.

There is an urgent need to (a) Ratification of international instruments against child labour in an unequivocal manner; (b) Review of existing anti-child labour legislations and policies and adapting them to the Right of the Children to free and compulsory Education Act, 2009 and the Juvenile Justice (Care and protection of children) Act, 2000; (c) universalization of secondary education for all children in the age of 14-18 years and (d) further provision of opportunities to all such children who are out of school or educational institutions to get them back to the mainstream schools; and finally (e) a movement against child labour rendering justice for all children and towards equity and democracy (20).

### **The Post-2015 Development Agenda & Future Initiatives**

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have served as a shared framework for global action and cooperation on development since 2000. Besides education and health care, transforming economies for quality growth and quality jobs has been the main theme in the discussion on the development framework beyond 2015, setting the stage for the proposal of a sustainable development goal #8 to “promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all”. This global goal, strengthened by reference to aspects of decent work such as social protection and skills development under other proposed goals, is an indispensable response to the concerns of many governments and the demand of people in countries in all regions (26).

A majority of countries have adopted legislation to prohibit or place severe restrictions on the employment and work of children, much of it stimulated and guided by standards adopted by the International Labour Organization (ILO). In spite of these efforts, child labour continues to exist on a massive scale, sometimes in appalling conditions, particularly in the developing world. If progress has been slow or apparently nonexistent, this is because child labour is an immensely complex issue. It cannot be made to disappear simply by the stroke of a pen. Nevertheless, the basis of determined and concerted action must be legislation, which sets the total elimination of child labour as the ultimate goal of policy, and puts measures into place for this purpose, and which explicitly identifies and prohibits the worst forms of child labour to be eliminated as a matter of priority.

### Box 1

#### **Ruma<sup>1</sup>: Girl-child on the streets**

Ruma's family are illegal immigrants, who have joined a rag pickers colony in New Delhi, India, where thousands of rag picker families are clustered. Now 13 years of age, Ruma has a father, mother, three sisters and two brothers, all of who are engaged in rag picking or domestic work. The parents want Ruma to do domestic work, but Ruma wants to go to school, study and play with her friends. Due to her attitude, her parents beat her constantly; sometimes she is starved or thrown out of home. Since she has no place to go, she often sleeps on the street near her home. An unending downward spiral of verbal and sexual abuse continued to unfold, drowning Ruma into self pity, frustration and depression. Homeless and lonely, Ruma slept where she could, falling victim to sexual abuse repeatedly. Eventually, Ruma found work as a housemaid in the neighbourhood homes; where she was exploited sexually again by males in the households. Ruma was also sent with an escort on a five day trip to Nepal to get involved with sex work, but she escaped from that situation and visited Drop in centre (DIC) by a local NGO. The DIC offered her non-formal education, medical assistance, food and other services. What Ruma needed most was a place to live, but the shelter home accommodates only boys. After several weeks of inquiry, an organisation was able to find Ruma a shelter home for girls. Everyone thought that this will be a happy end to the story, but no. Ruma stayed at the shelter home for a couple of weeks, but then ran away. She is back on the streets, destiny unknown.

### Box 2

#### **Ramu<sup>1</sup>—Child labourer**

Ramu's father was a rickshaw puller, migrant from Bihar; settled in Delhi, in one small room with his step mom and two sisters. Since the family was very poor, Ramu was not admitted in school. At 10 years of age, he was employed in a nearby factory, where he worked for long hours (12-14 hour day). He was paid a salary of Rs 800 Indian rupees/month, without any food or any benefits. While working in the factory, he developed frequent bouts of sickness, occupation related poor posture, stiffness and contractures of his knee and elbow joints, besides malnutrition, anemia and poor dental and general hygiene. In this state, an 11 year old Ramu was brought to the attention of Dr Uma Agrawal, a pediatrician. After convincing the father, Ramu was admitted in a neighbourhood MCD school and given a safe room in Dr Agrawal home. Ramu received formal school education till class 5.

However, Ramu got into bad company, started stealing, became a juvenile delinquent and ran away from Dr Uma. Ramu's father employed him on menial wages in a different factory for next 3 years. Soon after, Ramu's father died of tuberculosis with lots of debt. Ramu's step mom abandoned the family with her biological child. By this time, Ramu had become 18 years old, continued to do odd jobs, which he did not like. Dr Uma brought Ramu back to her home, where he lived till 18 years of age. This time he was motivated and passed class 10<sup>th</sup> by distance learning/open school. Ramu secured a job in hotel and earned about Rs 7500/month, which he saved in the bank. With those savings, he married his two sisters, who were living with his maternal uncle. Ramu needed repeated counseling. Ramu is now 21 yrs and working in a factory leading a normal life. With little foster care, support and guidance from Dr Uma, Ramu is now leading a normal healthy adult life.

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