Education unions and the Right to Education.
A question of development work?!
-
Exploration of the partnership from
from the M. Venkatarangaiya Foundation (India) and
the Union for Education Workers (Germany)

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by
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<td>BKVV</td>
<td>Bala Karmika Vimochana Vedika</td>
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<td>BL</td>
<td>Bonded Labour</td>
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<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>Child Labour</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRC</td>
<td>UN Convention in the Rights of the Child (1989)</td>
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<td>CoE</td>
<td>Code of Ethics</td>
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<td>CoC</td>
<td>Code of Conduct</td>
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<tr>
<td>CRPF</td>
<td>Child Rights Protection Forum</td>
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<td>DPE</td>
<td>Declaration of Professional Educators</td>
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<td>FCF</td>
<td>Fair Childhood Foundation</td>
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<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<td>GEW</td>
<td>German Education Union</td>
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<td>GP</td>
<td>Gram Panchayats</td>
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<tr>
<td>GRPF</td>
<td>Girl Child Rights Protection Forum</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<td>MDO</td>
<td>Mandal Development Officer</td>
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<tr>
<td>MEO</td>
<td>Mandal Education Officer</td>
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<tr>
<td>MLA</td>
<td>Member of Legislative Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPP</td>
<td>Mandal Parishad President</td>
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<tr>
<td>MPTC</td>
<td>Mandal Parishad Territorial Constituency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRO</td>
<td>Mandal Revenue Officer</td>
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<tr>
<td>MVF</td>
<td>Mamidipudi Venkatarangaiya Foundation or MV Foundation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCERT</td>
<td>National Council of Educational Research and Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCFTE</td>
<td>National Curriculum for Teachers Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>OBC</td>
<td>Other Backward Castes</td>
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<tr>
<td>RBCC</td>
<td>Residential Bridge Course Camp</td>
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<td>SC</td>
<td>Scheduled Caste</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEC</td>
<td>School Education Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSA</td>
<td>Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan</td>
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<tr>
<td>ST</td>
<td>Scheduled Tribe</td>
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<tr>
<td>UEE</td>
<td>Universalisation of Elementary Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>World Bank</td>
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<td>Glossary</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Bala Karmika Vimochana Vedika</strong></td>
<td>Teacher's forum in Andhra Pradesh, working for child rights</td>
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<td><strong>Bonded Labour</strong></td>
<td>The exchange of labour as collateral for a loan, often considered akin to slavery</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>District</strong></td>
<td>Administrative division of stated, themselves divided into Mandals</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Gram Panchayat</strong></td>
<td>Village government body</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>In-Charge</strong></td>
<td>A Program supervisor at distric, Mandal level or block level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mandal</strong></td>
<td>Administrative subdivision at district, with a population of approximately 50,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Reservation</strong></td>
<td>Akin to affirmative action; focus on SC/ST/OBC</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Sarpanch</strong></td>
<td>Head of Gram Panchayat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan</strong></td>
<td>India wide program with the focus on primary education and literacy; National government approved it in 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scheduled Caste</strong></td>
<td>Traditional excluded from the Hindu social system, and among the most marginalized and disadvantaged social groups in India (Dalits; formerly termed untouchables)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scheduled Tribes</strong></td>
<td>Tribal community, traditional excluded from the Hindu social system, and among the most marginalized and disadvantaged social groups in India</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Declaration

This thesis is a presentation of my original research work. Wherever contributions of others are involved, every effort is made to indicate this clearly, with due reference to the literature, and acknowledgement of collaborative research and discussions.

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Abstract

The global commitment on the Millennium Development Goals in general and Education for All put education on the front line combating poverty. Referring to the Human Rights, education is a fundamental right that ensure participation, development and self-fulfilment of every people and prosperity of the society and economy. Child labour violate the Child Rights in general and the Right to Education in particular from millions of children worldwide. A large body of international and supranational agencies encourage governments and civil society combating child labour through the provision of education. The hand in paper locate the 'Fair Childhood' Foundation from the German Education Union (GEW) in the debate.
MY PROMISE
I. Introduction

In the second half of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century globalisation of businesses stepped into a new period. National and regional division of labour was globalized. Mainly Multinational Corporations (MNC) from the so called global North\textsuperscript{1} outsourced parts of the production or shifted entire production to regions and countries with comparative advantages. The debate is arranged around labour cost as competitive advantage. Production take place in the so called global South for mass consumption in the global North. TINA (‘There Is No Alternative’) Slogan and the fall of the Berlin Wall pushed global capitalism and exploitation towards a new stage.

Deregulation of labour and financial markets is complete with the out sale and privatisation of common goods like health and education. Governments enacted self-interested neoliberal laws to boost economic growth. MNCs outreach for the sake of profits in countries with low labour costs, low taxes, no or less social and labour standards, and other advantages offered from willing governments to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). The process is both resource of international solidarity and contradictory segregation of labour struggle. Circumstances however contribute high informal labour, exploitation and social-economic disparities. The unequal distribution of wealth push labourer's and their families into highly exploitive forms of labour for the sake of survival. Among them children, too. New information technology however made exploitation and running business visible. Globally impact of local action and consumption became a face.

Through globalism of markets children become more susceptible to global economic forces and the actions of governmental, and private industrial agencies. The 'new slavery' child labour is widespread but predominant in the global South. Poverty, dysfunctional labour markets, access to assets and property, natural and political disasters, lack of public infrastructure sum up with social-cultural norms and push children into work. Child labour violate Child Rights in general and the Right to Education in particular. Health, nutrition and education are essential components of children's development. The downside of globalism however is a spiral of poverty, ill health,

\textsuperscript{1} The hand in paper use the term 'global North' and 'global South' synonym 'developing countries' and 'developing countries' and 'less developed countries' respectively. The author criticise both as bonded on an understanding of development as one way street towards growth but is bonded in the absence of alternatives. Growth especially economic growth refer to biological theory based on a hierarchy of development (cf. Rostowian theory on development). Global competition in the name of growth and profits of once nation. Limits of human and natural resources point out the limits of growth. However international countries and MNCs are still in competition regarding competitive advantages and profits boosted from neoliberal ideologies.
malnutrition, and poor learning outcomes. However education is as powerful policy to break the poverty cycle, combat child labour and contribute social and economic development. The global commitment on Child Rights, MDG and EFA push activities accelerating towards child labour.

Worldwide supra- and international agencies collaborate towards child labour and for education. During the last three decades a number of projects, boycotts and labeling campaigns was run from civil society organisations. Governments however ratified labour and education laws and unions embedded accelerating towards child labour in collective bargaining and other projects. Impacts and sustainability however depend on partners approach and ideologies.

The hand in paper locate the GEW 'Fair Childhood' Foundation in the debate. The first chapter review the issue child labour briefly. Referring to the UN CRC and ILO labour conventions child labour is define with special reference to the violation of the right to education. The definition incorporate critic from children's associations on both UN CRC and ILO campaigns towards child labour. However based on the definition global and Indian magnitude of child labour and children out of school is introduced before actions towards child labour is elaborated. In the discussion development collaboration is placed in the centre. Historically the role of international agencies and unions is reviewed. Based on field experiences role and challenges for teachers and their affiliated unions are broadly examined in the second part of the paper. The debate however is embedded in India's education policies where 'the state of education in the country is one of policy failure, wrongly-focused regulation and poor governance' (Basu 2013: xxxvii) and in the light of an uprising economy that produce 'globally successful engineers and others' (Mukerji and Walton 2012: 113) but left the bulk behind. The hand in paper conclude with suggestions for development collaboration of GEW in the country of origin and abroad.
II. Literature Review

Child labour became concern mass concern of international and national agencies at least in the last three decades. Worldwide a large body was written about the relationship of child labour and poverty (e.g. partly interlink with other features – Bhalotra 2000, Bhalotra and Heady 2000, Cockburn 2000), imperfect markets (Baland and Robinson 2000, Ranjan 2001, Rammohan 2001), income shocks (Jacoby and Skoufias 1997), lack of social and labour laws (e.g. PROBE 1999). Interchangeable notes refer to characteristics of both demand and supply of child labour (cf. Swaminathan 1998, Lieten 2000). Referring to the social complexity across the years multidimensional explanatory notes was preferred. However researchers ideology, purpose and objectives of research explanatory notes differ (Post & Sakurai, 2001; Post, 2001a). The following chapter provide a brief but incomplete overview on the literature regarding child labour.

2.1 Poverty – A Controversial Issue

A large body is written on the relationship between poverty and child labour. Families living in poverty are more likely to send their children to work. Children have to supplement the family income for the sake of survival. Families are bonded in the 'poverty cycle'. The poverty cycle describe the interdependence between poor living environment and lack of improvement of livelihood because of lack of education. 'In India, child laborers in the poorest 20 per cent of households are four times more likely to be out-of-school than those in the richest 20 per cent (.)' (Brown 2012: 9). Eradication of poverty was synonym to eradication of child labour. On the way towards eradication of child labour education is argued as important. Latter not only but mainly to increase job opportunities. Latter lift up living standards and break the poverty cycle (e.g. Fallon and Tzannatos 1998, Kabeer 2001, Longford 1995, Post 2001a, The International Center on Child Labor and Education, ILO 1999, Basu 1999, Grote et all 1998, Wahba 2001). Lack in public infrastructure of adequate free public education facilities contribute child labour. Parents decision for education highly depend on opportunity between child labour and education and their own level of education. Parents who never attend school or drop out tend to be less likely to send their children to school. Child labour is predominant in communities with high rates of illiteracy and low level of education. Illiterate or semi skilled parents use children as social net. A significance for intergeneration extrapolation (see for example Centre of Good Governance 2008, Grootaert & Kanbur 1995, Grimsrud and Stokke 1997, Post 2001a, Neri/Gustafsson-Wright/ Sadlacek/Orazem 2005, Levinas 2001, Ravallion & Wodon 2000, Rosati & Rossi 2001, Salazar & Alarcon 1998,
Weiner 1991). In those cases the average size of the family tend to increase (Brown et al. 2002). Such income effects are dominate in developing countries (see e.g. Wahba 2006 for Egypt, Kruger 2007 for coffee-growing regions of Brazil, Nepal and Nepal 2012, and Ray 2000b/c). Critics on the narrow income poverty concept came from sociologists (see for example Anker 2000, Fares and Raju 2007). However Swinnerton and Rogers (1999a) point that the impact of economy-wide inequality on child labour is, in general, ambiguous. Families from poor families prefer to send their children to school (for example MVF 2008, Wazir and Saith 2010). Poverty has to be conceptualized in a wider frame of individual circumstances, social, cultural and political matters.

People suffering from poverty lack self-determination, self-esteem and participatory democracy. Some coherencies and characteristics of child labour may be similar worldwide but social and cultural differences need to keep in mind. Participation in social and economic life refer to social, cultural and economical capital (cf. Bourdieu 1992). Bourdieu outlined a holistic concept of the 'social field'. In the field every people has a place dependent from habitus and one's capital. Dialectical both 'habitus' and capital are incorporated, (re)shaped and (re)produced through social interaction. However poverty decrease capital and opportunities. For Sen (1999) 'capability poverty' and 'participatory poverty' refer to lack of knowledge to participate in economic and social life respectively. Any official intervention on has an impact on 'consequential poverty'. Additionally poverty may refer to a lack of public infrastructure like health and education (Ravallion and Wodon 2000), property and assets (Dumas 2011), and credits (see below). The poverty argument need a critical review and conceptualized otherwise it will (re)produce stereotypes and further lead to exclusion. Therefore Baland and Robinson (2000) point child labour independent from income. They extracted the case of households with comparative high income and child labour. Children would prefer to work because of different preferences in consumption. Additionally Baland and Robinson found an intra-familiar two-sided altruism. Both parents and children take care about one another's utility. The two side altruism may be applicable for working children from parents who suffer illness and child rights associations. Latter argue for their right to work (see below and chapter 3.4).

2.2 Imperfect Markets

Less industrialized countries with a high share of traditional industries indicate high numbers of child labour. Businesses in dysfunctional labour markets refer to unskilled, low or semi-skilled and therefore cheap labour (Ravallion and Wodon 2000, Eaton and Goulart 2009). Labourer's does not need education or would gain some skills on the job. However low level of income of the – mainly
male – head of the households tend to be insufficient. Other family members – wife and children – are send to work to set the family better-off. Referring to social and cultural norms female and child labourer's are acknowledged to be easy to exploit. Their low level of education make them working for lower wages than their male counterparts. Business decision refer the fact that x number of low skilled labourer's would produce x-times more than a adult (female) worker. Expenditure on wages however remain below (male) adult wages (cf. Eaton and Goulart 2009: 440). In dysfunctional labour markets unskilled adult male labourer compete direct with unskilled female and children labourer. Latter put pressure on (already) low wages. Additionally female and child labourer's, especially girls substitute (cf. Nepal Ray 2001: 10, see also Diamond and Fayed 1998, Basu 1999) and/or compete (in Pakistan Ray 2000b) with one another. Without intervention children replace adult labourer's for lower wages (see also Galli 2001). Incidents of child labour would be high.

Child labour as results of a dysfunctional market is argued to build up on globalized production chains. Mass consumption of cheap products in the north lead to pressure on household income and increase in unequal distribution of wealth in the south. At the end global division of labour lead to highly dysfunctional labour markets in the global south. Businesses – mainly from the global north – put pressure on the employers to produce as cheap as possible (cf. ITUC 2009). Current crisis argued to increase the pressure on businesses and households in both the North and the South. In the absence of social protection in the south the impact of any decline in income affect households in the south more than in the north. Referring to Rosati and Lyon absence or provision of microlevel, mesolevel and marcolevel services and policies may or may not contribute child labour among inhabitants before and during the crisis (Rosati and Lyon 2011). However incidents of child labour are assumed to increase especially in the global south (ILO 2002: 38f). Therefore open markets, high level of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and high level of GDP (as proxii for development) is argued towards eradication of child labour (Neumayer and de Soya 2005, Basu and Van 1998, Shelburne 2001). However Cigno et. all (2002) for example refuse the dualism of developing and developed countries as less industrialized with child labour and high industrialized without child labour respectively. Any increase in the national GDP in countries with a large less educated work force child labour may increase or decrease. The impact result from a absolute or relative raise in the wage rate between uneducated and educated workers. The number would decline with relative increase only. Based on composition of the workforce those countries may excluded from parts of the trade and make them poorer than before. Therefore number of children is

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2 Alaka Basu explore an U shape relation between mothers and girl child out of school. When the mother work girl children tend to stay at home to fulfil domestic work or even care for siblings. As the income from mothers work increase girls tend to attend school (again). The result lead to a clear gender bias/gender inequality of child labour (see also Ray 2000).
more likely to increase. In countries with a comparative large number of educated workers trade-off from education lead to a decline in child labour. At the end not globalisation is the problem but the ability to take part in it and public funded social system. As government provide public funded social system parents are more likely to send their children to school not to work (Cigno, Rosati and Guarcello 2002, Swaminathan 1998). However cuts in (social) public spending may lead to an increase of poverty and incidents of child labour in welfare states, too (cf. ILO 2002: 38ff, ITUC 2009). In Italy for example increasing disparities lead to drop out of thousands of students. Between 2005 and 2009 54.000 students dropped out. 38 per cent below the age of 13 years. Children had to contribute family income (Le Monde 2012). Bhalotra and Heady (2003) describe the phenomena as 'wealth paradox'. Unless individual and family wealth (as proxy for redistribution of inequalities) does not reach a specific point child labour may increase. At the end an equal distribution of GDP and wealth along with other policies will eradicate child labour (Kambhampati and Rajan 2006).

2.3 Disasters and Instabilities

Natural disasters lead to child labour. Economies depend on agriculture droughts or floods lead to crop shocks. Any return from agricultural work in the season will be low. Parents use children as substitutes for failed income. Children are used as a social net (cf. Beegle, Dehejia and Gatti 2003, Beegle et al all 2006; see also Ranjan 2001, Rammohan 2001 and Jacoby and Skoufias 1997). Vulnerable groups will get affected more than those with property and access to other assets. Failure in public policies increase the impact of natural disasters. Lack of access to (temporal) credits and absence of a welfare system push children into labour activities. However migration is not bonded on natural disasters only. Family break down, national economic crisis, underemployment, poverty as well as low wages or limited job opportunities, too (see also EU, ILO, International Organisation for Migration). Trafficking in-depth or bonded labourer's are other reasons of migration3 (see below).

Insufficient public support and imperfect labour markets may lead to migration of families. Labour migrate in expectation for (better) job opportunities. In the past male labourer migration was predominant. Recently research point labour migration as migration of the whole family. Parents of migrant children tend force children to work. Migration – single parent or family migration – dramatically change family settings. Single parent migration may provide remittance income. Magnitude of the remittance may off-set family expenditure. In the case they does not parents decision is bias in terms of both gender and age. In Nepal for example older children tend to be

3 Note: Not all forced or bonded labourer's may be trafficked but a large number of trafficked labourer's are forced or bonded.
more affected. Among them school enrolment (a proxy for child work) for boys and later for older girls drop down. Former may be send away from home for work too while latter are likely to be engaged into domestic work (for Nepal: Bansak and Chezum, 2009 in Vogel and Korinek 2012: 67; for Pakistan: Mansuri 2006: 22 in ibid. 67f).

Political instability, unrest and rumour lead to incidents of child labour. Due to unrest head of the household may engaged into civil rumour or war. Other family members would have to take over the responsibility to ensure the family income. In countries with chronic unrest public infrastructure (such as hospitals and schools) and economy may affected, too. School would stop and children may engage direct in the conflict as child soldier. Children may become orphans because of civil armed conflicts, too. In the absence of public support they may forced to work for their own survival (cf. ILO 2002). Recently Maio and Nandi explored the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and found an increase in incidents of child labour. Surprisingly at the same time children continued school (Maio and Nadi 2013). In the case of India for example Vernor Muñoz (2010), Special Rapporteur on the right to education, reported to the UN Human Rights council concerns with the situation in India's Bihar and Jhakhard States. Here an increasing number of drop outs especially among girls was observed as police and paramilitary forces occupied school buildings for their behalf (UN General Assembly 2010: 17f).

Family breakdown as no fault reasons, medical issues and violence towards children is argued from UNICEF to push children into labour (UNICEF 2005: 13). Orphans or children who experience divorce may be pushed into labour to ensure survival of one parent family and siblings. To become victim of violence in the own family may lead children to leave home and to work for the own survival. Same is the case of adult illness, epidemics (HIV/AIDS) or disability. Those 'temporary mishap for the household, such as the father losing a job or a sibling needing medical support' (Basu 1998: 54) may lead to child labour. Children are send to work to ensure minimum living standards. Metzing (2007) and Jones at all (2002) found that children take over household labour in the case family members suffer (chronic) illness. While doing so children keep together families under difficult conditions. Children contribute effective running of households. Children in western countries (here Germany and United Kingdom) feel responsible for their keen (see also Morrow 2008, Brannen et all 2000)). Disability however is result or reason towards child labour (ILO 2011: 4). Children with disabilities argued to be vulnerable to be out of school (cf. UNESCO, Global Monitoring Report on Education For All, 2010). As disability is more often present in the poorer regions and households children may be more likely to became child labourer (cf. World Bank 1999, ILO 2011: 4). Referring to data from Cameroon and Ecuador children with disability

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4 For Eastern Europe see e.g. Christian Science Monitor (2007), The New York Times (2009)
are more likely to work for longer hours than non-disabled child labourer's (ILO 2010). In other context's like in Indonesia disability seems to protect children to get engaged in work (ILO 2010). As the data base is weak no significance is explored, yet. Therefore other variables like 'reputation' of disability in the society, kind of work and provision of support from the government for people and especially children with disabilities.

2.4 Vulnerable Groups

Sociologists point the importance of contextualization of child labour. Social and cultural norms and values, religious and/or traditional believes and discrimination push children towards labour. Disadvantaged groups, social and religious minorities are likely to send their children to work.

Social disparities indicate incidents of child labour (see for example Ray 2001, Dessy and Vencatachellum 2003, Emerson and Souza 2003, Ray and Lancaster 2005). Unequal distribution of wealth and interfere with social-cultural norms and attitudes towards minorities and vulnerable groups. Social and cultural hierarchies across a country and across borders increase vulnerability towards child labour. Members belonging to minorities face multi disadvantages in the society. Firstly they may allow or even force to work in distinct, special occupations from early age. Secondly such occupations does not apply to skills therefore education is assumed to be less important. Illiteracy and less level of education segregate minorities towards the periphery. However Ray point out children living in poverty clusters would 'stay enrolled in schooling [as a proxy of not to be child labour, E.M] for a somewhat longer period than one from an equally affluent household but living in a less poverty prone cluster' (Ray 2001: 9). Generally lack of free public education facilities contribute more to child labour than household poverty. Therefore lack and barriers (e.g. fees, travel costs) towards educational institutions exclude vulnerable groups from participation and push them into the poverty cycle (see for example Rodgers and Standing 1981, Deb and Rosati 2004, Neri, et al. 2005).

Parents does not threat their children equally. Parents are gender bias when it comes to work and education of their children. Fathers tend to invest more in sons education, mother would threat sons and daughters more equal. Against all odd parents would decide for girls education mothers cut their own spending for daughters (cf. Kurosaki et all 2006, Fuwa et all 2006). However referring to the social and intra-familiar hierarchy girl children across the world still suffer most from cultural norms and traditional believes. Girls education is argued to be less important as in a number of countries daughters left the household of the family after marriage. However to raise their daughters’ marriage prospects especially traditionally households may force girls to stay back at
home. Girls are pushed easily into household duties such as cleaning, cooking and child-rearing responsibilities. At the same time, parents are motivated to invest in their son’s socio-economic status to enhance their own old-age security provision. Additionally the argument ('education is less important for girls') point a patriarchal and hierarchy field of power. Whereas former refer to traditional believes and gender stereotypes latter power imbalance in the adult/parent-child relationship base on age and (life) experiences. Safety on the way to school may accomplish illustrated gender bias. However in some backward regions schools may be far away from the home. Children have to cover a large distance mainly by feed to attend school. Parents fear children may became victims of traffickers contribute decision to keep (girl) children out of school. As they stay back they are likely to get engage in domestic work (see above) or join their parents in family business at early age. Latter is found in rural and backward regions more often than in urban areas. Taking over adult duties are the first step into child work at an early age. The lines however between child work and labour get blur especially when children are engaged in family business.

In South and South-East Asia the caste or similar social structures is one incident to child labour (for an overview see Srivastava 2005). Belonging to a slower caste correlate with bondage labour, debt-bondage in high incidents as family bondage. Debt-bondage is found in every sector. Labourer's work in the informal sector and tend to be member of minorities such as Schedule Caste and Schedule Tribes. High incidents of (seasonal) migration may contribute trafficking of women and girls as bondage forced labour contribute most (cf. Srivastava 2005, see chapter 2.5).

### 2.5 Excursus: Forced and Bondage Labour

Across the world forced labour has a long history. During colonial times slavery was predominant and widespread. ILO define forced labour as work and service under the menace of any penalty (cf. ILO 2005a: 5). However the labourer has not offered his or her work willingly. With de-regulation and liberalisation of labour markets the categories 'forced' and 'free' access towards any labour relationship may blur. The bulk of workers pushed into precarious work and 'slavery like' forms of labour (Lerche 2007). Sale, trafficking, debt bondage, serfdom, forced and compulsory labour, and circumstances are summarized as 'new slavery'. People are forced to illicit or sexual activities (Glind and Kooijmans 2008). UN (2012) estimate 47 per cent in 39 per cent of all trafficked children in South-East Asia and Pacific are forced labourer's. Two in three are girls. Share of girls has doubled between 2003 to 2006 and 2007 to 2010 (UNODC 2012: 26, 71).

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5 Basu and Ray studied theoretical the influence from adult female bargaining power regarding incidences of child labour. They found with increasing women's power child labour will drop down beyond a point when it tend to rise again (Basu and Ray 2001). A balanced power relationship between adult male and female would be the ideal environment in favour of the child's well-being.
The Indian Constitution forbid all forms of exploitation and forced labour that constitute an 'infringement of basic human rights and destruction of the dignity of human labour' (Article 23). In 1991 Government of India (GOI) ratified ILO Convention No 105 'Abolition of forced labour'. However still children are immoral trafficked for the purpose of child marriage, procuration of a minor girl, important of girl, selling girls for prostitution and buying girls for prostitution (UNODC 2012a). Not all trafficked labourer may end up in forced labour but number of trafficked forced labour is the 'underside of globalisation' (Lerche 2007: 430, cf. ILO 2005: 7f, cf. Srivastava 2005: 9-12).

Forced labour in terms of bondage labour is most predominant in countries with high social strata like the caste system in India or the 'haliya' and 'kamaiya' system in Nepal. Currently in Nepal landlords use the desire from parents towards children's education to sustain the system (cf. Giri 2010) in India debt bondage still remain. Bonded labour and the subcategory debt bondage is a particular feature of contemporary forced labour (ILO 2005: 8).

Early some Indian state governments paid attention on bonded labour. Bihar and Orissa enacted the Kamiauti Agreement Act (1920), East and West Godavari and Viskhapatnam agreed Madras Agency Debt Boundage Abolition Regulation and Orissa enacted the Debt Boundage Abolition Act (1948) to name only a few. The Indian National Congress (INC) addressed the issue officially in 1931 (Dingwaney 1985 cited in Reddy 2003: 5). One year before, in 1930 ILO agreed the Convention No 29 'Eradication of bonded labour'. GOI ratified the convention in 1954. Notwithstanding any law and regulation bonded labour continue in the form of forced labour especially in the backward agriculture pockets of India. Employers treat labourer's as commodity without any (Human) right and in slavery like working conditions (cf. Srivastava 2005). 'A number of States are found to be deluding themselves into believing with the coming into force of the Bonded Labour Act in 1976, all the bonded labourers had been freed and the Bonded Labour System totally abolished in their area. It is sometimes difficult to know whether this denial is a deliberately put on act of naivete or a stratagem to mislead others. In all probability it is the latter.' (NHRC 2001) The conflict between law and practise point the – lack – of political will to eradicate forced labour. Labourer's are bonded in the paradox of aspiration for equality and integration and increasing dependence and exploitation in favour of extraction of surplus value (cf. Guérin et all 2012: 118). Both are two sides of the same coin. The system can not eradicated unless the factors that contribute and facilitate bondage are eliminated.

India is hierarchical segregate. The power of political elite's base on deep rooted inequalities refer to class, caste and gender discrimination. The system still play an significant role maintaining
and practising bonded labour and alike. The multilevel discrimination is triggered from dominance of higher caste members in local (political) bodies, and among officials, employers and teachers. Latter may contribute high drop out rates and less attendance of minorities in school, too. However businesses dictate forced and bondage conditions of work like working hours, breaks, payment, time of rest etc. A business in the cotton seed production in AP may profit up to 11.550 RS per season and one employed bonded child labour  

Bonded labourer's and households the burden of the socio-economic weaker sections of the population. Mainly Dalits (previous untouchables), Schedule Castes, Schedule Tribes work in bondage labour relations. They are expected to carry out lower tasks like serving, cleaning (cf. Prasad and Chandra 1994, Reddy 2003, cf. Human Rights Watch 2003, Glind and Kooijmans 2008, ILO 2005, GOI 1991). Discrimination of the vulnerable sum up with gender, age and social status. The system is still dominant in rural areas and among marginalised and disadvantaged groups (cf. Srivastava 2005: 9, Rustagi 2004). Dalits and lower caste Hindus tend to be engage into bonded labour on the base of strong religious and historical reasons. The subject of debt-bondage agreement may a 'customary obligation or by reason of his birth in particular caste or community' (Reddy 2003: 7). They are predominant agricultural labourer's, landless or with little land, very high level of illiteracy, large families and high dependency ratios. Households highly depend on wage labour. Lack of employment for some reason may force them to acknowledged forced labour and debt-bondage. Debt bondage in particular in India is define as a system of forced labour where a debtor enters in a agreement with a creditor for the advantage of the latter. The agreement forfeit the freedom of employment, freedom to more freely, the right for minimum payment. The debtor may offer to repay the debt due offer services from family members, too (cf. Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976; cf. Supreme Court 16. October 1986 in the case of Bandhua Mukti Morcha v. Union of India (Petition No. 2135 of Feb. 1982). However often debt because of consumption purposes and food insecurity is passed inter-generational. The debt bondage system is triggered from lack of social policies, access to property, credits, and assets. Additionally natural disasters like droughts or failure of crops and epidemics, the dowry system trigger the debt bondage system. However socio-economic circumstances may overlap with family skill endowments, dependency on proportion of adult working members, and the need to migrate in favour to cope with external causes (cf. NHRC 2001, Reddy 2003). At the end both internal and external causes force families to borrow money and to step in debt-bondage. 

6 Calculation base on the average minimum wage for unskilled workers in agriculture in Andhra Pradesh as follow: \[\frac{[(112 \text{ RS} + 119 \text{ RS})/2]}*100 \text{ days} = 11550 \text{ RS} \text{ with} 112 \text{ RS lowest and 119 RS highest minimum wage for unskilled labourer's in agriculture occupation. Cotton seed production is a seasonal work. Therefore calculation take 100 days into account (Ministry of Labour and Employment nd). Employer provide a measly meal and shelter to the child. \]
Forced and debt-bondage labour agreements changed characteristics over time. During colonial times landowners used to employ lower castes as described above for a number of years and lifelong. After independence boosted by land reforms and increase in non-agriculture employment bonded labour was less widespread but still dominant in backward and mainly agricultural predominant areas. However new forms of forced labour (trafficking and labour migration) and deregulation of labour relations tend to replace the bonded labour. Breman point out the modernization of bondage especially in seasonal employment ('neo-bondage', Breman 1994). In neo-bondage loan is given in advance in the off-season. During the season only a minimum allowance is paid. The bulk of the payment is given at the end of the season. Due to the system employers are in the position to control the labour force in advance. Employers depend less on migrant flows, fluctuation in the labour market or in-time casual contracts. 'Contracts' are time restricted. Estimated 10 per cent of the working population in the informal sector in India’s urban and rural economy, namely around 40 million are neo-bondage labourer's (cf. Breman 2011: 345). However the employer may not be the creditor. Jobbers and contractors organize the system of debt-bondage in a region. Some of the most disadvantaged labourer's and their families service a long term relationship onejobber. The relationship base on kinship or oppression. Relations referring to kinship tend to be less oppressive. Contractors are less dependent one another. Both are 'free' to negotiate for their advance. Distinct oppressive relationships may harsh and characterized by high incidences of abuse and violence (Lerche 2007; 439ff). In the practise lines between forced and bonded labour blur. A proper identification face difficulties referring to the diversity of relationships. Additionally labours free and individual choice to enter into forced or bondage is an intra-personal decision. Latter not accessible from a third party.

In India a large body of laws apply to forced and bonded labour relations. Estimates for both diverge dependent from used definition and statistical method (see Table 1). Referring to Indian Census (GOI) incidents of bondage does increase from 1979 to 2000. However comparing the data with NSSO bondage divided into three from 1977/1978 to 1979/1980. Someone may relate the decline to the ratification of No 29 (1976). But such a decrease is unthinkable referring to the deep rooted system and lack of implementation of laws. However estimates from Gandhi Peace Foundation underscore the sceptical point of view same as the increase in incidents as reported from GOI 1979 onwards.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Andhra Pradesh</th>
<th>Agency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977/1978</td>
<td>345000</td>
<td>7300</td>
<td>NSSO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979/1980</td>
<td>2620000</td>
<td>325000</td>
<td>Gandhi Peace Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979/1980</td>
<td>120519</td>
<td>12701</td>
<td>GOI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>242618</td>
<td>33954</td>
<td>GOI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>280411</td>
<td>36289</td>
<td>GOI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Estimates of bonded labour in India and Andhra Pradesh (cf. GOI 1991: 4f; GOI 2000)

Bondage and debt bondage is predominant in stone, slate and marble quarries, brick-kilns, sugar cane industry, handlooms, plantations, woollen carpet industry, beedi making, seafood processing bounded labour is documented. Relevant is also the exploitation of labourer as bonded labour in match works, fishery, forest labour, construction projects, power looms, too. Across India incidents of bonded child labour increased.

Family (debt) bonded labour is common in rural areas. Loans are given in advance mainly to the head of the household. Repayment may extended to wife and child(ren) referring to intra-family hierarchy and patriarchy. In Andhra Pradesh (AP) and Uttar Pradesh for example temporary bondage on weekends and vacation is reported for children (Ranachandran et all 2003: 4998). However females tend to work in unpaid agricultural and domestic work. Share of girls in bondage is higher than for boys. Estimate 100 million girls are engaged in child labour worldwide. Not all of them are bonded labourer's but they have to work more harder and longer hours and robbed double – from education and future (cf. ILO 2010: 57, Sawasa et all 2006). Females may 'required (…) to undertake domestic service in the landlord’s home as part of the debt repayment arrangement. There, they are especially susceptible to physical and sexual abuse. Women may be 'bought and sold' when landlords agree between themselves to transfer the debt, with no prior consultation with the woman involved.' (ILO 2005: 32, see also Venkateshwarlu 2003, Srivastava 2005). Bondage child labourer's mainly work in silver works, gem cutting, and cotton rope making (cf. Reddy 2003: 14, ILO 2005: 32).

Children are pushed into labour for different reasons. Poverty, imperfect markets, disasters and instabilities, lack of property rights and assets, intra-family decisions, social norms and values, and multiple discrimination hit especially the vulnerable segments of the population. The lack of political will and implementation of social and labour laws additionally contribute high incidents of child labour worldwide. But what we are referring to when we talk about child labour?
III. Child Labour

Globally more than 350 million children are working. 245 million are child labourer's. What make the difference between those who are working and those who are child labourer's? And why are working children a a global problem? Referring to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and definition of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) the following paragraph attempt field of attention.

1. Definition matters

The end of the Second World War mark a fundamental change in the international policies. The crimes during the Third Reich lead agencies to think towards fundamental rights for people across the world. An international document should prohibit oppression like slavery and torture. In 1948 the United Nations (UN) a multinational association of more than 180 countries agreed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Governments are called to ratify the convention and enact national legislation to ensure recognition of Rights. Inspired from past civil movements the Human Rights are universal (applicable everywhere) and egalitarian (the same for everyone). The Human Rights Declaration was followed from several treaties. The most important are summarized in the International Bill of Human Rights. The Bill composing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Whereas former include the right to life, the freedom of religion, speech and assembly the latter focus on labour rights, the right to health, education and adequate standard of living (UN –, Sommer und Stellmacher 2009). Currently across the world people are denied their Human Rights. But especially when it comes to children who are denied their fundamental rights international agencies tend pay more attention. To ensure children's rights UN agreed the CRC.

a) UN Convention on the Rights of the Child

In 1989 United Nations agreed the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The Rights specify the UN Human Right Declaration. The UN CRC however define children as humans below the age of 18 years. Keeping in mind the national sovereignty governments may enact laws and regulations referring to different ages in different contents. However the age mark the line towards adolescence with all rights and duties emerging from laws and regulations. With the ratification of UN CRC member states acknowledge special rights of the child. Rights 'including their [children's,
right to association with both biological parents, human identity as well as the basic needs for food, universal state-paid education, health care and criminal laws appropriate for the age and development of the child' (UN 1990: 4).

Child Rights are universal and prime. The UN CRC mark a fundamental shift from the child as object of welfare to an right-holder, a subject. Child protection brought together with the perspective on children as equal citizens. Area of conflict is marked by the dichotomy subject-object and a western ideal of childhood and inter-generational imbalance of power. The concept is deep root in the western welfare state. Children argued in the need for special protection and shelter. Children are assume to participate but only in a number of areas. Generally they are argued to overlook effects of decisions, especially in the long run. The concept however emphasise innocence of childhood clearly separated from the adolescence. Childhood shall be a safe time and place in one's life. The time is marked by a high dependence from adults (decisions). Children become subordinate agents that depend on the good will of their guardians (cf. Bandt 2012, Nieuwenhuys 2010: 295). The second perspective however emphasize same rights for children like for adults. Children are eligible to participate and take decisions on their own account. The perspective empower and emancipate children from guardians decision. In practice participatory and welfare aspects in the CRC compete with each other. The Right to Development and Encouragement may interfere with the Right to Education when children take the decision to work instead to go to school. However the measurement of violation for both protection and participatory rights is different. Former debate tend to be emotional as or latter highly depend on the guardians contextualized attitude towards children. Child right advocated oppose unilateral interpretation while emphasizing dialectic of the UN CRC. Latter widespread in the Human Rights history (for an analyse see for example Sommer and Stellmacher 2009).

b) Labour versus work

Life is build 'labour'. Labour has a natural, a social and a personal dimension. Referring to the natural dimension labour is necessary to ensure survival and livelihood. As part of the community people are bonded one another. Labour therefore is social. The social dimension of labour refer to social interdependencies. Normally that labour is excluded from the economy and tend to be less recognized and valued. Work 'provide them [children's, E.M.] with skills and experience, and help to prepare them to be productive members of society during their adult life' (ILO 2012, cf. CARE 2007: 2). Work like domestic tasks is argued to promote or enhance children's development⁸.

⁸ In the case of domestic work the lines between work and labour blur. Largely domestic work is acknowledged to be unpaid and voluntary. Latter was debated at least referring to patriarchy and social-cultural segregation among
Mainly the work is voluntary and unpaid. But there are involuntary and paid forms of (informal) work, too. However the social dimension of labour refer to division of labour or collaborative labour (cf. Mikl-Horke 2000: 62 ff, Morrow 2008 cited in Morrow/Vennam 2009: 14). The third dimension of labour build on developed capabilities, competences and preferences – the third the personal dimension of labour. Latter argue towards child participation in the decision making process. Referring to the last perspective child labour shall not be ban but regulated to avoid harmful impact on children. The perspective is argued from working child associations and UNICEF among others (cf. Mikl-Horke 2000: 62 ff).

In the modern society labour is diverse and dialectical. Statistical categories differentiate labour age-wise, gender-wise, origin of worker, sector-wise, geographical, status and place of employment, time based. Others may refer to needed skills and the impact on health and so on. All people who are 'economical active' may contribute to the economic growth of a nation. Labour is assumed to be paid (monetary or kind). Kind and amount of payment highly depend on the social value of labour in the society. Labour is allocation of power and resources (like money, skills, competences). In the modern society labour is reduced to employment that is need for survival. Labour as source of self-fulfilment (as the positive extreme, personal dimension) is marginalized. However some forms of 'natural labour' may be harmful, too (as the negative extreme). Labour violate fundamental Child Rights like health, dignity and argued to interfere with the right to education, too. Therefore in the majority of the countries labour as source of survival is attached to adulthood. However labour may be define different between and even among nations. Social-cultural norms and the value of distinct occupations and work contribute a set of applicative definitions. Therefore the line between work and labour in general and working children and child labour blur. In practice labour need to contextualized.

c) The International Labour Organisation

Child labour as a 'stubborn phenomenon' and 'flowing' (cf. ILO 2002: 21). An phenomenon that is constant changing according to the needs of the social environment and attitude, economical constrains, market structure of the market and labour force, demand and supply in a region or nation. Impact of global economy and interdependence of value chains account to the communities. The example may illustrate the struggle for a change of social norms and the value of unpaid work and the difficulties arising from contextualization of work and labour. Therefore the distinction between work as part of the daily life (unpaid, voluntary, (less/not) valued) and labour as part of the market economy (paid, (in)voluntary, value) is still matter of concern (cf. Morrow/Vennam 2009: 14, Nieuwenhuys 2005). At the end children may learn responsibilities but the probability for exploitation is integral.
transformation. Child labour in the 19th and 20th century is not the same as in the 21st century. In the present child labour in the present is framed by the global division of labour and found worldwide. Latter lead to increasing public awareness and accelerating towards child labour.

Three in ten early ILO Conventions referred to child labour. The phenomenon was early concern of the ILO, the only tripartite organisation of the UN. In Convention № 5, 7 and 10 ILO deal with the minimum age for employment of children. In 1973 however Convention № 138 was agreed. The Convention reveal early Conventions on the minimum age. Minimum age for employment was unified. The basic minimum age for work was set 15 years of age. Developing countries might refer to a lower age10 (cf. ILO 2008: 19, cf. Table 2). Light work became possible under special working conditions at age 13. Children age 16 was allowed to work in hazardous work under strict conditions. Form the age 18 onwards all types of work was possible. However light or hazardous work the form of work shall not jeopardize children's health, moral values or interfere with the right to education. Latter synonym with the minimum age for compulsory education in one's country. Domestic work however is not part of ILO definition of child labour.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hazardous work</th>
<th>The minimum age at which children can start work</th>
<th>Possible exceptions for developing countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
<td>18 (16 under strict conditions)</td>
<td>18 (16 under strict conditions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic Minimum Age</td>
<td>The minimum age for work should not be below the age for finishing compulsory schooling, which is generally 15.</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light work</td>
<td>Children between the ages of 13 and 15 years old may do light work, as long as it does not threaten their health and safety, or hinder their education or vocational orientation and training.</td>
<td>13-15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Minimum age at which children can start to work for developing and developed countries (cf. ILO 2008: 19)

Increase in the incidents of worst forms of child labour lead ILO to agree Convention. The Convention № 182 focus the international spotlight on the unconditional worst forms of child labour.

10 Same is the case for light, too. In developing countries children age 12 allowed to work in light work. However for hazardous work ILO make no difference. Latter is allowed in both at the age 16 (under strict conditions) and 18.
labour and exploitation\textsuperscript{11}. Worst forms of child labour are

'(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. (ILO 1999).

The Convention No 138 and 182 refer to the UN CRC. Both measure child labour referring to children's dignity, health, education and development in general. Governments and agencies are called to consider work that 'mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children'. Additionally work should not interfere 'with their [children's, E.M.] schooling by: (a) depriving them of the opportunity to attend school; (b) obliging them to leave school prematurely; or (c) requiring them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work' (cf. ILO 2012). The Convention No 190 however specify 'hazardous and worst forms of child labour'. With the Convention ILO call for prohibition and immediate action towards hazardous and worst forms of child labour. Latter summarized as all

'(...)(a) work which exposes children to physical, psychological or sexual abuse;
(b) work underground, under water, at dangerous heights or in confined spaces;
(c) work with dangerous machinery, equipment and tools, or which involves the manual handling or transport of heavy loads;
(d) work in an unhealthy environment which may, for example, expose children to hazardous substances, agents or processes, or to temperatures, noise levels, or vibrations damaging to their health;
(e) work under particularly difficult conditions such as work for long hours or during the night or work where the child is unreasonably confined to the premises of the employer' (ILO 1999).

Children become exploited and work harm their development in all sectors across the world. Social cultural norms, values and believes increase the potential of exploitation. Children are assumed to be more devote. They are not assumed to bargain for their rights. Additionally their physical and

\textsuperscript{11} Some scholars argue Convention No 182 replace No 138 as it step back behind the previous acknowledged commitments. As tripartite of employers, employees and governments ILO has to balance interest. The recommendation therefore is argued as result of pressure from employers and governments within the ILO. ILO oppose the statement as the Convention No 182 does not replace but supplement the Convention No 138 (cf. ILO 2008: 20).
mental constitution is argued as profitable for distinct work ('nimble fingers'). Therefore businesses refer to child labourer's as cheap alternative to adult labourer's in all sectors. Children are paid daily or weekly wages. Often the wage is a small amount – enough in hand for public transport and basic essentials to ensure minimum of survival (cf. for example Brass 1999, Guérin et all 2004). Employers tend to regular deductions for some reason (e.g. 'unexpected expenditures'). Others are not paid directly. Their wage is paid to their parents or reimbursement for a loan. Children are predominant employed in agricultural, civil construction, manufacturing and commercial sectors (Sieti 2003). However the bulk of child labourer's work in the traditional and informal sector (Sarmento 2004). Recently debates argue children in theatre shows, fashion modelling and advertising as child labourer’s, too (Pereira 2004).

Child labour is part of an hegemony discourse that is lead by social cultural norms and values and political will for ratification and implementation of laws. In the debate four perspectives dominate: the human resource theory, the labour market perspective, the perspective of social responsibility and the child centred perspective (cf. Myers 2001 cited in Wihstutz 2006: 44ff). The human resource perspective argue children as labourer's of tomorrow. School is the place where children shall enhance their full potential. Lack of education however is attributed to unemployment. Labour market exploitation stress children as they are less capable to avoid abuse and exploitation (labour market perspective). Similar the third perspective argue children as less capable and in need for care and shelter. Latter is the responsibility of parents. All three theories refer or apply to UN CRC and the ILO Conventions. However child work – referring to an distinct age and form of work – is allowed as it does not interfere with UN CRC. 'These activities [child work] may represent children's participation in family life, the acquisition of household and farm skills which enter children's human capital, or undesirable child work.' (Leclercq 2002: 162) 'Welfare internationalism' (Kaufmann 2003) the agreement of international norms and national legislation referring to Human and Child Rights contribute almost unique acknowledgement of the UN CRC and ILO definition of child labour.

So far the theory. But how many children are working? How many are child labourer's? And how many of them are denied their rights, especially the Right to Education? Difficulties in the classification of child labour and the informal character lead to a wide range of estimates. Therefore ILO launched 'Statistical Information and Monitoring Programme on Child Labour' (SIMPOC,
1998) and the project 'Understanding Children's World' (UCW, 1997\textsuperscript{12}). Both SIMPOC and UCW intend to harmonize national data. The following paragraphs give a brief introduction in global and Indian estimates on child labour and out-of-school children (as proxy for children who are denied their Right to Education). The calculation of the magnitude has impact on policies and budgets for both eradication of child labour and provision of quality education.

2. Global estimates: Child labour and Out of School Children

In 1995 ILO estimate 351.7 million working children. 211 million in 351.7 million children age 5 to 14 years was 'economic active'. Economic active are all children who contribute to the economic growth (GDP) of a nation. 186 million in 211 million was child labour's. Additionally 141 million in 351.7 million children age 15 to 17 was engaged in any kind of economic activity. In the same age group 59 million was child labourer's (ILO 2002: 16, cf. Table 3)\textsuperscript{13}. In total 245.5 million in 351.7 million was child labourer's. 178.9 million was working in the so called 'worst forms', 170.5 in 'hazardous work' and another 8.4 million in 'unconditional worst forms' of child labour (cf. UN cited in ILO 2002: 18).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In million</th>
<th>Age 5 – 14</th>
<th>Age 15 -17</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic Active</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>351.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Labourer's</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Economic active children and child labourer's 1995

Activism from international and national child right agencies, civil society organisations and governments lead to an decline of child labour. The magnitude trickled down to 215 million child labourer's. More than half of the children (125 million) worked in so called 'hazardous work'. However child labourer's in the 'worst forms' increased by 20 per cent in the period 2004 to 2008. Across the age groups incidents of child labour among boys was higher than for girls. The gap was higher for 'hazardous work' than for child labour in general. However estimates for economic active children remain high at 306 million for both age groups. Both girls and boys was employed nearly equally. Every year 22,000 children suffered a fatal accident at work. In 2008 majority of the children worked in agriculture occupation (60 per cent) followed by the service sector (25.6 per cent). Share of boys in agriculture and industry tend to be higher (above 62 per cent each) than in services. Share of girl child labourer's in the service sector is estimate somewhat above 52 per cent. Agriculture occupation remain to be family own businesses. More than 67 per cent of the child

\textsuperscript{12} UCW is a collaboration from ILO, UNICEF and World Bank (cf. www.ucw-project.org)

\textsuperscript{13} Not all economic active children are child labourer’s as per ILO definition (ILO 2002)
labourer's work unpaid. Girls tend to be easier engaged in unpaid labour than boys. Incidents was estimated 72.7 per cent and 64 per cent respectively (cf. ILO 2010: 9ff). Girls carry a double burden of work in- and outside the household at early age, before and after school (Allais and Hagemann 2008, Camarena, 2000, Giorguli 2002, Miery Terán and Rabell 2000 cited in Aitken et. all 2006, MVF). Referring to currently published estimates 26 per cent of all forced labourer's was children. Between 2002 and 2011 children was engaged in state imposed forced labour (33 per cent), labour exploitation in private economy (27 per cent) and sexual exploitation in private economy. Latter was estimate 21 per cent (ILO 2012a: 15).

Child labour is – but not only – predominant in so called developing countries. Incidents of working children was highest in the region Asia and Pacific. 175 million children or 20.3 per cent of the total child population was working. 114 million in 175 million was child labourer's. 48 million in 'hazardous work'. Highest share of children in employment was estimated in Sub-Saharan Africa. In Sub-Saharan Africa 32.8 per cent of the total child population was working. 65 million in 85 million was child labourer's and 39 million worked in 'hazardous work'. For other regions incidents was estimate 28.1 million or 8.4 per cent of the child population. 22.5 million was child labourer's and hardly 19 million worked in 'hazardous work' (ILO 2002: 9f, see table 4). Latter underline child labour as global issue. However as the bulk of child labour is estimated for developing countries scholars remain to focus on those regions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Total children ('000)</th>
<th>Children in employment ('000)</th>
<th>Child Labourer's ('000)</th>
<th>Children in hazardous work ('000)</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>1,586,288</td>
<td>305,669</td>
<td>215,269</td>
<td>115,314</td>
<td>19.30%</td>
<td>13.60%</td>
<td>7.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia and the Pacific</td>
<td>853,895</td>
<td>174,460</td>
<td>113,607</td>
<td>48,164</td>
<td>20.40%</td>
<td>13.30%</td>
<td>5.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America and the Caribbean</td>
<td>141,043</td>
<td>18,851</td>
<td>14,125</td>
<td>9,436</td>
<td>13.40%</td>
<td>10.00%</td>
<td>6.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>257,108</td>
<td>84,229</td>
<td>65,064</td>
<td>38,736</td>
<td>38,80%</td>
<td>25.30%</td>
<td>15.10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other regions</td>
<td>334,242</td>
<td>28,129</td>
<td>22,473</td>
<td>18,978</td>
<td>8,40%</td>
<td>6.70%</td>
<td>5.70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Regional estimates of child labour, 2008 (5-17 age group, ILO 2010: 10)

Not working children are assumed to attend school. Latter is their Child Right the Right to Education. Recently the UNECSO initiative 'Education for All' (EFA) published estimates

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14 EFA refer to the Millennium Development goals. Among others primary education for all is one of the goals. Latter should be achieved until 2010. In a revision period was enlarged to 2015 for several reason (see chapter 5.1).

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regarding out of school children (OOSC). Around the millennium worldwide 108 million children was out-of-school (OOS). Campaigning for the Right to Education lead to a decline of OOSC. Between 2004 to 2010 estimates declined smoothly – with regional differences. Same as for incidents of child labour the number of OOSC increased for Sub-Saharan Africa region. In South-West Asia the magnitude declined from 36 million to 16 million. The share of children in primary school age felt from 21 per cent to 9 per cent. Worldwide the majority of OOSC is assumed to never attend school (52 per cent). Another 40 per cent however dropped out for some reason and 8 per cent did not attend school, yet. Additionally to an total and relative decline in OOSC South-West Asia region was capable to decrease the gender gap, too. Share of girls felt from 66 per cent to 58 per cent. Although the overall decline in 2010 61 million children worldwide remain to be OOS. Poverty, discrimination (gender, religion, old age enrolment), lack of free and quality education especially in rural areas among other reasons contribute to that high estimates (cf. UNESCO 2012: 8f, UNESCO 2011, UNESCO 2010: 11-14).

3. Indian estimates: Child labour and Out of School Children

India's child labour population is characterized through contracting mainly in the informal part of the economy. Both contracting and informality take place outside the legal. Businesses and employers ignore laws or legislation does not apply to the informal part of the economy (cf. GOI 2008: 103). 85 per cent of the child labourer's work in informality. They are 'hard-to-reach' (cf. GOI 2012: 70f). However child labourer's are paid on a piece rate; a fraction of adult wages. Some may not paid as they are bondage or debt-bondage labourer’s. Children easily get exploited from employers. Majority them work more than eight hours per day. A number of them combine school and work. Latter spend between four and six hours at work (cf. Gosh 2004 cited in GOI 2008: 103). However the bulk of child labourer's is engaged in 'hazardous occupations' like pan, bidi and cigarettes, construction, domestic workers, spinning/weaving, brick-kilns, and tiles.

In 2001 UN estimate – at a conservative – 17 million child labourer's in India (UN CRC 2013: 34). At the same time GOI estimate 12.66 million child labourer's (Census 2001). However incidents increased from 10.75 million (1971) to 11.28 million (1991) and reached a peak in 2001. Share of child labour among main workers decline by 2 per cent while estimates for marginal workers increased by hardly 4.7 per cent. Child labourer's age group 5 to 9 contribute most to the total national increase (cf. NCPCR nd: 5). Only three years the magnitude dropped down to 8.6 million (age 5-14, NSS 2004/2005). Share of child labourer's in the child population sharply declined from 6.4 per cent (or 13.3 million, 1993/1994) to 3.4 per cent. Recently published data confirmed the
trend. In 2009-2010 hardly 5 million child labourer's remain (NSSO 2009/2010: np). 120.000 in 5 million worked in 'worst forms' (GOI nd: 81). Referring National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) the decline has to be contextualized as part of the general decline in employment growth in India (NCPCR nd: 4).

However the NSS reveal rural-urban and gender disparities from Census (2001). Incidents of child labour was higher in rural than in urban areas. At the same time the decline was sharper in rural than in urban areas. Work Participation Rate (WPR\textsuperscript{15}) for girls was higher than for boys in total and in rural areas from 1993/1994 to 2004/2005. Share of child labour among the age group 5 to 9 and 10 to 14 felt by 23.9 per cent and 53.7 per cent respectively. In 2009/2010 WPR declined or remain constant. A sharp decline is estimate for boys and girls age 10 to 14. Incidents decreased from 52 to 26 per cent and 43 to 18 per cent respectively (2004/2005 and 2009/2010) (GOI 2012: 73). Recently published data estimate a higher share of boys among child laborer’s in rural and in urban areas\textsuperscript{16}. In total the data reveal global estimates outlined earlier. Additionally child labour correlate with caste and religion. Children belonging to any caste are more vulnerable to child labour than the category 'others'. Latter drawn essentially from upper castes. WPR among Hindus was highest for all age groups and in total in 1993/1994 and 1999/2000. In 2004/2005 incidents among Muslims increased. The magnitude was estimate above Hindus and others across ages. Child labour is still attributed towards poverty low parental literacy rates. Among poorest and second poorest vulnerability to child labour is highest and inclined between 1992 and 2005. At the same time incidents among the middle and upper sections smoothly decreased. '[T]here is a broad relationship between poverty and child labour and factors like caste, religion, ethnicity and gender play a key role in exacerbating poverty' (NCPCR nd: 17).

Campaigning for the Right to Education lead to a worldwide decline of OOSC. In South-West Asia the magnitude declined from 36 million to 16 million between 2004 to 2010 (see above). An achievement of encouraged activism from politician and civil society.

In 2001 GOI estimated 87.1 million or one in three children in primary school-age OOS (Census 2001). The number was cut by half and came down to 43.3 million or about 18 per cent in 2004-2005. Majority of OOSC remained girls. 38 per cent and 20.8 per cent of the girls in school-age was OOS in 2001 and 2006 respectively. Share of boys was somewhat 27.5 per cent and 15.3 per cent respectively (cf. NCPCR nd: 6). Data however reveal estimates from UNESCO (see table

\textsuperscript{15} Work Participation Rate is defined as the number of persons employed per 1000 persons are available to sample.

\textsuperscript{16} 2.5 and 1.7 million boys and girls respectively was child labourer's in rural areas. In urban areas another 547.000 boys and 199.000 girls was child labourer's (cf. GOI 2012 Press Release 4. April 2012).
5). Recently data (2010) estimate 2.3 million children was OOS in India. Estimates dropped down significant between 2001 and 2004. Between 2004 and 2007 number of OOSC stagnated at about 5 million. In India number of OOSC decreased by 16 million between 2002 and 2008. In 2008 hardly 4 million children in primary school age was OOS (UNESCO 2011: 2, 4). Share of girls among enrolled students increased by somewhat 4 per cent since 1999 up to 48 per cent. However the number of girls OOS remain 1.4 million in 2.3 million OOSC (2008) or 2.4 per cent and 1.4 per cent of girls and boys respectively in school-going age population (UIS 2012).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total number Out of School children (OOSC) in million</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18,05</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Estimated children out of school, India (UNESCO 2010a, for 2008 cf. UNESCO 2011)

Recently an independent research estimated 8.15 million children OOS for primary and upper primary school in 2009/2010 (GOI Press Release ID 90628, 13. December 2012). Figures reveal earlier reported urban-rural dichotomy. 4.53 per cent and 3.13 per cent in rural and urban areas respectively was OOSC. Number of girls among OOSC was higher than for their counterparts in both age groups. Share was estimated 4.04 per cent (age 6-10) and 5.79 per cent (age 11-13). At the same time 3.4 per cent of the boys (age 6-10) and 4.77 per cent (age 11-13) was OOS. More than half of the OOSC live below the poverty line (BPL) and more than 38 per cent was disabled children. 58.57 per cent of them was multiple disabled. Share of children OOSC who never attended school was 74.89 per cent. Another 25.11 per cent dropped out from school after one or more years. Highest drop out rate is reported after completing second, third and fifth class (19.64 per cent; 19.55 per cent and 19.17 per cent respectively). Vulnerability from children belonging to Schedule Tribes (ST), Schedule Caste (SC) and Muslim communities was reveal, too. Share of ST among OOSC was 5.6 per cent. Share of children from SC and Muslim communities was estimated 5.96 per cent and 7.67 per cent respectively. OOSC among other backward castes (OBC) and others was 2.67 per cent (cf. SSA -: np).

Mentioning some trends: Number of OOSC declined in all categories from 2006 to 2009. Overall share of OOSC dropped from 6.94 per cent to 4.28 per cent. Decline was sharply for rural than for urban (7.9 per cent to 4.5 per cent and 4.3 per cent to 3.2 per cent respectively). Share of OOSC age 6-10 declined by 2.1 per cent and age 11-13 by 3.33 per cent. The overall decline was

17 The survival rate at primary school up to grade five was irregular. In 2002 the share of students dropped out has risen to 81 per cent from 62 per cent in 1999. After a decline to 72 per cent (2007/2008) DISE 2009/2010 indicate an improvement to 78 per cent in 2008/2009 (GOI 2012: np)
supplement by an decline of OOSC who never attend school and drop outs. Magnitude of children who never attended school decline from 4.7 per cent to 3.2 per cent. Share of drop outs was halfed and came down to 1.1 per cent. Additionally share of girls among OOSC declined from hardly 8 per cent to 4.7 per cent. Similarly for their counterparts. Share of boys among OOSC declined by 2.3 per cent. Estimates came down to 3.9 per cent (cf. SSA 2009a, see table 6). Public awareness and campaigning for education and towards child labour lead to overall improvements.

Public spending in education and grass root work mainly from civil society agencies introduced a change of social norms. However data reveal long term disparities (rural-urban, social-cultural, social-economic, gender bias). Disparities are deep rooted. Physical and social barriers in the education system lead to injustice. The absence of birth registration and birth certificates in a number of regions remain a problem for OOSC and child labourer's (cf. Arun Serrao and Sujatha B.R. 2004). School tend to be for the 'average' Indian child from better-off. Successfully the system keep out the marginalized and vulnerable. Education has to focus on the life cycle – pre-school, remedial and post-primary education – to decrease injustice and address the Right to education towards self-fulfilment, participation and life opportunities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OOSC (6-13 years)</td>
<td>6.94%</td>
<td>4.28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 6-10 years</td>
<td>6.10%</td>
<td>3.69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 11-13 years</td>
<td>8.56%</td>
<td>5.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>7.92%</td>
<td>4.71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>6.18%</td>
<td>3.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban OOSC</td>
<td>4.34%</td>
<td>3.18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural OOSC</td>
<td>7.90%</td>
<td>4.53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of ST</td>
<td>8.17%</td>
<td>5.96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of SC</td>
<td>9.54%</td>
<td>5.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of Muslims</td>
<td>9.97%</td>
<td>7.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of OBC and others</td>
<td>5.55%</td>
<td>2.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of disabled children</td>
<td>38.13%</td>
<td>32.12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of children never attend school</td>
<td>4.70%</td>
<td>3.20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of drop outs</td>
<td>2.20%</td>
<td>1.10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Comparison out of school children, 2005-2009 (cf. SSA 2009a)

Employment interfere with child rights. Dignity, education and health and better opportunities are jeopardized. Labour grab time for school and leisure as per zero-sum-theory (Neumann & Morgenstern 1944\textsuperscript{18}). Any increase in time spend for work decline time left for education. The bulk

\textsuperscript{18} Based on the zero-sum-theory high drop out rates especially in the adolescence can be explained following: Limited
of child labourer for repetition and drop out (cf. Bey 2003, Allais and Hagemann 2008, Ray and Lancaster 2005). Therefore a number of child right agencies does not only focus on child labour but on children out of school, too.

Child labourer's and OOSC are not a homogeneous group. Some children manage to combine labour and school. However the non-attendance rate of child labourer's is twice the level of non-labourer's (Brown 2012: 36). Studies show that those who combine both work in 'light work'. In parts of the world such 'half-time' work was adopted to minimize the child labour problem over time (cf. Pierick and Houwerzijl 2006). Other children are seasonal drop outs for the purpose of seasonal labour mainly in agricultural occupations (cf. Egitim-Sen 2007). The school register may count children as present but in reality they are absent for a particular time. The third group is known as 'idle'. They are argued to stay back at home 'doing nothing'. But a large number of them are engaged in family business or domestic work either in the own home or for third parties. The Indian Census does not acknowledge those children. They are known as 'nowhere' children. India's 72 million 'nowhere children' may not participate in school nor work. Majority of them tend to be girls. Brown point girls are twice more likely either to be 'idle' or 'nowhere' (cf. Brown 2012: 39, see also Wazir 2002, Rai 2011). However they are most vulnerable towards child labour.

UN Human and Child Rights Convention guarantee among others the right to health, dignity and education. But millions of children worldwide and in India are either child labourer's or 'nowhere children'. Commonly they are denied their Rights especially the Right to Education. ILO Conventions regarding work refer to UN CRC. They take into account children's age and character of work in different nuances. National obligation to define 'hazardous' and 'non-hazardous' work however is matter of concern (cf. James et all 1998). However Conventions are agreed among government, employers and workers associations. Therefore the majority of international agencies (like UNESCO, UNICEF, World Bank, IMF) but also civil society child rights advocates refer to ILO. Others Other organisations define child labour as all children out of school. Latter as potential

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19 The Census define child labourer's as children who are engage in economic activities resulting in production of goods that add value to the national product. The narrow economic definition does exclude a number of activities children perform (cf. NCPCR nd: 5). NSS however refer to the 'usual principle activity status' (UPS) and 'usual subsidiary activity status' (USS). In former main activity is labour whereas in latter summarize holiday work, afternoon- and evening work, seasonal work. The categories however offer the opportunity to group children into sub-categories as (a) in school, (b) in school and vulnerable to be engage in child labour or are already part of it, (c) out of school children who are mainly engage in labour, and (d) so called 'nowhere' children (cf. Giri National Labour Institute 2010: 11f).
available for the job market (see chapter 6). However agencies support either the human resource theory, the labour market perspective, the perspective of social responsibility or the child centred perspective. In distinction to the first three perspectives the last the child centred perspective criticise unilateral interpretation of CRC. The voice of children (participatory rights) are ignored whereas welfare is emphasised. Especially children working on their own will and account put child right advocates in a dilemma. Both oppose agencies who argue towards a ban of child labour (cf. Myers 1999).

4. Children make a stand: Children's Associations

The International Bill of Human Rights are prime and universalise across the world. Human, Child and Workers Rights are same all over the world. Rights are universal but not non-controversial. All over the world people denied their fundamental rights. Governments does not implement enact, implement and follow up laws. Therefore violation of rights lack a proper follow up. Rights tend to be divided. Often economic rather than social and cultural rights are focused from officials and media. Latter depend from called and addressed agency (Sommer and Stellmacher 2009). Referring CRC childhood and child labour is equally measured and judged. Behind there may be a cultural imperialism and hegemony that neglect differences (Burman 1996: 45). Children's Associations refuse those half measurements. They advocate for children's voices in the debate and their Right to Work.

A large body was written on children's organisations in Latin America and Asia (cf. Liebel 2012, Liebel 2012a, Hart 2011, Deutsches Forum Kinderarbeit 2009, PRONATS, Time 2011). Working children argue for their Right to Work and to take own decisions. However children's associations are supported from adults (e.g. in Columbia, Peru and India). Children's Associations argue for the right to work on their free choice. They fight for their right to work, to organize and to negotiate with employers for better working conditions. Children want to participate in the decision how long, where and what they are working. In short working children request for decent work for working children. Working children criticize policies that criminalise child labour without offering any alternatives for children and their families. They oppose unsustainable calls for boycotts, labeling and an unconditional ban of all forms of child labour. Rather working children argue for a critical and open minded analyse of the situation of child labourer's.

Children's work for different reasons. Some worked before neo-liberal globalisation and

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20 In 2000 ICFTU one of the precursor organisation of ITUC strongly and publicly challenge efforts from any organisation claiming representation of working children (ICFTU 2000: 3)
exploitation increased others may be pushed into child labour because of globalisation (capitalistic 'natural dimension' of labour). Some work for the sake of survival whereas others to pay education fees. However working children labour tend to be integral part of their identity. Children argue their work contribute society – not matter if in the household or on the open economy. Work offer children satisfaction and self-esteem (personal dimension' of labour). Bringing both the need and the desire for work together organize themselves in child labour associations. Associations criticize neo-liberal deformation and alienation of work. The attempt argue for an alternative work and working conditions. Work has to contribute emancipation and self-fulfilment rather than exploitation and harassment. Children's associations work on the same agenda like ILO and unions worldwide – the decent work agenda. Both trade unions and child associations oppose exploitation of workers. The only difference is the age. Children's associations claim the right to work no matter the age. In their point of view child rights end when real and equal participation from children will start. At the end associations criticize the concept of unilateral interpretation of CRC in the form of western childhood and welfare (see chapter 3.1a).

School does violate child rights. Lobbying for the Right to (decent) Work is the only one side of the coin. Children's Associations criticize school as 'new jail'. School accommodate children only. Not education but syllabus is important. School does not provide skills children will need in life and work. Therefore school violate child rights. Corporal punishment, harassment, violence from teachers and/or other students interfere with the dignity of the child. Additionally education fees make school exclusive for the better-off those who can effort. In countries where school is not free or privatized children have to work for fees. Without earnings they would not capable to attend school. The argument count: From the early times education is a contested field. Physical and social access to school as social institution for education was limited to a small elite. Normally the wealthier sections of the society or members of specific groups. Teachers unions share the critic. Over decades teachers (and trade unions) criticise inequality in the education system and privatisation of the common good education. Exemplary they argue for a public and free education system, quality education in terms of learning environment and working conditions for teacher.

Children's claim are part of a larger discourse. Working children put trade unions under pressure whereas unions refuse children's point in general. However businesses and governments argue for competitive advantages – mainly cheap labour (see for example current debate in US: Time 2011a). The discussion base on the division of labour and classes across national boarders. Latter challenge and undermine international labour solidarity. Referring working children and adult labourer's the
line is not the national border but the age. Both national border and age line contribute fragmentation of labour and class consciousness. Fragmentation however contribute exploitation of a bulk of labourer's and increasing businesses profits mainly in the North. Moreover decent wages is not guaranteed without child labour. The division of ownership of labour and means of production implicate an imbalance and exploitation of labour for the sake of profits. Children's associations remember labour movements regarding their roots in the opposition towards the capital. Associations remain and push labour movements towards their roots and a (re)thinking of revolutionary rather than reformatory approaches. Doing so they open up the space for an equal discourse regarding emancipatory work and division of labour worldwide. However the debate on working children tend to be marginalized from international campaigning towards child labour. The following chapter intent to provide an overview.

V. Combating Child Labour

In pre-industrialized times child labour was not a social problem (cf. Pallas 1993). The bulk of children was working either in the own household or in the family businesses like as agriculture. Mainly they was 'paid' in kind. Children was supervised from parents or neighbours. First during industrialization child labour was attributed negative. Largely the supervisory from kinship was displaced from third parties in large scale factories. Through urbanisation and pauperzation children's work became essential for the family well-being. Income from child labour was supplement. The supply of unskilled child labourer's lead to stagnation in investments in new technology. Children compete with unskilled adult labourer's. Increase in consumption was followed by changes in production. New technology especially high speed machines lead to displacement of unskilled labourer's by semi-skilled and skilled labourer's. Character of child labour changed (cf. Edmonds and Pavcnik 2005). Through the demand for qualified labourer's education and certificates became important. At the same time education was for the better-off. Therefore scholars argue not poverty but the absence of alternatives lead to child labour (cf. Riho 2006: 4). However the change in pattern of production, investment in technology and demand for skilled labourer's lead to a trade-off. Slowly western countries introduced education laws. The 'natural development' was argued to vanquish child labour. The state should provide free and compulsory education and opportunities for life long learning (skill enhancement), an adequate tax policy in favour of development and intergenerational social welfare (see also Swaminathan 1998, Bhalotra 2000, Bhalotra and Heady 2003, Hazan and Berdugo 2001, Edmonds 2008, Kambhampati and Rajan 2006, Cockburn 2000, Diamond and Fayed 1998, Becker 1997).
In the 1940s 'welfare internationalism' (Kaufmann 2003) imposed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Governments worldwide ratified UN Conventions. National policies contribute a 'diffusion and policy transfer' of of the western ideal welfare state and categories of western ethnocentrism. Following the history of the quality of life as equal across the globe as diffusion of standards from the North (or 'West') to the South (cf. Hofstede 1984). However 'loose coupling' is widespread in developing countries. Ratification is not to be confused with implementation. Number and widespread of ratification illustrate political will for transformation. Implementation implicate actions towards the change of social-culture norms and attitudes. Rights may be given on paper from international agencies and national political elites but rootless (and unknown) among the society and far from comprehensive implementation (cf. Meyer et al. 1997, Meyer 1986, Meyer 1992). Therefore HR suggestions like training on the job, incentives to be active in both education and work and providing social support and entertainments for both children and adults (Budhwani, Wee and McLean 2004: 114f) are unsustainable. They tend to favour the business like outlined earlier. The 'wealth paradox' need to address deep rooted social and economic disparities, attitudes and beliefs that sustain child labour – and to raise the perceived value of education (Gunnarsson, Orazem and Sedlacek 2005). Integral the transformation of attitudes towards children and childhood. Therefore scholars more often emphasize multidimensional approaches that combine a number of reasons that may contribute to child labour. Approaches have to pay attention country specific social and cultural (cf. ILO 2002: 21, Hofstede 1984: 397).

Combating child labour prove actions, campaigns and policy interventions on different stages. Worldwide a number of policies and tools are introduced to combat child labour pro-active. The chapter aim to give a brief introduction.

1. Supranational and international policies

Child labour is an global phenomenon. Globalisation contribute changes in the characteristic of global economy in general and child labour in particular. Referring to increased social and economical interdependencies international campaigning and actions towards child labour became important. Accelerating towards child labour can be categorized national, international and supranational (cf. Basu 1998: 18f). Although globalisation national sovereignty is predominant. Depending from the political will national governments ratify international conventions. Implementation of legislation and enforcement of laws is focused by a diversity of activities (e.g.
labeling, boycotts, intra-country intervention). Civil society agencies are main driver of the global process (extra-national or international interventions). At the end supra-national interventions like Global Framework Agreements, OECD guidelines, ILO labour standards and WTO agreements complete the set of one possible classification tackling violation of Human Rights such as child labour.

a) WTO Trade Agreements

During the last three decades fundamental transformation in the world economy took place. Policies of the Bretton Woods Organisations and international agencies like the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and G8 emphasized free trade, privatisation and de-regulation. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the General Agreements on Trade and Services (GATS) affected economies worldwide. Increasingly 'labour' became a commodity. Transformation contribute new forms of precarious, casual and informal work; a new type of alienation of labour from the goods and processes of production. Earlier emphasized social dialogue became incorporate in neo-liberal policies. Latter slowly undermined class consciousness, contribute de-unionisation, segmentation of labour struggles and 'multiplicity of class formation' (Lindell 2010: 209, Munck 2010: 225-228). The impact of neo-liberal politics however increased and reached a peak with the fall of Berlin Wall. Labour movement was challenged in the North and South. MNC use the global and intra-national division and competition of labour for their advance. Labour cost was argued as reason for outsourcing and shift of production towards developing countries and countries in transition. In both share of informal economy is high and labour laws tend to be weak. Weak labour unions and laws however contribute incidents of child labour (ILO 2006: 6). Global interdependencies especially in terms of production chains lifted working conditions of labourer's along with child labour on the agenda of labour and social movements.

WTO Agreements unilateral emphasize economic rights. Social rights tend to fall behind. Therefore in the 1990s a number of countries lobbied for a 'social clause' in WTO agreements. The clause was argued to 'eliminate the possibility of production being shifted to certain countries simply because they allow trade unions to be crushed, child labour and forced labour to be used, or discrimination in employment to be practised' (Hensman 2010: 122). However the initiative was refused from cooperation's and trade unions from the South – among them GOI and Indian Unions. Latter point imperial and protection policies from the North that would push developing

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21 World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF)
22 The WTO negotiate terms of trade in the 'Doha Round'.
23 Group of the eight largest economies: France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, and Russian.
24 GOI was supported from Central Trade Union Organizations of India, All India Trade Union Congress and
(export oriented) economies 'deeper into poverty and unemployment' (cf. Ganguly 1996: 45 in Hensman 2010: 122). Paradoxically rejection lead opponents direct in the arms of neoliberal globalisation. Bil- and multilateral trade agreements supplement GATT and GATS in the last years. Both emphasize economic rights of cooperation's but lack a social clause (see for example EU-Columbia trade agreement). The fact limit the scope of application towards eradication of child labour and tend to increase fragmentation of international solidarity among labourer's and unions.

**b) ILO Conventions**

ILO the only tripartie organisation of the UN agreed a large body of Conventions regarding labour and workers rights referring to the UN Human Rights. Therefore they are argued as most acknowledged. The primary goal of the organisation is the promotion of opportunities for women and men to obtain decent and productive work, in conditions of freedom, equality, security and human dignity (cf. ILO 1999: 3). Nevertheless they are not without controversy as they are object of industrial relations worldwide.

In 1998 ILO agreed the Declaration on the Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (1998). Latter known as Core Labour Standards (CLS). CLS is a narrow frame compromise basic rights largely accept from ILO members: Freedom of Association and the Effective Recognition of the Right to Collective Bargaining, Elimination of All Forms of Forced or Compulsory Labour, Elimination of Discrimination in Employment and Occupation and Effective Abolition of Child Labour. CLS are 'the heart of the solution to the child labour problem' (Palley 2002: 14, see also Rodrik 1999, Pally 1999 and 2000, Brown, Deardorff and Stern 2003). Additionally the 'Decent work' agenda (1999) summarize several conventions agreed in five main rights25. However ILO Conventions does not refer explicit to adult workers but as ILO refer to Human and Child Rights Conventions reveal actions towards child labour (cf. ILO 2002: 8)26. As stated somewhere in the hand in paper ratification does not mean implementation nor to observe rights. The fact obstruct ILO Conventions, too. Conventions are freely agreed and violation followed up legally without national implementation (cf. Sharkh 2002, Rodrik 1996). The lack of accountability is followed from a lack of substance. The 'core labour standards need to be complemented with substantive positive rights like minimum wage, working time, maternity protection and social security' (Hofer

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25 The first right is safety at the work (Convention N° 155), second social security (Convention N° 102), third basic rights like outline in Convention N° 29, 105, 5, 138, 182, fourth non-discrimination (Convention N° 111) and fifth freedom of association as in Convention N° 11, 87, 98, 141, 142, 153, 154 (cf. Ghai 2003).

26 SIMPOC (1998), UCW, 1997) and the 'International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour' (IPEC 1992) complete ILO Conventions. Capacity building however bring together stakeholder on the issue of child labour. The 'Global Child Labour Conference' was one of those events. Major outcome of the conference was the Roadmap 2016 to eliminate the worst forms of child labour by 2016.
2011: 2, cf. Basu 1999a: 16). International players and power relations are not questioned and challenged as agencies in charge for exploitation and discrimination of the bulk of people in work worldwide. ILOs agenda emphasize a human face of globalisation in times neo-liberal politics are at the peak. '[P]overty reduction and a fair and inclusive globalisation' (ILO 2008) is not more than an 'backward-looking utopianism' (Watermann 2008 cited in Munck 2010:225). Through the lack of alternatives ILO Conventions are emphasized from international agencies towards child labour.

c) Civil Society – NGOs and Businesses – CSR

Civil society is the 'watchdog' of Human Rights violation. A bulk of international Non-Government-Organisations (NGOs) root in the uprising social movements in the 1960s and 1970s. Some of the NGOs focus Human Rights violation worldwide (like Amnesty International) whereas others lobby for a change in national Consumer Acts towards a disclosure statement towards child labour. Their work may or may not affect national and international. However it raise awareness and put Human Rights on the agenda. Hertel (2010) identify three different types of NGOs: The first type is directly involved in rule making as they negotiate with businesses criteria for voluntary monitoring. NGOs in the second indirect influence rule making and the third is know as 'fire brigade'.

NGOs collaborate with businesses in Private Public Partnerships (PPPs). Through international awareness rising cooperation's fear negative publicity for any reason. The parties frame a 'code of conduct' and measurements for the business or branch label (like SA 8000027). The In an self audit the code of conduct as internal guideline is followed up from the business themselves. Normally labels are given from an independent third party. However both code of conduct and business/branch labels increasingly became part of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programmes. The Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland put CSR as follow: 'Meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.' (Porter and Kramer 2006: 81). The European Union28 argue all legal responsibilities of a business and others sport associations as CSR. Somehow CSR take over public responsibilities in funding social activities and welfare instead to push public to take over responsibility (cf. NCE 2010: 15f). NGOs known as 'fire brigade' mainly use 'name and shame' and boycott campaigns (like Clean Clothes Campaign) or labels (like Fair Trade, Wear Foundation, Rugmark). Campaigns and activities refer to Human Rights and ILO labour standards. They intend a shift in consumption form the North to improve Human Rights situation in the South. Activities are not non-controversial especially when they are short term and combine with sustainable support

28 until 2011
for the labourer's as working conditions may become worst. Campaigns lead '(...) their energies toward remedies for harm without addressing the root causes of labor rights violations: the economic and political structures that shape the governance of labor rights more broadly' (Hertel 2010: 175-184, see also Doepke and Zilibotti 2009). Provision of public incentives like education, employment generating policies and schemes argues to avoid or decrease negative impact (see for example Edmonds 2008, Basu and Zarghamee 2008, Doepke and Zilibotti 2009).

NGOs lobbying with businesses towards code of conducts and labels and action oriented NGOs increase awareness on Human Rights. Their activities refer to ILO Conventions. Activities does not challenge local and global power relations. However they may maintain and become incorporated in profit making businesses. Both 'maintain the profit making reason d'etre' (Hertel 2010). NGOs collaboration with businesses may shift public responsibility to what is called civil society and the private. Where public agencies can make and are accountable for human rights NGOs and businesses can not. They does not create an political and social environment for the sake of sustainable changes. But they create a market for codes and labels. Measurements of labels and certificates may confuse the customer more than they contribute effective policies combating child labour. Actions open up a market for ethical consumption and monitoring third parties businesses. NGOs become de-politicized (cf. Bourdieu 2002).

d) Global Framework Agreements and OECD Guidelines

Since the late 1980s GFA are negotiate between Global Union Federations and MNCs. Frameworks refer to ILO labour standards and reach beyond one plant. They address subcontractors and define processes and monitoring measurements in a branch. There is a clear definition but a wide range of practise and understanding. Facilitator point GFA out as crucial instrument that uplift workers rights (e.g. Wills 2002, Hammer 2005). However recently Fichter et all. (2012) point out 'TNCs are prone to regard GFAs (and in many cases labour relations) as an element of their policy on corporate social responsibility' (Fichter et all. 2012: 6, cf. Croucher and Cotton 2009, Papadakis 2008). In distinction OECD Guidelines (1976) are mandatory for OECD members. A number of non-member countries signed the guidelines, too. Like GFA Guidelines refer to ILO labour standards. Since the last recommendation in 2011 guidelines 'impose the duty of care in the supply chain'. Businesses called their diligence to ensure Human and Workers Rights in the whole supply chain (cf. DGB 2011: 3). OECD Guidelines aim to balance labour and power of capital (cf. Ruggy 2010, UN Special Rapporteur Business and Human Rights). Business from MNCs should be followed up from civil society. Latter may address violations to the national arbitration body.

GFAs and OECD guidelines intend the enlarge and enforce ILO standards. Former in the
global supply chain of one MNC and latter in all MNCs base in OECD countries including their supply chains. Accelerating towards enforcement, information and training both have the potential to combat child labour. The trade agreement between U.S. and Cambodia is one positive outcome. For garment manufactures the agreement refer successfully to core labour standards (cf. Polaski 2006)\textsuperscript{29}. However national enforcement and business accountability lack. Follow up of Human and Labour Rights violations miss the bite – 'the tiger is still toothless' (cf. Heydenreich 2010, see also DGB 2011).

For labourer's in factories, plants, in services, in sweatshops GFAs, OECD guidelines and ILO Conventions is far from reality. They do not know much about those regulations and labour rights like the freedom of association to bargain for wages and working conditions. What matters is the daily work and income. The working children next to the labourer may be the own child. The child supplement the family income. For others children are 'only' competitors in the labour market for limited jobs available. Both ignorance and competition is used from businesses to put pressure on the work force for the sake of profits. Labourer's on the ground need gain information and training on their own and Human Rights to push back businesses using advantage of access to information and legal loopholes to increase profits. Reports state the elimination of child labour and replacing it with education would lead to an economic uplift of more than 20 per cent (cf. IPEC 2004 cited in Aitken et. all 2006: 368). Collaboration with civil society contribute media and civil awareness that push governments for actions. Campaigns and trainings empower and emancipate labourer's and labour associations not only on the issue of child labour but for their own rights towards a holistic right based approach, too.

\textsuperscript{29} Additionally to the OECD Guidelines and GFA UN recently published 'Children's Rights and Business Principles' www.unglobalcompact.org/Issues/human_rights/childrens_principles.html.
2. National Policies – Combating child labour in India

India is member of BRICS. The 'round table' from Brazil, Russia, China and South Africa and India bring together developing countries in transition. BRICS was launched as counterpart to G8. However India is argued as emerging country between traditionalism and modernity characterized. Social-cultural diversity is pooled with social-economic and rural-urban disparities.

Since independence five-year-Plans guiding India's economy. Property and agrarian reforms should decrease dependence from the primary sector. Both however are limited in their impact. TINA ('There Is No Alternative' – Margaret Thatcher) seem to be the solution for the emerge of India's economy. Since 1990s GOI collaborate with Bretton Woods organisations. Liberalisation and deregulation of national economy towards the world economy is argued as the key to global competitiveness, national grow and entrance to the global level play-field. Therefore taxes barriers was limited or even withdrawn to attract FDI. The strategy did not contribute the bulk of the population. However the recent five-year plan (2007-2012) reveal the strategy at the expenses of the bulk of the working class.

India probability has the most comprehensive legal structure for both labour welfare and labour protection in the world (Deshingkar 2009: 7). But the provision of labour welfare and protection hardly address the poor with a holistic and universal approach. A large body of India's labour legislation refer to the formal sector. Latter hardly seven per cent of the whole economy. Laws contribute a minority of the labour force and in parts of the economy that may contribute competitive advantage and attract FDI. However India's economy highly depend on the informal employment in the informal and formal sector. In the recent years nearly three-forth of the labour force still depend on agricultural informal employment (GOI Press release 17. December 2012). GOI lack the political will for a comprehensive implementation of laws that refer to both formal and informal sector (NCEUS 2007, Deshingkar 2009). Implementation and enforcement highly depend on pressure and capability of civil society organisations for social mobilisation (Srivastava 2008). India's policy towards eradication of child labour illustrate the contradiction of India's legislation, national disparities and global economy. A multi-pronged and sequential approach intend tackling child labour and ensure the Right to Education for children below the age of 14 years (cf. UN CRC 2013: 25). However ratification of ILO Convention N° 138 and N° 182 is still pending. In distinction CRC was ratified in 1992. But still there is no unique definition of 'child' in the legislation. Therefore children might be illegal out of school but legal at work30.

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30 Children are treated differently depend from the context. In the case of legal age for marriage a difference is made between gender, too. Legal age for marriage for male is 21 years as for girls the age is 18 years. In the case of sexual consent legal age for girls is 16 years. The law provide no legal age for boys (see for example Ministry of Women...
a) Labour Laws

Majority, 75 per cent of the child labourer work in the in-formality. They are addressed by the National Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act (NCLPRA, 1986). The Act regulate employment of children below age of 18 in non-hazardous occupations and processes and prohibit child labour below the age 14 in eighteenth hazardous occupations and sixty-five processes. Violation is scolded with a payment of compensation maximum 50.000 RS and two years imprisonment fine or both. The NCLPRA reveal India's Constitution. Latter charter education and prohibit exploitation. Together with the National Child Labour Project (NCLP, 1988) children shall be withdrawn from work and provide education. The way towards eradication of child labour is marked by ‘insurmountable difficulties (...) of making education universal and compulsory’ (Wazir 2002: 4) in a highly stratified country. In the follow up of National Child Labour Project somewhat 353.000 children was rescued, rehabilitated and main-streamed (GOI Press Relase Release ID:89989). But somewhat 20.000 convictions was enforced (NCPCR –: 40). Keeping in mind the millions of child labour and OOSC the impact of laws is limited. However both implementation of labour laws and accelerating towards child labour is precondition to become acknowledged partner among world of economies.

India was the first country of ILO International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC). In 1992 IPEC was launched. Since the early 1990s a number of projects (e.g. in collaboration with UNICEF, US, Netherlands and other foreign donors) followed. IPEC however tackle child labour as 'exploitation of children (that) also highlight the necessity of effective poverty reduction measures and long-term, sustained economic growth for their prevention.' (ILO 2002: 11). National policy on Safety, Health and Environment at Workplace (2009) and the Indian ILO Decent Work Country Programme (DWCP 2010 cf. ILO 2010a) argued as integral parts and steps ahead towards eradication of the worst forms of child labour. The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) should ensure decent and income of rural families sending their children to school. DWCP target disadvantaged groups (minorities) and children in backward areas with local specific strategies.‘[P]roactive multi-pronged measurements' intend inclusion of disadvantaged groups (cf. ILO –a: 9, 12, 19). In the light of the Right to Education school is emphasized as alternative to work.

31 With the funding from US Department of Labour GOI launched 'Converging Against Child Labour: Support for India's Model' in 2010 (GOI –: 84f)
32 NREGA provide 100 days of work and minimum wage for adults in rural areas. The scheme was launched in 2005. Impacts are limited as the scheme did not reached backward pockets of the country. Corruption and lack of implementation on the ground contribute the fact (cf. GOI –b).
b) Education Policy

Basic education is a Human Right. Well-being, low infant mortality, children's nutritional status exemplary argued as strong correlate with education. But education is more. Education works as door keeper to participate in the social, cultural and economical life. Democracy, justice and equity are vital where people participate in education. Both the individual and community contribute from one's education. Education 'contribute to national cohesion, a scientific temper and independence of mind and spirit - thus furthering the goals of socialism, secularism and democracy enshrined in our Constitution' (National Policy on Education 1986/1992). Since independence national and state governments are encouraged to provide education for all. The Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution mandated states to ensure the right to education from the early beginning. However lack of political will and state budgets limited the impact from centre schemes like Non Formal Education (NFE), Teacher Education (TE), Mahila Samakhya (MS), National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education (MDM), District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) and state projects like the Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Project (APPEP).

Late in 2002 the Constitution (Eighty-sixth Amendment) Act inserted Article 21-A in the Constitution of India. Article 21-A provide free and compulsory education of all children. Education became a fundamental right. The Universal Elementary Education (UEE, 2002) was a step forward. District UEE Plans shall support and organize actions towards free education up to the age of 14 years. Earlier launched Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA, 2000) shall coordinate UEE activities among different Ministries like Ministry of Human Resource Development, Women & Child Development, National Resource Centre on Child Labour (NRCCL), Urban Housing & Rural Poverty Alleviation, Rural Development, Railway, Panchayati Raj Institutions etc. The Right to Education (RTE) Act 2009 was the major legal achievement of the right to education movement. RTE mark a fundamental shift from incentive focused schemes (MDM) towards an holistic and right based approach. However centre and state governments share the responsibility for enforcement the ambitious legislation of NCLPRA and RTE. The moral compulsion on stakeholders is a central mechanism to manage the decentralized process of implementation base on changing social norms. Civil society, corporate social responsibility organisations and NGOs are emphasized to improve school facilities and monitor both quality and quantity of education. Social mapping and social

33 The need for efforts of division and towards coordination was one of the concerns of Human Rights Council (cf. ISHR 2012. Latter was almost ignore from the Indian delegates. GOI continuing legislative contradictions of child labour and the idea of education for all.

34 In 2010-11 about 75 per cent of the project budget was given to NGOs. 25 per cent of the reserved budget for the National Child Labour Project (NCLP) was in the hand of public institutions (cf. GOI press release ID 82099 4. April 2012, GOI –).
audits conducted from Panchayati Raj Institutions\textsuperscript{35} and School Management Committees (SMC) shall push schools to develop an appropriate School Development Plan. Additionally independent but 'quasi juridical' National and State Commissions for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR/SCPCR\textsuperscript{36}) support the process in collaboration with SSA (GOI 2011: 11-13; cf. SSA 2011).

Compulsory and free education shall be accessible across the country until end of March 2013\textsuperscript{37}. The country however is far away from the underutilisation of the Right to Education. Across the nation RTE is uneven implemented. Some state performed well to reach the benchmarks note in RTE whereas others did not. In April 2011 for example less than 20 per cent (274.000 in 1.425.000) of the projected classrooms and 111 in 655 Residential Schools was set up. However the shortfall of teachers was nearly filled (projected 508.000; approved 455.000; for further discussion see chapter 6.4). But the number of part time instructors for Arts, Physical and Work Education was far behind. One third was achieved by 2010/2011 (113.000 in 310.000). Ten states notified rules, five adopted central rules and the majority (fifteen) had prepared by not notified state rules. Stated undergone smallest afford in the constitution of State Commission for Protection of Child Rights (SCPCR). Assam, Bihar, Chattisgarh, Delhi, Haryana, Jammu & Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Mizoram, Rajasthan, Sikkim notified launched commissions, yet (GOI Press Release ID 71432, 1. April 2012). Achievements under the NLCP was limit, too. Hardly 354.000 children was rescued and main-streamed (see table 7). Since the programme was launched 850.000 children was main-streamed into formal education (cf. GOI Press Release ID 89989, 05. December 2012, cf. CRIN 2012).

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>132840</td>
<td>94657</td>
<td>125716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>13689</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>13202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>7998</td>
<td>8552</td>
<td>19673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>9,692</td>
<td>13344</td>
<td>17589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>12,326</td>
<td>4415</td>
<td>1020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>13,187</td>
<td>2215</td>
<td>7456</td>
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Table 7: Number of child labourers rescued, rehabilitated and main-streamed under NCLP scheme (2009-2012); five states taken as examples (cf. GOI Press Release ID: 89989 05. December 2012)

\textsuperscript{35} Panchayati Raj Institutions was launched in 1993 to assist Central and State Governments, NGOs, policy makers, legislators and social groups through a variety of interventions to develop capabilities of the target groups towards participation in education (UN CRC 2013: 35).

\textsuperscript{36} NCPCR and SCPCR should document complains and violation of child rights such as non-implementation of RTE and incidents of child labour.

\textsuperscript{37} Exclusively training of untrained teacher. Latter should be achieve until end of March 2015.
Members of the Human Rights Council welcomed efforts from GOI to achieve Millennium Development Goals as poverty reduction and the right to education. The excellent laws were often flouted and a huge percentage of the billions of dollars budgeted for social welfare programs often did not reach the beneficiaries. GOI was criticized regarding less efforts to decrease discrimination of vulnerable groups, women and children, trafficking and torture (cf. UN Human Rights Council 2012). At the end exemplary lack of accountability of authorities to the legislation undermine implementation and recommendations.

V. Development work on education

'Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.' (Article 26 (1) UN Human Rights Convention)

A large body was written on the importance of education. Education is a weapon towards poverty, social and economic exclusion. It increase the opportunity to break the cycle of intergenerational poverty, to improve health status and well-being. Access to education facilitate participation in social, cultural and economic matter. But education is more than access. Learning basic skills like reading and writing and gain skills and competencies need in life and work dependent from the personal expectation. Education is 'access plus learning' (Adams 2012: 1). Education give people the opportunity to full fill their expectations towards life. Additionally it enhance possibilities to gain better (paid) jobs. Investment and provision of free education increase reimbursements towards the society. Education is less associated with unemployment but with national wealth. '(…) [B]etter integration in society (.) can lead to higher productivity and economic growth, political stability, lower criminality, stronger social cohesion and greater income equality' (Adam 2012: 2). However the point left backward the stratification and segregation embedded in the education system itself. Both access and participation in education is object of a hegemony discourse lead from better-off sections, the political elite of once nation and international agencies. Early UN Human Rights acknowledged the impact of education on the individual and the society. However across the world million of people are denied their fundamental Rights in general and the Right to Education in particular. Therefore international agencies accelerating towards education for all.
1. Millennium Development Goals and Education For All

The World Education Forum 2000 in Dakar point the importance of education. 164 countries committed six 'Education for All' (EFA) goals (see table 8). The goals refer to the life cycle – from pre-primary to lifelong learning. However the UN Millennium Summit 2000 picked up education as a topic. 189 countries committed eight Millennium Development Goals (MDG): End poverty and hunger; Universal Education; Gender Equality; Child Health; Maternal Health; Combat HIV/AIDS; Environmental Sustainability and Global Partnership. Assurance that every girl and boy will be able to complete primary education by 2015 (MDG 2) and the elimination of gender disparity in primary and secondary cycle by 2005 and in all levels of education by 2015 (MDG 3) overlap with EFA Goals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goal 1</th>
<th>Expand Early Childhood Care</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goal 2</td>
<td>Provide free and compulsory primary education for all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal 3</td>
<td>Promote learning and life skills for young people and adults</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goal 4</td>
<td>Increase adult literacy by 50 per cent</td>
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<td>Goal 5</td>
<td>Achieve gender parity by 2005, gender equality by 2015</td>
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<tr>
<td>Goal 6</td>
<td>Improve the quality of education</td>
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Table 8: Six 'Education for All' goals (2000)

The commitment on both MDG and EFA contributed increased enrolment. Magnitude of OOSC declined from more than 100 million (1990) to 61 million in 2010. Gender disparities was estimated between 90 and 96 per cent in developing countries (cf. UIS 2012, Adams 2012). Without the pressure from civil society on governments to provide access and quality education latter would impossible. Governments – in the North and South with different foci, roles and responsibilities – took their responsibility and committed EFA and MDG through development cooperation. The following chapter give a brief introduction in development cooperation – actors, roles and magnitude.

2. Development cooperation

Development cooperation or development aid has a long history. Both root in colonialism, religious values and believes. Referring to the eradication of poverty helpers took care of people in need to reach the heaven (similar like Jesus). 'Helping' was attributed to 'doing something good'. Together with altruism and charity it refer to the feeling of guiltiness. However the system consist of the 'giver' (the one who help mainly from the global North) and a 'taker' (the one in need mainly in the
global South). Eradication of poverty the point of intervention was not intended because the poverty legitimize 'helpers' role. Therefore the cooperation reproduce their own eligibility. The relationship is characterized by inequality and strong long term dependency. Across the years the imbalance was criticised to maintain the poverty trap. The modern development cooperation however undertook a shift from 'helping' towards 'giving' (cf. Gronemeyer 1992: 55). However previous unequal relationship and dualism between global North and South is reveal. Donors have the opportunity and power to define the theme and targets. Both referring to their own understanding of what is 'good', 'development' and 'needed' in 'beneficiaries' countries. However dialectically addressee are excluded. Latter tend to have no voice as they are marginalised from agenda setting and decision making. Diversity of development and therefore the point of view from 'beneficiaries' tend to be neglected. 'We in the West can best help by playing supportive roles to local people.' (Kristof and WuDunn 2009: 66). Emancipation is not aim of the cooperation. People shall be capable to deal with the circumstances rather than the question of power and injustice is addressed. Again development cooperation reveal the management of the poor and 'culture of poverty' (Lewis 1966: 121). Attributed poverty become part of the 'other' identity. Latter simply mitigate the possibilities of emancipation. Both the 'West' in the role of the donor and 'people in need' in the South (re)conceptualize social and global hierarchies. The concept refer to stereotypes and a natural development. The 'other' (people of colour) in the South have to learn from 'us' (white and western) in the North. However a large body of the supranational agencies and media (re)produce the structure of poverty and self-image of the poor. UN, Bretton Woods, G8 and OECD countries put soft power into place\textsuperscript{38}. Poverty Reduction Programmes (PRP) for example became compulsory to gain financial support from donors. PRP refer to what the donor understand by human development was a key for economic growth and prosperity. Additionally regulatory mechanisms like open up markets, anti-corruption policies, privatisation of public goods and Private Public Partnerships shall help to achieve external set target. However across the years aid effectiveness became important. Latter contribute an 'army of NGOs' (Alhassan 2009) and a number of international programmes that diversified the landscape of 'helpers'. Colonial dependence and hegemony was (re)produced through 'soft governance' (Foucault\textsuperscript{39}) add 'symbolic power' (Bourdieu) in the form of international

\textsuperscript{38} During the last years share of development aid from BRICS countries increased. Therefore new measurements for development aid is part of the Post-2015 debate (see for example EU 2012 http://www.ecologie.eu/files/attachments/Publications/2012/knoblach_12_lot5_24_brics.pdf).

\textsuperscript{39} Foucault’s concept of governance refer to a set of methods employed from social agencies, individual or organized. Governance is embedded in the social structure. Power of governance emerge from both from laws, regulations but from social and cultural interaction, too. Governance therefore is a conduct among people in different contexts that seek to regulate society through technologies of power. Following official and visible governance the individuals will regulate their behaviour (government of the self). However interaction is not reduced to domination and repression (cf. Foucault 1982, 1991).
programmes to local power relations and oppression. although below another headline.

The Human Right Based Approach (HRBA) call for empowerment, participation, non-discrimination and accountability with the priority on vulnerable people. Negative (civil and political) and positive (economic, social and cultural rights) rights shall be entitle the vulnerable as right holders and duty bearers – in different contexts – in the international and national setting (Katsui 2008). 'A rights-based approach to development describes situations not simply in terms of human needs, developmental requirements, but in terms of society’s obligations to respond to the inalienable rights of individuals, empower people to demand justice as a right, not as a charity, and gives communities a moral basis from which to claim international assistance when needed.' (Kofi Annan cited in Nyamu-Musembi and Cornwall 2004: 13). Across the years supranational agencies and international organisations took a shift from a 'need' based approach towards a HRBA. Global policies now focus social, inclusive and participatory aspects and oppose earlier development aid as imbalance relationship between North and South (cf. Leisering 2008: 9ff, Narayan 2012). However the dichotomy between charity and HRBA is a pitfall. Phrasing may emphasize the melodious HRBA but practice may root in charity because both refer to a personal and organisational attitude. Therefore development cooperation remain dialectical and need a critical review.

Development work created financial (inter)dependencies. G8 as major donor contribute two-third of development assistance worldwide. The amount spend for education increased from US$ 5.2 billion (2002) to US$ 10.8 billion in 2007. In the same time share of investment in primary education increased by US$ 2 billion up to US$ 4.1 billion. In real terms the magnitude is cut by 22 per cent and now below the level of 2003 (UNESCO 2010b: 226f). However Germany's contribution increased from 0.3 per cent of the GDP (2004) to 0.45 per cent of the GDP in 2008. Because of the crisis the target for 2010 was not met 0.6 per cent. In 2012 and 2013 the projected budget was cut again (cf. Süddeutsche Zeitung 2012). In 2006 and 2007 Germany and France committed one fourth (US$ 3.5 billion) aid to education (UNESCO 2010: 229). In 2009 share of higher education aid from Germany on total education aid was 68 per cent. Money was spent for scholarships students from developing countries. Second largest amount was spent for vocational training (77 million in 2007). Share of both higher and vocational education undermine the MDG primary education for all.

India's educational policies highly depend on FDI in education. GOI spending on education declined since the early 1990s. At the same time ODA attracted by the liberalisation of markets, low taxes and widespread opportunities for PPP increased. ODA supplemented the national budget. The investments from abroad was used to achieve promises from education policies (1986) towards free
basic education, higher education, research and technical education. However across the years centre spending increased in total terms. The educational budget came down to 3.2 per cent of GDP in 2009. Again a drop down by 0.3 per cent from 2004/2005. Education reforms and policies highly depend on ODA either loans or grants.

In mid 2000s as ODA started to decline GOI made efforts to increase government spending on education through taxes. The centre intend to avoid ODA loans because of the refunding. But GOI emphasized bilateral grants from the private sector in education. In 2004 a two per cent education cess was enacted. Returns from cess are directly spend for educational matter. The Budget for education increase up to 4.3 per cent in 2010 (NCE 2010: 7) and projected 5.3 per cent for 2012/2013. The share for primary education doubled in the last five year plan. At the same time budget for secondary, higher and technical education has risen by more than three times disregard inflation (Mukerji and Sikdar 2013: 17ff). Latter was 6 per cent between 2011 and 2013 (Bachpan Bachao Andolan nd). Earlier mentioned stagnation (in real terms) and decline (in consideration of inflation) go along with a shift towards short term human assistance. Both stagnation and chance in characteristic is argued as result of the financial crisis. Impact on projects and sustainable towards social and economic growth is incalculable.

Development collaboration contribute high interdependencies worldwide. The financial crisis show his impact on ODA. 'Beneficiary' countries will have to face limits of old coalitions in a changing environment. New coalitions are needed to ensure Human Rights. Insufficiency national budgets will push states and civil society agencies to negotiate with donors for loans and grants directly (cf. Rai 2011).

3. New coalitions

International 'multiplicity of class formation' (Lindell 2010) and crisis of national unionism (Hoffmann 2002: 143f) shall not lead to miss out common goals – define under MDGs and EFA. Nation based unions need to bridge labour interests across the globe. Unions have to redefine self-understanding and international solidarity. They have to think global and act local to ensure decent work for all (cf. GUF 2009).

Neo-liberal policies contribute a heterogeneous picture of resistance across the globe (e.g. Zapatistas, WIEGO). The landscape, approaches and concerns of initiatives go beyond the core of workplace issues. They are diverse and subversive towards the redistribution of resources and wealth, sustainability and democracy. Campaigns and initiatives picking up social, ecological and economical matter. Latter concern of each people living environment (cf. Khasnabish 2004; La Via
Workers organize themselves where unions are weak, under continuous pressure or not existent. Emerging groups push unions to organise the unorganized. ‘[A] rethinking and reasserting of labour as social, co-operative process and itself potentially a commons’ (Wainwright 2008: 3). Using synergies for the common struggle movements and unions come together. They have to organize their diversity as a source of power towards their goals. 'Social Movement Unionism' (SMU, Moody 1997) shall empower and enable people worldwide. The common struggle is no one-way street. In the process problems may emerge from different approaches and mode of operation. The imbalance of financial power between North and South need sensitivity and dialogue (cf. Offe and Wiesenthal 1985). Currently multiple crisis followed by social cuts in public spending point importance of new collaborations across the world.

4. Education Unions

History of labour unions go back at least to the 19th and 20th century in European countries. Change in the production, regional and national trade and new technology contribute development and national economic growth. Exploitation of labourer's in terms of low wages for long working hours, unsafe working conditions reached a peak. Latter contribute first organisation of labourer's apart from guilds as professional associations launched earlier. However national and international labour got organised in associations and affiliated parties towards improvements in both work and live. Unions became institutionalized. Their mode of operation vary from lobbying to grass root mobilisation. National and international the labour organisations was flowing. Unions was launched and (temporary) closed down for some reasons. However their concern are Workers Rights as integral part of International Bill of Human Rights. General guideline are the ILO Conventions. From the early beginning social institutions like unions, social movements and special UN-organisations like ILO, WHO, UNICEF among others address social conscience while highlighting and campaigning on violation of fundamental rights (cf. Abu Sharkh 2002, De Swaan 1988, Meyer at all 2005). Lobbying towards child labour was early concern of nation based unions and ILO among others. Unleashed capitalism challenge labour movements and unions. Past collaborations among alike tend to be less successful. Commitment on MDG and EFA however need enforced to ensure Human Rights in general and the Right to Education in particular. Therefore Education Unions are crucial. The following paragraph discuss the role of Education unions as dualism of decent work and quality education. Both essential towards the Right to Education worldwide.

Nationally one or more education unions independent or affiliated to a political part launched. The

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40 The term refer to all unions that mainly organize workers in different levels of the education sector.
magnitude refer to national history and culture as well as on the target group. Education International (EI) is the confederation of education unions. Latter is part of International Confederation of Trade Unions (ITUC) that collaborate with ILO and other supranational agencies towards workers rights and decent work. Like any other trade union EI organize educational professionals\(^{41}\) on decent work particular in the education sector. However earning decent wages allow workers to send their children to school. In distinction to trade unions education unions are unlikely to face child labourer's vis-à-vis during their working hours unless children combine school and work. GFAs and OECD guidelines are not applicable for education unions in the narrow sense.

Anyhow teachers are important combating child labour. Children get engaged in child labour for several reasons as outlined earlier. Lack of quality education in terms of free access, facilities, discrimination and harassments from both teachers and students and poor teachers performance make children drop out. OOSC are more likely to get engaged into child labour (cf. Wazir and Saith 2010). Lobbying of decent work in the education sector is similar lobbying towards decent learning environment for students. Decent work and quality education (tend to) keep students enrolled, stay on and complete education (cf. van Leeuwen 2012). Declaration on Professional Ethics (DPE, Education International 2004) and Resolution on Child Labour (RCL, 1998 last revised 2011) underline the importance of quality education and the role of educational professionals towards child labour. Quality education is more than a alternative for but a fundamental right of children.

RCL recall ILO conventions for decent work and agenda accelerating towards child labour. An earlier pamphlet called for opportunities of non-formal and part time education among others. However the revised RCL emphasize regular attendance instead of enrolment as a shift from quantity to quality education. A child centred approach shall help professionals to 'make every effort to encourage parents to be actively involved in the education of their child and to actively support the learning process by ensuring that children avoid forms of child labour that could affect their education' (Education International 2004: 2). Similar DPE. The pamphlet offer professionals a guideline to answer questions and problems arising from relations with children, parents, officials and society (e.g. child labour, drop out).

The DPE represent a commitment complementary to laws and regulations defining profession base on decent work and Human Rights. The CLR call governments for effective actions fight child labour and provide free and quality education. Additionally the CLR emphasize international solidarity to push pro-active legislation towards quality EFA. With both EI formulated a clearly: Quality education decrease impact of poverty, incidents of child mortality, gender

\(^{41}\) The term educational professionals is used to summarize employees and workers employed in the education sector independent from employer, character of contract and level of education. The category refer not only to teacher but also to social workers, nurses and others from early childhood education to lifelong learning.
inequalities and contribute maternal health. The only way out of child labour is to provide children an alternative and future opportunities through quality education. Governments shall provide free public education and ensure qualified teachers. Both essential to achieve and sustainable ensure MDGs and EFA. CLR and DPE bring together the global movement on the Right to Education and development work as part of the professional mission.

The German Education Union ‘Gewerkschaft für Erziehung und Wissenschaft’ (GEW) is member of EI. With their membership the union commit to DPE and CLR. Through the engagement in the German Section of the Global Campaign for Education GEW is part of the movement towards the implementation of the Right to Education. However the recently launched GEW project 'Fair Childhood Foundation' enhance international union solidarity towards development collaboration. A brief introduction regarding GEW and their past international work is followed by a discussion of the first Indian based project of the Foundation.

VI. A South-North-Collaboration for the Right to Education in rural Andhra Pradesh

1. Germany – German Education Union (GEW)

The German Education Union (GEW) is comparatively young. GEW was founded after the Second World War as non-party and anti-confessional union in Western Germany. In Eastern Germany all educational professional was member of the Free German Union Federation (FDGB). Roots however reach back to the second half of the 19th century, to professional associations (guilds), the German Teachers Association (Deutscher Lehrerverein, DLV) and the Prussian State Teachers Association (Preußischer Landeslehrerverein). Last two merged in 1893 and remained as the socialist counterpart the Free Teachers Association of Germany was founded in 1919 (cf. Bölling 2011). After the break down of the Berlin Wall (1989) GEW and FDGB merged. GEW is the largest Education Union in Germany. In 1950 GEW became member of the German Trade Union Congress (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, DGB). GEW offers more than 240.000 members equally access to services (like legal protection, professional liability, trainings, cf. GEW –) and offer different forms of participation.

42 Along with the GEW there are several professional Teachers Unions with different traditional catholic attitude, the Association of Philologists mainly organized in the German Civil Servant Association (DBB). Additionally the Association for Services (Vereinigte Dienstleistungsgewerkschaft, ver.di) organize educators, social workers and alike.
GEW structure mirror the German education system. On the national and state level each educational sectors (e.g. pre-school, primary school) form a independent body or working group. Groups are headed from full-time unionists and voluntary unionists on the national and state level respectively. Members who are not in work yet (e.g. students) or elders may be organized in separate groups. However all members are welcome to participate. Generally the executive board is appointed to establish working groups and projects (cf. GEW – a).

GEWs political agenda reach beyond narrow labour issues. GEW argues for improvements in the whole education system like learning and teaching environment, quality education for educational professionals, quality public system, common schools for all children, adequate pupil-teacher ratio (cf. GEW RLP 2012). Teaching and learning is considered as work. Therefore decent work for teachers is argued decent work for students. The professional commitment however refer to the DPE agreed from EI 2004 and the 'Beutelsbacher Consensus' (1976). The codex for professional methodology call towards controversial and non-judgemental teacher performance. Students however shall be made capable to form their own opinion (Wehling 1977: 179f). However DPE however formulate professional ethics towards students and community.

International work is deep root in GEW. Heinrich Rodenstein, the first executive of GEW emphasized international work as integral part of union work from the beginning. He himself was refugee in the Third Reich. In remembrance GEW founded the Heinrich-Rodenstein-Fund. The fund is one part of the international work of GEW. Union activists in countries of origin where workers and human rights are under attack are supported with donations. Additionally victims of natural disasters and Human Right violation are facilitated, too (cf. GEW – b). Nationally the International Secretary coordinate international work in the federal states. Further he bring together members active in international matter in an annual conference. GEW executive is authorized to Secretary. However both work in solidarity.

International work is a 'colourful bouquet' (International Secretary, GEW). GEW is affiliated to the International and European Trade Unions Congress (ITUC and ETUC) and member of the German section of the 'Global Campaign for Education' (GCE). Additionally the unions maintain long term relationships with education unions across the globe (e.g. Poland, Turkey, Columbia). One of the oldest relationships is the collaboration with Nicaragua. Political circumstances in the country contributed to a number of individual and region based partnerships between professionals in Germany and Nicaragua. School twinning, students and teachers exchanges, dispatch of material, donation (monetary and kind) have a long history. Long term relationship and donations contribute
'personal touch'. The project spread the spirit of solidarity, to 'help' and 'support' pupil and teachers in the South (cf. Arpaia 2012). Charity based activism address needs after failed public social and education policies. However solidarity addresses, participatory observation of legal suits against unionists, urgent actions (petitions, protest letter), bi- and multilateral collaboration in terms of professional exchange programmes, seminars and participation in the European and World Social Forum are other facilitated international activities from GEW.

Impact of TINA and neo-liberal globalisation put labour and unions worldwide under pressure. Incidents of precarious and exploitive work increased. Internationally unions and Human Rights agencies was called for action. However during the last decade 'child labour' became a permanent topic for GEW. In 2007 Eğitim Sen GEWs partner union in Turkey for example conducted a study on child labour in hazelnut plants in Turkey. The study was followed from a documentary and learning-teaching material (TLM). Both facilitated from EI and others. Currently GEW translate the material and spread information in Germany regarding child labour in Turkey. In collaboration with the German Union for Food, Consumption and Restaurants (NGG) GEW addressed towards the MNC 'Ferrero'. 'Ferrero' produce most famous sweets, chocolate and cookies for Germany. However in 2011 GEW became member of the campaign 'Clean Cloth Campaign' (CCC). The campaign was joined after the first 'Fair Childhood Foundation' (FCF) project was launched. The FCF (2010) is an operative foundation dealing with the right to education and child labour. The profile state the collaboration and support of national union structure – almost unique among donors. FCF work abroad and domestic. In 2012 three Indian based projects was launched in Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and West Bengal. The fourth project started in early 2013. The projects are financed through private donations. The GEW 'Competition on Ideas' for 'child labour free zones' bring back child labour to Germany. The competition started in the school year 2012/2013.

Students, teachers, education professionals working in different educational institutions from pre-primary to adult education in Germany and German educational institutions abroad are called to pick up the topic 'child labour' in a project. Latter may be theatre plays, paintings, interviews in the place of origin, and discussion with politicians to name only a few. The competition intend to illustrate living environment of children in the South. The competition as the second domestic pillar intend to spread information and raise awareness among the participants towards the global issue child labour (GEW – c). The project address social and political consciousness from students, educational profession and civil society and may be summed under 'global learning'. Latter introduced from Ministry of Education in collaboration with UNESCO UN-Dekade for Sustainability. Next to CCC GEW collaborate with the label XERTIFIX from the German
Construction Union (IG BAU). XERTIFIX was established as a certification association for natural stones produced and traded without child labour. In the third project FCF collaborate with Karl Kübel Foundation another German based Foundation and NISHTA an Indian based NGO in West Bengal. The project empower girls and women's towards their Right to Education and related issues like health. Recently the fourth project was launched. In Rajasthan the National Coalition for Education (NCE), Indian section will conduct five social audits regarding the implementation of the RTE Act. However GEWs wide range of collaborations with trade unions and civil society organisations domestic and abroad mirror the promotion of workers rights. Latter called from EI (EI 2011a: 2).

Mamidipudi Venkatatangaiya Foundation (MVF) is the first project partner in rural Andhra Pradesh (AP). Past there was no partner in India. However the decision for a project refer to the magnitude of child labour's in India and the importance of India as part of BRICS. Latter may have the potential to shift global norms and values of production. ASEAN+6 to intend to set up the 'biggest free trade market by 2020' (ASEAN 2012). The point verify GEW decision. However after the consultation from international working NGOs and the German Embassy (Dehli) MVF was chosen as first partner. German Embassy conducted a meeting with MVF officials in the name of GEW. Representatives committed the project 'School instead of child labour in the cotton fields'. The project was launched in January 2012. The following part briefly introduce MVF.

2. India – Mamidipudi Venkatatangaiya Foundation (MVF)

'Ever child out-of-school is a child labour.' MVFs non-negotiables activate - successfully. Transcending boundaries an changing social norms they politicize and facilitate sustainable social and political change (cf. Bourdieu 2002). MVF is political conscious about their role as private agency. During more than twenty years of social mobilisation up to 600.000 children was main-streamed into formal schools. More than 50.000 child labourer's – half bonded – was prepared in Bridge Course Camps towards admission into full-time, formal government schools. A large body was written on MVF and their successful story (see for example Wazir 2002, Robertson 2007, Mahajan 2008, MVF 2008, Pamulaparthi 2008, Marsden 2009). However MVF is briefly introduce as it is important for the hand in paper. The role of teachers is examine later (see chapter 6.3).

MVF work with a right- and area-based approach towards eradication of child labour and enforcement of the right to education. Through HRBA MVF establish 'child labour free zones'.

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Zones are districts, regions or communities where children are not working\textsuperscript{43}. Target group of the organisation are children age 6 to 14. Every child OOS is a child labourer no matter if the child is currently in work or employment or not. OOSC are \textit{potential} available for the labour market. MVF does not argue in line with ILO and others. One of the first lessons activists learned: child labour in general is harmful for children's development and denied children their Right to Education (third and fourth non-negotiable). Working children are less likely to learn after a hard working day in non-formal schools. However non-formal education will increase social inequalities and contribute low standard education. Therefore any combination of work and school oppose child rights. MVF point the total prohibition of child labour through the provision of free public full-time education (second non-negotiable). Further the organisation refuse any justification perpetuating the existence of child labour (fifth non-negotiable, see table 8). MVF will not negotiate and collaborate with any organisation that justify the phenomenon working children, too. Latter would neglect child rights. The debate shift towards 'child work' and 'child labour'. Further work become individualized and attributed to gender, caste, and religion\textsuperscript{44}. Personal attribution shift responsibility for incidents of child labour towards the subject rather than to address the social reasons (cf. Robertson 2007: 30).

\begin{table}[h]
\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline
\textbullet Any child out of school is a child labourer. \\
\textbullet All children must attend full-time formal-day schools. \\
\textbullet All labour is hazardous, and harm the overall growth and development of the child. \\
\textbullet There must be total abolition of child labour. \\
\textbullet Any justification perpetuating the existence of child labour must be condemned. \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}
\caption{Table 8: Five non-negotiables from MVF (MVF –)}
\end{table}

MVF mobilize communities in a bottom-up approach based on non-negotiables\textsuperscript{45}. Community mobilisation address community members regarding child labour and the right to education. Activities facilitate de-segmentation of social groups and de-marginalisation of minorities. MVF put child rights in the centre of their activities. Children become concern of the individual and

\textsuperscript{43} In child labour free zones the majority of children in school age age in school and not in work. The majority is define as somewhere above 98 per cent. However the change of social norms is important.

\textsuperscript{44} During observation author observed engagement of pupil in Residential Bridge Courses (RBC) run from MVF. Children have the possibility get engaged in these committees to run daily routine e.g. to serve food for other children, to organize events and meetings. Responsibilities are shared in committees (second dimension of labour). Stuff member argued taking over private sphere responsibilities as no work nor labour. It is more 'managing' living together. As long as the Right to Education is not jeopardized taking over domestic work and common task was somehow legitimised. The potential of exploitation in the domestic sphere will need future discussion. Latter towards deep rooted gender inequalities and patriarchy.

\textsuperscript{45} In earlier documents the foundation use social mobilisation. Recently the connotation shifted towards community mobilisation as official documents on the right to education and combating child labour use the phrase. In practise however both may be used synonym.
'collective identity' as a shared 'we', 'one-ness' or 'we-ness' (cf. Snow 2001; Polletta and Jasper 2001; cf. Durkheim 'collective conscience'; cf. Marx 'class consciousness'). Further shared identity address and tackle the widespread attitude towards the poor as less likely to send their children to school and the believe education is irrelevant in rural and backwards regions. Local youth activists are crucial. Local activists are the backbone of community mobilisation. They are essential for a success mobilisation – towards the change of the social norms from 'child labour' to 'child education'. Encouragement of local community members avoid unintended consequences through contextualisation of local characteristics (cf. Ruddick 2003: 345, Murphy 2005: 62ff, Pamulaparthi 2008: 9). However MVF facilitate local activists and support the organisation of Child Rights Protection Committees (CRPC), Girls Rights Protection Forums (CRPF), Bala Karmika Vimochana Vedika (BKVV, Teachers Forum) and Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs). Forums and committees bring together heterogeneous community groups. Information regarding the impact of education, laws and regulations are spread in decentralized meetings. Local culture like songs and street plays are transmitter for community mobilisation. Illustrated community problems in general and child centred problems in particular become easy to pick up from community members. Community members will discuss and relate issues to their own reality. Community mobilisation build a consensus regarding further activities. However in village Youth Groups or Girls Youth Groups children and young adults come together. MVF enable them to speak ('informed') on their own issues and 'evolving capacities' (cf. Wazir/Saith 2009: 17, 54). Therefore activists are trained from senior stuff in the following three main areas: (1) politics of education (Why education is being denied?, Why the poor need education?); (2) the policies of education (How government policies work and affect the population?) and (3) child rights (Robertson 2007: 40).

MVF staff member and local activists empowerment people. Their method of operation is decentralized awareness rising and information campaigns, wall paintings, public discussion with local authorities, rallies and so on. Communities will start claiming rights towards officials. 'Empowerment implies restoring to people the agency in the process of social transformation where government institutions are merely instruments in the hands of the people rather than government being centre of all power before which people are humble supplicants. This results in deepening democracy and the discovery of its revolutionary potential as a system of government, which is pro-

46 There is no common name for activists. Some stuff member may call them volunteers some activists. However they are paid a small amount from MVF. Following 'activists' are paid members of the local community.

47 In some documents committees are named forums, too. The hand in paper use both synonym.

48 'Bhoomi thalli biddalam' is a street play on the impact of bonded labour; 'Pellikenduku tondara' oppose child marriages; 'Padandi badiki' pick up incidents of child labour in cotton farming; 'Palle suddulu' intend to raise awareness on health (cf. Pamulaparthi 2008: 6)
people.’ (Mahajan 2008: 83) However the right to health, sufficient nutrition, paternity rights and rights of the girl will supplement the right to education. Latter interfere with the right to education (see for example chapter 1; 6.3). Community members will pay attention towards children. They will discuss and motivate all parents to send their children to school. Employers and landlords will be either public honoured or blamed for recognition and violation of child rights respectively (cf. Murphy 2005: 68f, Gurumurty 2008: 3).

Previous child labourer's and OOSC will be main-stream. Children in school going age are main-streamed direct in public formal schools. Older children are send to Bridge Courses either residential or non-residential\(^{49}\). The RBC intend to facilitate age appropriate education. After twelve to eighteen month children shall be main-streamed into formal schools. However 'hard to reach' children may attend first motivation centre and summer schools. Both centres and schools facilitate especially first generation learner's and children who never attend school for some reason. Time spend give children and parents an idea what learning and school mean (cf. table 9). All activities are guide from MVF staff or trained volunteers. They are vital part of the community and engaged in social mobilisation.

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\(^{49}\) For simplification the acronym RBC is use for both residential and non-residential BCs.
Sustainable empowerment need training. MVF facilitate trainings and technical support for both staff member and local communities. Training material is provided as modules, mainly in Telugu\(^5\). Success of MVF is acknowledged across India and abroad. MVF is funded from a large body of national and international child advocates (e.g. UNDP/NORAD, Catholic Relief Services, Actionaid, IRD Tata Trust, Sri Dorabji Tata Trust, Hyderabad Round Table (cf. MCF –). NGOs both national and international as well as state governments call MVF for advise to improve their performance (cf. Wazir and Saith 2009: 35).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>There are a lot of assumptions about community work in India: Parts of the society especially communities in the rural areas like STs and SCs are close and unwilling to listen to people from 'outside'. Traditions (child labour, child marriages, bonded labour system) are assumed to be stronger than arguments child rights and education. But experiences of MVF illustrate another picture: Parents are likely to send their children to school against all odds. They do not want to make them suffer same problems. Encouraged from community leaders and facilitated from MVF they send their children to school. Regular meetings, personal and group interaction and public discussions with good arguments regarding health, education and future of the child count. Activists play an crucial role. Within the help from MVF they empower communities on child rights and towards the social norm 'child labour'.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(MVF staff member)</td>
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First hand experiences from more than 80,000 youth volunteers and community members who are proactive for child rights and related issues. MVFs success refer to the work of 'thousands of local volunteers, school teachers (BKKV), political leaders, members of gram panchayats and Child Rights Protection Forums [who] participate[d] in the movement for protection of children's rights.' (Gurumurty 2008: 6). By end of 2009 MVF withdrawn up to 600,000 children from work. All were enrolled into full-time, formal government schools. 50,000 children half bonded labourer's was withdrawn from labour and send to RBCs. Between 1991 and 2000 child labour has been full eradicated from more than 200 villages (Wizar 2002: 9 cited in Murphy 2005: 69) and bounded labour from 509 villages (Sinha 2004: 101 cited in Murphy 2005: 69). Until 2010 1500 Gram Panchayats (GP) are called 'child labour free zones' (cf. MVF –).

### 3. 'School instead of child labour in the cotton fields' – Accelerating towards child labour in Andhra Pradesh

In January 2012 the project 'School instead of child labour in the cotton fields' between MVF and GEW was launched. The target: up to 3.000 girl child labourer's shall be withdrawn from their work in cotton seed fields in Kurnool District (Dornipadu Mandal) in Southern Andhra Pradesh (AP). A child labour free zone shall be established. Children in school age shall be main-streamed direct in formal public schools. For older children a RBC shall be set up and run by MVF. The project is

\(^{5}\) Source: unstructured interview Training in charge
projected for three years. Recently the target was adjusted. GOI announced a RBC in a neighbour district. The order was given to another NGO. Activists however send OOSC in school going age to public schools and older children to RBCs and government hostels.

More than three-fourths of the population in Andhra Pradesh live in rural areas. The project area highly depend on agriculture. 63 per cent and 34 per cent of the women and men respectively depend on low income agriculture. However agriculture contribute less than 20 per cent to the state GDP. More than 5 per cent higher than average Indian estimates. Majority of the inhabitants own a small piece of land. A number of fields is irrigate but the bulk highly depend on seasonal rainfall. One of the major crops is cotton. AP is known for cotton and cotton seed production. 65 per cent of the Indian production come from AP. Kurnool and Mahaboobnagar District contribute 90 per cent to the state production. Estimated 68 per cent of the working children work in the cotton and cotton seed production (NSS 2004/2005). The magnitude match with other Indian and global estimates. Agriculture is the largest employer of children. Child labour in the cotton seed production is wide spread. The '(…) introduction of genetically modified cotton seed had increased demand for child labor in the states of Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh' (cf. Singh 2012, see also MVF 2008, Venkateswarlu 2003, Venkateswarlu 2004, NCPCR 2007, Venkateswarlu 2010). However the harvest is sold to middle man or large scale farmers. Latter will sell the cotton either to large businesses from the region or MNCs. The economic structure and shortage in the labour market contribute seasonal migration of whole families.

**a) Children in Andhra Pradesh**

Until 1994 AP posed the highest incidents of child labour across the nation. In 2001 the share was 10.76 per cent. However political will and encouragement of civil society organisations pushed children into school. Magnitude of child labour dropped down from 1.7 million (1991) to 1.4 million child labourer's in 2001 (cf. NCPRC nd: 7). However in 1991 more than half of the children in school-going age remained OOS. Ten years later more than 73 per cent was enrolled. At the same time the number of drop-outs was halved from 50.8 per cent (1991) to 26.2 per cent in 2001. Optimistically state government announced eradication of child labour before 2004 (Resolution of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly 29. March 2001 cited in ILO 2002: 20).

Programmes successfully withdrawn children from work and pushed them into school. The WPR in

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51 MVF prepare children in RBCs for a number of years. Like other parts of the approach the concept was adopted from the governments towards combating child labour. RBCs became part of RTE 2009.
1991 was double the national average of 5.4 per cent. In 2001 WPR came down nationally and in AP, 5 per cent and 7.7 per cent was estimated on the national and state level respectively. Younger children was less engaged in child labour than their counterparts in the age group 10 to 14. The WPR was nearly equal for girls and boys age 5 to 9 years. Boys age 10 to 14 was more likely to work. Comparing figures from 1991 and 2001 WPR for the age 5 to 14 dropped down to 5 per cent while incidents of child labour in the age group 5 to 9 years increased from hardly one to 1.4 per cent (NCPCR nd: 5f, cf. GOI 2012). A higher number children seem to combine work and school in the younger age group. NSS 2004/2005 however reveal the overall decline of child labour. The number dropped down from 1.4 million (Census 2001) to 1.2 million in 2004/2005. Share on the national estimates of child labour however remained 13.2 per cent. Majority of the child labourer's (1.05 million) worked in rural AP. Recently published data reveal the trend. The share of state child labour dropped down to 4.71 per cent or 235 000 (GOI –a). The state target for eradication of child labour was revised. In 2020 the state should be child labour free (–).

AP is 'yet to achieve[d]' the goal of universalisation of elementary education. In rural AP attendance, outcomes, basic facilities and teachers shortage remain still an issue. Majority of the primary (98.8 per cent), upper primary (79.9 per cent) and secondary (59.4 per cent) schools is accessible in less than 1 km. Access to school contribute the decline in absenteeism. Across the state investments facilitated a number of improvements in rural schools especially in terms of learning outcomes of students (Government of Andhra Pradesh 2012: 126f, ASER 2011). However the optimistic outlook is muddy from more than 172.000 children OOS.

AP estimate 172.000 children OOS. 51 per cent never attended school somewhat 23 per cent less than the national average (74.9 per cent) However 49.4 per cent of the children dropped out before a full cycle. Approximately double the average of 25.1 per cent. Somewhat one third of OOSC was children with special needs. OOSC living below the poverty line, in slums, belonging to ST, SC, OBC, Muslim and other communities was below the national average, too. 1.52 per cent and 1.29 per cent of the boys and girls respectively was OOSC. National rural-urban disparity was reveal in AP. In rural areas 1.49 per cent and in urban areas 1.19 per cent was OOSC (Government of Andhra Pradesh 2008: 137f, see table 9).
Andhra Pradesh perform better regarding gender. Estimates illustrate a contrary trend in Andhra Pradesh. Girls are less likely to drop out in rural areas (6 to 13 years) and urban areas (6 to 10 years) than their counterparts. Magnitude is estimated below estimates for boys in rural areas (6 to 13 years) and age 6 to 10 in urban areas. Boys are more likely to drop out in the national average at the age 10 to 13. Rural-urban and gender disparities reveal but in the reverse. Latter may be the impact of special education programmes for girls. Majority of OOSC in rural areas and significant more girls than boys in both rural and urban areas dropped out in AP. Girls was more likely to drop out at the age 6 to 10 (52.7 per cent in rural and 23.8 per cent in urban areas). Age 11 to 13 gender gap is negligible. Across the country more OOS boys than girls in rural and half-half in urban areas dropped out for some reason. Total drop outs among OOSC in AP was far above the national average. In AP 44.5 per cent of boys and 56.02 per cent of girls dropped out. National estimates was halve. Here 26.14 per cent and 24.06 per cent boys and girls dropped out respectively (cf. SSA 2009a).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>India</th>
<th>Andhra Pradesh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total children</td>
<td>190,582,581</td>
<td>12,193,879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out-of-school children</td>
<td>8,150,617</td>
<td>172,354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3.92%</td>
<td>1.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4.71%</td>
<td>1.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>4.53%</td>
<td>1.49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>3.18%</td>
<td>1.19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children never attend school</td>
<td>6,104,059</td>
<td>8,723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never attended children as % of OOSC</td>
<td>74.89%</td>
<td>50.61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children who dropped out</td>
<td>2,046,558</td>
<td>8,513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drop-outs as % of OOSC</td>
<td>25.11%</td>
<td>49.39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children with special needs (CWSN)</td>
<td>2,897,096</td>
<td>12,194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CWSN as % of OOSC</td>
<td>34.12%</td>
<td>30.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of OOSC among children in BPL families</td>
<td>5.03%</td>
<td>2.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of OOSC among children living in slum areas</td>
<td>3.47%</td>
<td>1.18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of OOSC among SC children</td>
<td>5.96%</td>
<td>2.18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of OOSC among ST children</td>
<td>5.60%</td>
<td>2.31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of OOSC among Muslim children</td>
<td>7.67%</td>
<td>1.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of OOSC among OBC and other children</td>
<td>2.67%</td>
<td>1.12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Selected estimates of OOSC age 6-13 India and Andhra Pradesh
(SSA 2009a, Government of Andhra Pradesh 2008)
Different calculation of OOSC and drop outs contribute a wide range of estimates (see for example Ramachandran et all 2003). The Department of Education Andhra Pradesh reported a decline in drop outs from 70.7 per cent in early 1970s to 24.3 per cent in 2005/2006. DISE stated 10.8 per cent drop outs in 2005/2006. Same with OOSC: The Census 2001 estimated number of OOSC 3.5 million. NSS reported 1.21 million OOSC in 2005. Time-based surveys are important to identify target group to provide sufficient budgets towards accelerating child labour and the implementation of the right to education.

b) Children in Dornipadu Mandal

All children OOS are child labourer's. Before the project initially started activists supported from MVF staff conduct a door-to-door campaign. The area-based household survey collect data from children below the age 18 years. Child right advocates bring together data regarding age, gender, social background and current activity. The survey displace official 'guesstimate' (Marsden 2009: 20) and provide time-based figures regarding OOSC and working children. Latter important in meetings and negotiation with officials and employers towards implementation of child rights.

In early 2012 hardly 7.400 children live in the project region in Dornipadu Mandal. The number of children in school age (6 to 14 years) was 3512. Another 1067 children was age 15 to 18. 703 children in 7346 was was OOSC. Incidents of OOSC was higher for old age children than for younger children. Number of OOSC was 244 and 459 age 6 to 14 and 15 to 18 respectively. Incidents of girls OOS are predominant age 6 to 14. 154 girls and 107 boys was OOS (age 6-14). Gender disparity is negligible at the age 15 to 18. Share of girls and boys was 235 girls and 234 boys respectively (see table 10). Estimates reveal gender disparities. However they are comparable with other state reports (cf. Young lives 2011) but in contrast with official state figures. In the project area 6.9 per cent and 43 per cent of the children age 6 to 14 and 15 to 18 respectively are OOSC. Reported number of OOC age 6 to 14 is far above the national and state average. 2.4 per cent and 1.4 per cent of the children age 6 to 13 are OOS in India and AP respectively (cf. SSA 2009a). However the data is updated regularly to document the progress of the project and to identify fluctuation (e.g. because of migration). In the latest update 730 in 7369 children (age 6 to 18) was OOS (MVF 2012).
Age (in years) | Female | Male | Total
--- | --- | --- | ---
0 - 2 | 388 | 389 | 777
3 - 5 | 596 | 697 | 1293
6 - 14 | 1629 | 1883 | 3512
out-of-school | 148 | 96 | 244
15-18 | 448 | 619 | 1067
out-of-school | 230 | 229 | 459
Total | 3439 | 3907 | 7346

Table 10: Household Survey Dornipadu Mandal (March 2012)

The provision of UEE in AP still remain uneven. Literacy rate range from 30 to 75 per cent. 50 per cent and 20 per cent of the inhabitance and female respectively are literate in Kurnool district. However introduced non-detention rule (1971) and per head scaling of dry ration and MDMs contribute fiction enrolment. Once the name of a child was registered the name was carried from one class to another no matter if the child physically present, dropped out or repeat a class. Incidents of fiction enrolment along with under- and over-age children in primary schools lift up APs Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) above 100 per cent. The Net Enrolment Ration (NER) is somewhat 95 per cent. In AP there are great inter and intra district varieties regarding school attendance. Both GER and NER are less likely to picture real regular attendance. Gender disparities in attendance are higher for rural areas – such as Kurnool District – than for urban areas (Government of Andhra Pradesh 2008a: 96ff). Discrepancy between school enrolment and number of drop outs underline the importance for quality education. Education however need positive attribution towards the social norm 'child education'.

c) The second freedom struggle to break the chains of illiteracy - Changing social norms

Communities and families are small open economy ('domestic economic community', cf. Weber 1980) in a wider market economy. Based on intra-familiar hierarchies parents – mainly male head of the household – are assumed to take decision for other family members. Children and especially girls are less assumed to take decisions (cf. Brannen 1985). However the decisions will depend on opportunity cost for education, expected returns from education and access to other financial resources to maintain well-being of the family. Better-off parents may articulate manifest demand for education. Others for some reason latent demand or no demand. Provision of quality education

\[\text{footnote}{The following part intend to illustrate process oriented community mobilisation after the base line survey was conducted. The paragraph base on unstructured interviews and field visits.}\]

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address both manifest and latent demand directly. Right based campaigns create demand where there was no demand for education. Parents for some reason parents may articulate doubts regarding participation in education. However officials have to meet demand and doubts through the provision of quality education. In India centre and state governments emphasize civil society organisations – such as MVF – towards the implementation of the Right to Education. 'Such a strategy serves to impact upon global neoliberalism from its necessities of both supply (through withdrawal of labour) and demand (through transnational civil society campaigns and ethical consumerism in the north).’ (Sutcliffe 2012: 57) MVF address both supply and demand for quality education. However at the end it is a matter of changing social norms to make communities and schools child friendly.

d) Communities – demand of child labour

Community mobilisation reach out to all OOSC and their families. The door-to-door survey is an important step towards community members and target families. Arguing for child rights and the right to education in individual, and later group and public discussions change attitudes towards children and education. Child rights bring together community members from different backgrounds in favour for collective actions for the right to education.

Through the door-to-door campaign activists get a first picture of the diversity of the community, potential problem areas and conflicts. Social disparities and attitudes towards minorities and the poor need bridged. A meeting with village elders and one teacher near Dornipadu Town may illustrate complexity of reality:

During the harvest a number of farmers require additional labourer's. Landowners would employ one hundred landless labourer's from the village and additional migrant workers. During the season not less than four hundred seasonal migrant labourer's are employed. Latter would live in the village for a period of days or weeks. Farmers provide shelter and food for labourer's and their families. Adult labourer's are paid one thousand RS per acre. To gather one acre three labourer's have to work one day. Many migrant labourers stay with their families. Adults leave for work on the field during the day. Normally children care for younger siblings or join their parents on the field. Farmers only pay adult workers. Previously they believed work in the cotton fields can be done only from children, especially from girls. Across the years believes changed. Larger size of fields and increase in market demand facilitated introduction of new technology. New technology required adults to finish harvest in time.

53 Own notes from a meeting near Dornipadu Town, 3. July 2012.
On the question where children from farmers stay during the day farmers collectively responded 'in school'. The teacher however illustrate a picture of migrant children who are not interested in school. Referring to the teacher children are more likely to join their parents in the field.

Village elders illustrate the seasonal scenario: Migrant labourer's maintain harvest in the region. Approximately four hundred migrant labourer's will come to one village to support one hundred landless labourer's from the village. Referring to the village elders labourer's gain somewhat 330 RS per day and acre independent from working conditions, weather and personal well-being. Children may or may not join the parents in the field. However farmers provide migrant families shelter and food. The village elders, at the same time employer and landowners distinct between their own and children from migrant labourer's. Former are send to school whereas latter are OOS. The teacher assume children from migrant labourer's less interested in school. Teachers attitude towards children from migrant labourer's may be shared from village elders. Both elders and teacher tend to treat and value well-being of children's from outside and their own community different. They construct two categories ('we' and 'others'). However attitudes illustrated mirror parents responsibilities towards kinship and teachers responsibilities towards students. Both does not bother about children from outside. Social hierarchies and caste may interfere with a self-centred perception. Latter embedded in western norms and values that conflict with traditional norms and values. However classification tend to maintain ascription and 'self-image' from 'we' (community) and 'others' (migrants). Migrants are assumed to be less interested in school; less worth to gain education as no one cares about them. The attribution reproduce and manifest exclusion in the village and school as a 'self-fulfilling procedure'.

AP in general and Dornipadu Mandal in particular highly depend on agriculture. The village elders describe the dependence from the seasonal harvest from migrant labourer's. Before and during the season middlemen – a number of them are farmers, too – facilitate flow of labour migration to the region. Towards implementation of child rights middlemen are crucial.

Closely to the monsoon farmers contract labourer's. Migrant labourer's are trafficked from middlemen to the region. Employers may refer to same labourer's based on debt-bondage or employment will random (see chapter 2.5). However the flow of migrant labourer's reach the peak close to the season. During that time MVF scheduled a meeting with employers and middlemen in the Dornipadu Town. MVF representative introduced the meeting with an overview regarding labour laws and regulations.

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54 Own notes from a meeting in Dornipadu Town, 17. July 2012.
The farmers and middlemen raised questions regarding the dominance of Multinational Companies. Some farmers pointed out majority of the MNC's agreed ban of child labour but a large number hand over the responsibility to employers. The farmers should decide either they employ children or not.

Other participants claimed proper implementation of NREGA to ensure household income. During the last season, no employment was provided from the government. The Mandal Government Official recalled the case of a government employee who was picked up with 17 lakh Rs in his car. The case is still pending.

MNCs have a great impact on the agricultural sector. Putting pressure on the supply chain they allocation profits. Each middlemen will add a surplus to make profit. Farmers depend on selling the harvest either to middlemen or larger businesses. However the more stages between farmer and large businesses the higher the price pressure for those on the bottom. The farmers therefore will employ cheap labourer's for maximum profit. During the meeting both employers and middlemen raised doubts regarding feasibility of a harvest without child labour. MVF staff pointed out legal penalties. Referring to practise from other regions doubts was minimized in a peer to peer discussion. Activists called participants not to facilitate child labour (migration). Without social pressure, awareness rising on laws and on child rights employers are less likely to employ adult labourer's. However the work need to be done. When there are no child labourer's available – because children are in school – than employers have to employ adult labourer's. Adult labourer's will bargain for higher wages and improvements. At the same time employers have to bargain for a better market prize towards MNCs. Other participants claim proper implementation of NREGA.

The distinct case of NREGA illustrate the potential of corruption. One employee was picked up with 1.7 million Rs. The money was deposited for NREGA in Dornipadu Mandal. In the last season the fund was not available. Inhabitants had to relay on other sources of employment. Latter may be worst paid than the minimum wage under NREGA. However the call illustrate the importance of additional employment opportunities in rural areas especially regions depend on seasonal rainfall like Dornipadu. The official commitment of regular provision in the current season support MVF's initiatives towards community mobilisation.

At the end of the meeting farmers and middlemen agreed to report number of labourer's trafficked and employed. Additionally employers committed to employ only adult labourer's. MVF will follow up agreements. Every incident of child labour will be documented and discussed with concerned employers, middlemen and community members.

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55 The activists was called from MVF to convince target group in the new project area.
The summer schools and motivation centre brought together students and OOSC. Trained youth volunteers supervised children. They offer different activities like games and cultural activities. School teaching in the narrower sense was not intended. Activities however prevent both students and OOSC to get engaged in child labour during vacations. Especially OOSC and their families should get an idea about learning and school routine; a low level step to decrease the barriers towards school. MVF used summer vacation to conduct summer schools. The 45 days project was run in collaboration with the Education Department and funded from community members. Five in twenty-nine headmaster accepted the offer for a summer school. 170 children mainly in primary school age participated in the summer schools. Nevertheless vacations a small number of teacher participated in summer schools, too.

On 12th June the International Day against Child Labour activists organized campaigns, meetings and rallies, wall paintings and writings in a number of villages. Both rallies and campaigns used local culture like songs and street plays in Telugu (local language). Close to the new school year enrolment campaigns was conducted to raise awareness on the RTE.

"Outside the school all go their own way – to the church, to the temple, to the mosque... When the teacher is not able to build up confidence among the parents in his teaching and government schools upper castes will send their children to private schools. (…) Teachers have to fill the gap between the community and the school. It is a crucial exercise that only can be done by the teacher."

(TFCR member from Tandu Town, North AP)

MVF debate with communities and parents on the importance of education. Mobilisation of employers and middlemen for child rights is important but only one side of the coin. Implementation of the Right to Education need a change in the attitudes towards education. Schools need to be ready for children. The change of social norm towards education is impossible without mobilisation of teachers and schools. Teachers are crucial for the implementation of the right to education. Further school is argued as the only place to bring together community members with different background.

e) Communities – demand of education

In the early 1990s as the right to education movement started, access to schools was the major problem. The movement had to challenge a deep root elite education system. The system was made from and for the better-off. 'Schools are the nurseries of the nation.' (Batra 2013: 220) School and

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56 The programme was funded through donation of more than 6,000 RS from community members. The money was spend for learning materials, food, new equipment such as fans, and more.

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education was build around teachers who alight students. Teachers are role models and nation builder like the former president A.P.J. Abdul Kalam (2003) (see also Kumar 2005 cited in Batra 2013, Times of India 2009). Referring to Kulapati (1972) teachers are Upadhyaya, Acharya and Guru. The teacher as Upadhyaya will make children familiar with knowledge. He facilitate the intrinsic desire of knowledge by making the children 'drink from the fountain of knowledge'. He does not rest to teach children the 'treasure of wisdom' by his own example (Acharya) and scatter spiritual that may envelop the best and guide children to the highest (Guru). Teachers are assumed to take over the responsibility to instruct, inspire and illumine children as 'second parent'. Therefore the profession is 'not a craft but calling', 'not a profession but a mission' it is both duty and privilege (Kulapati 1972: 89ff, cf. Panda 2005: 112). ‘Teachers are the architects of the Future.’ (cf. Batra 2013: 220) Aspirations towards the teacher is still high. The myth of education as part of upper castes still remain (cf. Batra 2013). However in an education system build around enlightenment members from lower castes face segregation and exclusion. Therefore unsurprisingly not only the lack of schools but the admission process distracted parents to send their children to school (cf. Ramachandran et all 2003). School was not ready for first generation learners, OOSC and child labourer's. Processes like formal procedure of admission and transition did not fit to illiterate parents. Parents did not understand what to do and where to go. The system was build around a distinct understanding of procedure and formality. Families with improper economic, cultural and social capital was exclude from the the beginning (cf. Bourdieu 199257).

What is in a village? A bus station, electricity infrastructure, a school, a hospital, fine. People does not know how the bus station and the electricity works and who is responsible when there is no bus or no electricity. But people know the hospital. They know the doctors, the manager… same is the case with the school. But why does parent not send their children to school? They are unfamiliar with school procedure, the school system. Majority of the parents are illiterate. They does not know which documents they need for the registration, where they can get them... For parents school is complex and difficult to understand. But employment is easy to understand: The employment system runs well. Landlords or contractors are well organized. They come to the villages and houses and request cheap labour. They know people depend on (family) employment... Schools does not do this – they does not come to houses and ask about the children.

(MVF staff member)

57 Economic, cultural and symbolic capital is expressed in thoughts, behaviour and values. Economic capital is freely convertible into money and poverty. Cultural capital summarize all norms and values educated during ones lifespan. It is visible in certificates. The cultural capital is completed by books, pictures – those capital is devisable. Both are part of symbolic capital. Latter largely invisible as it is expressed through behaviour, attitudes and perceptions and (re)shaped by society. However all forms are convertible on one another. All refer to economical capital but are more than that (cf. Bourdieu 1992).
Poor and illiterate parents are less likely to send their children to school. MVF experience show parents are likely to send their children to school. But school was not ready for children from backward areas or lower caste. For admission parents had to submit child's birth certificate. But at that time in large parts of the country birth registration was rare. Same in the case of absence because of own disease or disease of a family member. Parents had to bring a letter of apology from a doctor. But only in a few regions health centre was accessible. Lack of attendance put students at risk to be pushed out of school. Additionally admission was possible once a year only. Social mobilisation and the release of child labour however does not ask about the school year. The transition form primary to upper primary school was another pitfall. Bulk of the parents especially from lower classes did not know how to get official documents and where to go. Normally nobody was willingness to help parents and children. MVF activists encouraged communities and teachers. As intermediaries teachers interacted with education officials and parents. Early teachers conducted Parent-Teacher-Alliances (PTA) and night meetings. Latter to ensure participation from working parents. Teachers informed and discussed parents about the progress of the student. However the PTA spread faith and trust in schools and teachers. Continuous pressure from communities relaxed and changed legal regulations for birth certificates and transfer medical. Since 2001 the primary school headmaster is responsible for proper transition of whole classes. Parents was released from the burden and slowly redevelop trust and confidence towards the system.

'The main challenge was to organize demand for education in the village and to enforce supply of education facilities by the government. However enrolment increased. First there were 25, 95 and more than 100 students in school. Question of quality education displaced the question of enrolment: There was only one room for all students first to fifth class. Community members collected money for volunteer teachers. MVF financed another volunteer teacher to guarantee education for every child.'

(TFCR member)

'During Independence Day I saw a number of out-of-school children and child labourer. Both did not attend school. I was interested in the problems they face and wanted to help them. (...) I faced a number of challenges: high teachers-student ratio (1:50), lack of transport facilities, minorities were taught in Telugu or English but not in their mother-tongue, children came to school without breakfast, without notebooks, without pens. (...) A large number of the children came from poor family background. I collected one side printed paper and let them bind. Students used them as notebooks for their studies. For the lessons I used natural material and I conducted street plays to collect money for handicapped children, too.'

(TFCR member)

The enrolment drive in the early 1990s and again in the 2000s created shortage of teacher. Previous teacher was responsible for a small number of students. Now class strength increased up to hundred and more students. MVF encourages teachers on child rights and quality education. Both teachers (see above) illustrate their experiences and strategies. In the first case GP collected money for a volunteer teacher to facilitate the regular teacher. However volunteers often did not meet professional qualification. Their aspiration towards teaching may be 'linking for teachers profession', 'to avoid unemployment', 'for the purpose of a regular job' or 'financial need' (cf. EdCIL 2009: 23f). However they was likely to fill teachers shortage.

Across the country state governments launched different schemes to fill the shortage of teacher. A culture of voluntarism emerged and was boosted from WB as part of Poverty Reduction Schemes (PRS). Elites intend to govern the poor with some education. Policies picked up the demand for education and the wide spread demand to serve the community – both united by enthusiasm (cf. Venkatesh 1996, Vrijendra 2000: 3092f, Barta 2013). New teachers known as para-teacher shall improve People-Teacher-Ratio (PTR) and ensure access to schools mainly in rural and backward areas in single teacher schools. The number of single teacher schools increased up to 12 per cent in 2006 and another 42 per cent are schools with two teachers, only (Government of Andhra Pradesh 2012: 105f). Para-teachers was appointment from the community. The appointment shall increase teachers accountable and decrease absenteeism. Additionally studies argue para-teacher outperform regular teachers. Students taught from volunteers pose better outcomes (e.g. DISE 2006, Kingdon et all 2011, Chaudhury et all 2006, Govinda 2002, Atherton and Kingdon, 2010, Goyal and Pandey, 2009, Verger and van der Kaaij 2012). But outcomes may refer towards the aspiration for a permanent job as a civil servant (Duthilleul 2005). But para-teachers are a low cost alternative to meet the high enrolment figures. Until 2008 para-teachers in AP was paid 1.000 RS per month only. AP ranged on the bottom pay scale for para-teacher. The payment was increased up to 1.500 RS per month. The salary however is still a fraction of the regular teachers salary. Regular primary and upper primary teacher draw salaries 5.470-12.385 RS and 7.200-16.195 RS per month respectively (EdCIL 2009: 13). Anyway para-teacher lack service conditions of their counterparts. No leave is given to both male and female. Duration of employment is up to ten month. In AP there is no opportunity for a regular contract. Teachers however may contracted several times. The bulk of para-teachers worked less than one year (38.7 per cent) and another 20 per cent between one and two years. Unless the debate on quality education and decent work India's governments introduce(d) liberalise teachers appointment. At the same time incentives shall be link to learning outcomes and attendance. The policy still continue national and international (e.g. De
Teachers are crucial for social mobilisation on the Right to Education. Their performance and attitude towards the community will have impact on communities attitude towards education. Schoolteachers performance influence parents decision to send their children to school or to work. GOI estimate half a million vacancies and another 0.6 million untrained teacher in the country (9.4 per cent of the primary school teacher in 2009, NUEPA 2011). However UNESCO state a lack of more than two million teachers by 2015 additional to the untrained teachers already in service (UNESCO 2010). To fill up the shortage with qualified teacher and to qualify employed untrained teacher will need more than six per cent of GDP not counted additional expenditure for upgrade and enlargement of public teachers training centres (Barta 2013).

The National Centre for Teachers Education (NCTE) in collaboration with District, Block and Cluster Resource Centres is in-charge for teachers training. Centres offer trainings for both para- and regular teachers. In AP regular teacher and para-teacher gain 30 and 7 days of induction-training respectively. Equally 12 days of in-service training are provided for both (EdCIL 2009: 17f, cf. SSA 2011). Pre-service and in-service training shall maintain and improve quality of teachers performance. Nineteen days of training shall qualify para-teacher to perform in multi-grade schools and to ensure students outcomes. However a number of teacher was send in school without any training. The short term training imply breaking down of curricular and pedagogical processes into small and easy to handle pieces. Latter standardised and easy to apply by 'less-skilled but suitably-trained individuals' (para-teacher, Nambisson cited in Basu 2013: xxvii, Barta 2013: 225, Kruijer 2010). The dual system of para- and regular teachers does not only undermine the professional identity but contribute a permanent competition. Para-teacher are continuous under pressure to perform best for a fraction of the regular salary in aspiration for a permanent contract. Regular teacher are indeed better paid but in permanent observation and pressure not to be outperformed from para-teachers. Official education policy jeopardize decent work of teachers for a cost effective solution to achieve quantity but not qualify education.

In practise both para- and regular teacher have to cope with lack of quality education. Enrolment drive contributed crowded rooms, high pupil-teacher-ratios, lack of study and teaching material such as textbooks (in English and mother tongue), lack of quality teachers education and poor education facilities. Early the provision of textbooks, chalks, blackboards, proper sanitation and

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60 Centre and state share the budget 75 per cent and 25 per cent respectively. However the training is provided from public and unregulated private training institutions.

61 All teachers who are appointed before September 2001 would not acquire revised teacher education qualifications. Instead an upgrade of low or now teacher qualification has to be undergone until March 2015.
drinking water was not covered from public schemes. Therefore teachers had more to refer to alternative sources of material and simply to cope with circumstances. One teacher illustrate his coping strategy: He collected paper for notebooks and taught students with natural material (see above). A whiff of idealism and altruism but what a Member of the Legislative Council AP called for during a meeting:

"They [teachers, E.M.] only need to go out of the classroom, out of the school. The village and nature is the best place for studies. The Monsoon has started? Teach students how weather progresses. There is a rainbow? Teach them optical sciences. You want to teach them irrigation? Go out and show them how it works! [At the end] Teaching and pedagogy need a commitment from the teacher! A commitment for creative and critical thinking, not repetition of knowledge."

(Member of the Legislative Council Andhra Pradesh)\textsuperscript{62}

The early stated lack (see above notes from teachers) is reveal regular by reports (see for example ASER 2011, IDFC 2013). However teachers cited was encouraged from MVF and peers to guarantee every child the right to education. Other teachers may became demotivated and discouraged because of failure of public policies.

The following chapter broadly examine teachers experiences and daily routine in Dornipadu Mandal. The content refer to teacher interviews, personal observations and material facilitate from MVF. Teacher however was not mobilized from MVF, yet.

\textbf{f) Teachers and the Right to Education – Field Exploration}

The project area target fourteen villages with twenty-seven public government schools. Private schools left out as the project intend to strengthen public schools. However twenty-two in twenty-seven schools are primary schools. Seventy-seven regular and fifteen additional teacher are responsible for 2.428 students up to grade ten. In total forty are teachers in primary schools. Thirty-one and nine regular and additional teacher respectively work in primary schools. They are responsible for 1.118 students. As per school register 291 boys and 257 girls was absent on a particular day\textsuperscript{63}. Ten in twenty-seven schools under or over reported absenteeism from students. Among the schools was seven primary schools and four with additional teachers. Absenteeism from boys was under and over reported but absenteeism from girls was under reported only. Overall both boys and girls absenteeism was under reported. Reported gap between school and as per head counting was 18 and 53 for boys and girls respectively. School was more likely to under report girls absenteeism more than boys absenteeism (see table 11).

\textsuperscript{62} Personal notes; unstructured interview, 31. July 2012.

\textsuperscript{63} Unfortunately the exact date was not reported from MVF.
In a simple random sample nine into forty teacher from three different villages and four different schools was interviewed (see table 12). During the interview number of reported teacher was total fourteen. Two more than reported earlier from MVF (see above). However eleven in fourteen teacher was present and three absent. The interview was conducted with six male and three women teacher in four different schools. No school employed additional teachers and all schools offer co-education. One school however was a special school. The school teach Urdu language. The structured interview with open and closed questions was conducted during school time in distinct schools. Responses was note from the interviewer. However the teacher was requested to respond on questions regarding their social and family background, their level of education, their salary, affiliation towards any Teachers Union, MVF/TFCR, teachers training, Human and Child Rights in theory and practise and incidents of corporal punishment in particular (see Appendix). The following paragraph illustrate main results.

The average age of the nine interviewed teacher was 37 years. The youngest teacher was thirteen and the eldest forty-five years. Average age of women teacher was thirty-six and male teacher thirty-seven. All nine are Hindu. Six in nine belong to OBC and one SC. Two teacher did not respond. Only one teacher is from an urban area. Predominantly the mother of the teacher is housewife. Four and one attend school up to primary and up to upper primary respectively. Two mothers are illiterate and two teacher did not respond. However level of education of teachers father was reported higher than for teachers mother. No father was illiterate, two attend primary and two upper primary school. Three went for higher education. All was well settled as farmer, postmaster, tailor or Mandal Education Officer. All teachers are married and have own children expect one teacher. Wife's and husbands went for higher education. No matter higher education level currently five in six wife's stay at home. Another is teacher, too. Distinct all husbands are employed in higher position (bank employee, insurance agent and teacher). All teachers are member in Teachers Unions. Seven are affiliated to the State Teachers Union (STU) and two to the Progressive Recognized Teachers Union (PRTU). Latter teachers are employed in the same school. Duration of membership reported range between fourteen and six years. Majority became a Union member as they became a teacher.

Two teacher did not respond to all questions because of time constrains. They are left out at some point in time.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Number of regular Teachers (+ additional)</th>
<th>Enrolment</th>
<th>As per School Absent (as per head counting absent)</th>
<th>Reported gap as per school and as per head counting respectively attendance and absent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 MPPS (DPEP)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPPS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 MPPS (Spl)</td>
<td>1 (+1)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10 (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPPS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 MPPS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>19 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 MPUP</td>
<td>3 (+4)</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>20 (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 MPPS</td>
<td>0 (+1)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 MPPS</td>
<td>1 (+1)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZPHS</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>6 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 MPPS (Spl)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPPS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 MPPS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPUP</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 MPPS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 MPPS</td>
<td>1 (+1)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPPS (DPEP)</td>
<td>2 (+1)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 MPPS</td>
<td>1 (+1)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KGBV</td>
<td>6 (+2)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 MPS (BColony)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPPS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPPS (Spl)</td>
<td>2 (+1)</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPPS (Urdu)</td>
<td>0 (+2)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 MPPS</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 ZPHS</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPPS</td>
<td>– *</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPPS (Spl)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPPS (Spl2)</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sum students in Primary school-age</td>
<td>77 (+15)</td>
<td>1099</td>
<td>1329</td>
<td>291 (309)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 11: Attendance and absenteeism from students as per school and as per head counting in public government schools in the project area (Survey conducted from MVF, grey underlined primary schools)

MPS/PPS – public government primary schools under different schemes (DPEP) or special obligations (e.g. Spl or Urdu)

MPUP – public government upper primary schools

ZPHS – Zilla Parishad High Schools supervised and funded from local authorities (grade 6 to 10)

KGBV – Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya public government upper primary schools for girls

* – no data available

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Number of Teacher as per MVF report</th>
<th>Number of teacher</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Attendance</td>
<td>Absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>MPPS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>MPPS (Spl)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>MPPS</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Overview interviewed teacher

Seven teacher live with their families in pucca and two in semi pucca houses. Majority (eight) of the teacher became graduate from higher education. Three pose a PHD, three BaEdu, one MaEdu and one 'Bachelor of Arts'. Another pose an college degree only. The lowest salary reported is 12.090 Rs/p.m. and the highest 16.150 Rs/p.m. (see table 13). The highest salary is paid for PHD and the lowest for Bachelor of Arts. Teacher graduated from college may earn less (but did not respond). Obvious highest education degree 'PHD' is reported from male teachers only. Female teacher hold either a Bachelor or lower education degree. Reported salaries indicate no teacher is para-teacher. However currently no teacher give tuitions and faced any kind of harassment as professional. However one teacher dropped out in the childhood for some reason. Significant the teacher belong to SC and is female. The family of the teacher did not support the aspiration to go for a job. All other teacher did not reported lack of support either kinship, friends or society.

All teachers participate regular in teacher trainings offered from the government. On the question what is teach all teacher named subject related issues ('how to introduce a new subject (English)', 'textbook training', 'subject training'). Methodology and teachers performance ('how to teach children', 'teaching methodology', 'how develop skills in the child') was key respond. Subject development and evaluation/exams was mentioned once each. Referring to two teachers legal norms especially RTE Act and teachers behaviour is part of ever session. However latter was called from the same two teachers only. Seven in nine did not mention legal matter as regular part of the training.
Teacher became teacher for different reasons and with different aspirations. Teacher was requested about their reasons and aspirations. Majority replied a positive attitude towards children and the profession ('interested in teaching', 'like children', 'like to teach lessons', inspired from father, 'education field is good, that's why'). Partly the aspiration was mixed with financial constrains and lack of other opportunities ('for the sake of life', 'no alternative', 'other jobs may give more money').

The teachers point of view society has high expectations towards teachers. Teacher have to 'serve the society' as 'leader' and 'role models'. 'Good and quality education' shall make children 'good citizens'. Teacher shall facilitate 'children's development' in general and 'moral norms and values' and 'manners' in particular. Two teacher mentioned a different perception towards public and private school teachers. Additionally one in two pointed a difference in the perception across the years ('previous the value of a teacher was higher'). Interviewed teacher however reveal the aspiration and picture towards the profession and teaching lined out earlier (see 6.3e).

All teachers expect one know MVF at least by name. The one how did not know MVF yet currently joined the profession. The Foundation however is attribute with child rights, the right to education, enrolment, child labour, drop outs, child marriages, children's and girls education in particular and social activities (awareness programmes). In distinction only one teacher a headmaster heard from the Teachers Forum for Child Rights (TFCR), yet.

The interview refereed to a number of different – potential problematic - classroom situations. The situations however call for teachers professional intervention (see table 14). The teacher was requested to describe (with keywords) what she / he would intervene as professional.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Highest Education degree</th>
<th>Salary in RS per month (p.m.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>BA (of Arts)</td>
<td>12090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>BaEdu</td>
<td>15000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>–*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>PHD</td>
<td>16150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>BaEdu</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>PHD</td>
<td>12550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>PHD</td>
<td>13270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>BaEdu</td>
<td>12910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>MaEdu</td>
<td>12550</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Pay scale of teacher per gender and highest education degree among interviewed teacher

f = female, m = male; p.m. = per month; –* = no answer was given;
Ba = Bachelor; BaEdu = Bachelor in Education; MaEdu = Master in Education; PHD = degree of doctor
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Teachers answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 One of your students (boy) is looking outside the window for almost ten minutes. He does not pay attention.</td>
<td>'request to pay attention', 'listen to me', 'don't look outside', 'touching (short)', 'manage oral/verbal loud', 'to long would react earlier' (three times), 'asking what is there', 'go out with the whole class and look what is there', 'ask about the reason' (two times), 'situation analysis (student would be join from the teacher while other students remain in class)', 'stand up and come on this side – listen; what is the problem?', 'asking why he is looking outside and request answers regarding what was taught'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One of your students (girl) is looking outside the window for almost ten minutes. He does not pay attention.</td>
<td>Same treat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A group of two or more students is looking outside the window for almost ten minutes. He does not pay attention.</td>
<td>'shouting to control classroom situation', 'immediately go out with the children'; 'raise voice and trying to attract the lesson', 'stop the lesson and go out with the class to analyse the situation', 'go outside when there is something interesting', 'don't see to other side; not in front of the teacher (didn't happen, yet)', 'when there is an event would join with all students and come back to the classroom situation later'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 No matter what you teach every time one girl student ask questions regarding what you taught.</td>
<td>'repeat, repeat until it is clear', 'clarify several times', 'clarify doubts', 'encourage the student to understand (one time encourage later the student will not ask longer)', 'encourage the student several times', 'clarify doubts – several times'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No matter what you teach every time one girl student ask questions regarding what you did not teach, yet.</td>
<td>'Small children does not ask questions', 'problem will be postpone/later clarification' (two times), 'give more information from other books', 'encourage the student (after the class, too)', 'will tell as far he know; when he don't know will give answer later', 'discuss relevant matter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No matter what you teach every time one boy student ask questions regarding what you taught.</td>
<td>Same treat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 A group of students (girls and boys) does not do their homework for the first time.</td>
<td>'have to do homework in the classroom'; 'give group work out of school (after school)', 'request why they didn't do their homework; after school they have to do the work in school', 'ask about the reason; in the break students have to do homework', 'homework is compulsory; it's a bad habit; after the meal they have to do homework in'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Regularly a group of students (girls and boys) does not do their homework. 'call parents/discuss with parents to encourage children to do their homework' (two times), 'slowly explain and motivate students', 'inform parents children doesn't do homework', 'asking what are they doing (in front of all students)', 'referring to the homework repeat the topics', 'call parents and talk to them'

Would the intervention differ when you know the family background? 'after school students would do homework in school', same treat (two times)/'maintain equality', 'would support with material with the help of the community when alike is the reason', 'give more time, more books/material; encourage students and request other students to explain, too', 'motivate parents and explain the importance of education'

Would the intervention differ when the students are boys only? Same treat

Would the intervention differ when the students are girls only? Same treat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 14: Classroom situations and teachers intervention</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First illustrated situation result in a wide range of professional interventions. Interventions reported range from advise and punishment ('stand up and come on this side') to child centred methodology. Teacher who would use child centred methodology tend to request the students 'what happened'. A number would also go outside the classroom to 'analyse' the situation or to the 'take part'. Professionals however tend to use more child centred methodology when it is not only one student but a group of students (first second variation). The lack of attention may be attribute to the one student. A group of students however may not fail to pay attention to another situation outside the classroom. Another explanation for different interventions refer to the group dynamic. Handling a group of students with disciplinary methods may more crucial than one student.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The second situation direct call for a child centred approach. Requests from the student would be answered from all teacher through replication of the subject/the thematic (several times). Additionally more and other material would be hand over, too. The material shall encourage the student to find the answer themselves. The material however tend to left the student alone with the question. Another teacher refused. The teacher replied 'small children does not ask questions'. The response illustrate a distinct concept of children and indicate the hierarchy between teacher and student. Additionally the teacher may assume a lack of intrinsic aspiration from the student to gain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
knowledge. However three teacher would postpone the issue when they are not ready to give a proper answer to the student. The respond indicate authenticity. Teachers are assumed to clarify the students and their own doubt. Someone could also assume teacher postpone the answer because they count the student will forget the question. However more than in the first situation professional interventions would be child centred.

Regularly the third scenario is experienced from teacher: students does not do their homework. Like in the first situation teachers answer range from authority to child centred pedagogy. 'Shouting' would be use from one teacher. Majority of the teacher however order students to do the homework in school. Two situation was suggested: students have to do their homework during the lesson or in the break and after school respectively. In the first case students will not be able to follow proper the current lesson. Students may fail to finish their homework again when latter refer to the lesson. Students inability to do their homework may refer to a lack of understanding and / or material. Therefore second intervention (do homework after school) may create a cycle of failure in homework. Additionally the solution grab students free (break) and leisure time (after school). However students will be able to follow the current lesson. In the same situation (students does not do their homework) the call towards parents was prominent. Teacher would encourage parents to motivate children to do homework. Professionals may assume all parents are capable to support their children. In distinction to an earlier situation teacher would not ask the students for the reason of missing the homework. The reason is disclosed and locate in the private sphere, in the family. A number of teacher however would first explain the syllabus again (child centred methodology). Partly teachers solution would differ when they know students family background. If the background is familiar to the teacher the teacher would either support the student with material and/or call the community for support. Three teachers would maintain equality. No differentiation among the students would be made. It is questionable if latter mean equal support towards all students or no student. Overall three situations teachers responded to treat girls same as boys. A difference was made regarding personal affiliation or knowledge towards the family background of the students. In the last situation a number of teacher would encourage parents to support especially girl children. Teacher would also offer additional material. Responses reveal previous professional interventions (situation 2 see table 14).

Teachers responses on the classroom situation partly implicate the use of corporal punishment (CP). Students would called in front of the class and ordered with different methods. In the

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65 Corporal punishment is 'any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light. Most involves hitting (‘smacking’, ‘slapping’, ‘spanking’) children, with the hand or with an implement – a whip, stick, belt, shoe, wooden spoon, etc. But it can also involve, for example, kicking.
following part teacher was requested regarding their knowledge and understanding of CP.

Two in nine teacher use CP in school. One of the until RTE was enacted. Latter define CP as physical. The former teacher only mental. Three and two teacher use CP sometimes and do not use CP respectively in school (see table 15) Two in three teacher who apply CP sometimes define CP as physical but not mental. For the left teacher CP is mental only. Among the teacher who did not use CP one did not respond on the question. Only one teacher defined CP both mental and physical. An interesting finding not all teachers who use CP in school may not use CP at home. But all teacher who use CP 'sometimes' in school to maintain discipline or 'to increase encouragement' use CP at home. Two teacher differentiate between the school and home. Four in five teacher who 'use' or 'use sometimes' CP whether in school or at home experience(d) CP from other family members (siblings, own parents, wife or husband). Qualitative responses indicate 'moderate' forms of CP (see table 15) compare to studies. However 69 per cent of India's children (age 5 to 18) and 72 per cent (age 5 to 12) experience physical abuse, including CP regular. Commonly reported is slapping, kicking, beating with a stick, and being pushed or shaken, respectively. In 15 per cent of the reported cases, the individual indicated serious physical injury, swelling, or bleeding (GOI 2012a, for AP see Prasad 2006). One girl student met in Dornipadu Town (independent from the teachers interviews) confirmed results of the study. The girl experience regular CP in the government primary school and at home. She had to 'stand up for long hours' or 'sit like a chair'. Additionally she was being beaten with a ruler on the sole of feets, pinched and slapped to name only a few reported forms of CP. However it is assumed only crucial incidents are picked up by local and national media. The bulk of CP is remain unreported.

Intolerance towards CP and legal regulation contribute CP in school and home. Responses in the second part illustrate different level of knowledge regarding CP (see table 16). More than half of the teacher think CP is 'not forbidden by law'. One teacher was indifferent. He respond both ('it is forbidden by law' and 'it is not forbidden by law'). CP is allowed in the public sphere and CP is 'allowed in the public' but 'forbidden in the private sphere' is believed from one teacher each. Four teacher think there are 'punishments for any violation'. Two among them however respond CP is not forbidden by law. On the question if CP is followed up one teacher think 'no case is followed up'. The same teacher think CP is 'not forbidden by law'. However three teacher think 'a number of cases

shaking or throwing children, scratching, pinching, biting, pulling hair or boxing ears, forcing children to stay in uncomfortable positions, burning, scalding or forced ingestion (for example, washing children's mouths out with soap or forcing them to swallow hot spices). In the view of the Committee, corporal punishment is invariably degrading. In addition, there are other non-physical forms of punishment that are also cruel and degrading and thus incompatible with the Convention. These include, for example, punishment which belittles, humiliates, denigrates, scapegoats, threatens, scares or ridicules the child' (Committee on the Rights of the Child (2006) cited NCPCR 2012: 5 and GOI 2012a: 8).
are followed up' and only one think 'all cases are followed-up'. 'Concerned' authorities or departments such as police, court and law are mainly called as responsible for the follow-up. Community members, print media and social institutions (MVF) was named once each. Two teacher did not respond on the last two questions. However the diversity, and (disputed) wide spread answers illustrate a lack of consciousness. CP is deep root in the Indian education system and widely acknowledged as part of teachers profession to maintain discipline and to encourage students in the classroom. A large body of studies point out the predominance of CP in Indian schools (cf. GOI 2012a). CP is a clear violation of child rights. It is prohibit and regulate in the Right to Education Bill (2008) and the Juvenile Justice Act (last revised 2000, cf. NCPCR 2012: 8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher use CP in school</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of CP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beating, slapping, scolding, order</td>
<td>scolding (2), slapping, 'eye-speaking', double work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher use CP at home</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type of CP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>beating, slapping,</td>
<td>'compulsory', slapping (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family member use CP</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: Teachers application and experience of Corporal Punishment in school and at home (number in the brackets indicate the number of answers)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teacher use of CP whether in school or at home</th>
<th>Teachers think...</th>
<th>Who is responsible for follow-up of CP?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>'CP is not forbidden by law'; 'it is forbidden by law and there are punishments for any violation'</td>
<td>'no case is followed up'; print media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>'CP is allowed in the public sphere'; 'CP is not forbidden by law'</td>
<td>'a number but not all cases of CP are followed-up'; community members; police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>'CP is not forbidden by law'; 'there are punishments for any violation'</td>
<td>'a number but not all cases of CP are followed-up'; concerned authorities, police, courts, social institutions (MVF)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>'CP is allowed in the public but not in the private sphere'; 'CP is forbidden by law and there are punishments for any violation'</td>
<td>'a number but not all cases of CP are followed-up'; concerned department, police, law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>'CP is not forbidden by law'</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>'CP is forbidden by law and there are punishments for any violation'</td>
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Table 16: What teachers about Corporal-punishment

* – no answer was given

The UN Human Rights Declaration and the UN CRC clearly define Human and Child Rights. In the next part of the interview teacher was asked towards their consciousness about Human and Child Rights. Referring to the UN Human Rights Declaration the Right to life, the Freedom from torture, the Freedom from slavery, the Right to a fair trial, the Freedom of speech and the Freedom of thought, conscience and religion are acknowledged worldwide. Among teachers responses the 'Right to life' and the 'Right to Education' are clearly Human Rights. The 'Right to vote' is part of the right to take part in the government (participatory right). 'Equality' and the 'Right to Freedom' are integral part and base of the Human Right Declaration. The 'Right to Information', 'Property/Facilities Right' and 'minimum needs' are part of a debate on the scope of Human Rights and relationship to current high level questions (e.g. limited resources and global justice). Responses on Child Rights however underline teachers high awareness towards the 'Right to
Education'. Latter was named from six teacher. 'Freedom', 'speech' and 'expression' again are part of participatory rights. Participatory rights in school are guaranteed somehow through children's participation in different committees. Six in seven teacher was capable to name at least one students committee (e.g. health, cleaning, library, culture). Two teacher named 'class representatives' as form of students participation in school. However no teacher agreed to other participatory forms ('participation – decision making', 'participation – advisory', 'round tables'). Therefore it is unclear how committees run. It is questionable if students gain support, advisory from teachers or if they are left on their own. One teacher stated 'children are too small' for participation but reported at the same time several committees. However 'equality' – same as before – is integral part of the CRC and refer to 'gender' as no child shall be discriminated because of religion, origin and gender. The 'Right to Health' may summarize what teacher name as 'no hazardous work/no child labour' and 'no CP'. Life without CP is part of no-violent education, too. Access to 'minimum needs' is more than in the Human Rights declaration acknowledged in the CRC. The argument refer to the special need for protection, children's development and well-being (see chapter 3.1a). Like in the case of CP among interviewed teacher ignorance and half-knowledge are popular. However six in seven teacher think they mind Child Rights in their performance. Two teacher discuss with the students incidents of child labour and one 'RTE'. Another teacher replied to 'discuss Child Rights not with the children but with parents'. Child Rights are 'discussed' and maintained ('space/freedom; expression and first listen') from one teacher each. Another teacher who also apply CP does not mind Child Rights as there 'was no situation so far' (see table 17).

The Right to Education was picked up separate. Six teacher responded to know the 'Right to Education' and one teacher equate the Right to Education with the implementation of the RTE Act. The RTE however is attribute to 'Child Rights protection' in general and 'compulsory, free education' for 'children age 6 to 14' in particular. Additionally teachers named 'age appropriate education', 'improvements in school facilities', 'quality education', 'encouragement of teachers to respect the right to education', 'no use of CP', 'monitoring of drop outs' and 'ban of child labour'. Latter three attributes was read out from a SSA flyer from the teacher. However all teacher have an distinct understanding towards the 'Right to Education'. With their own words teacher described what the right in quality and quantity measurements mean to them. Public awareness on the 'Right to Education' and the 'RTE Act' in particular contribute teachers high level awareness.
Table 17: Human and Child Rights in teachers perception

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Human Rights</th>
<th>Child Rights</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yes</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capable to call some Human Rights</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Named Human Rights**
- Right to Life (3), Right to Freedom, Right to Information, Property Right (2), 'not to interfere with other rights/institutions', Right to vote, Equality, Education (2), Facilities, Minimum needs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>7</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Capable to call some Child Rights</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Named Child Rights**
- Education/RTE (6), Freedom (2), Speech, Expression, 'no child labour'/'no hazardous work' (5), Gender, Equality, Minimum needs, no CP,

In the second part teachers was illustrated two situations. In both situations the 'Right to Education' is violated. In the first situation a girl student attend school irregular (day-wise). The teacher was requested to describe their professional intervention (keywords). One teacher would send another girl student to the house of girl family. The student is assumed to call for the student missing the class. All other teacher would call parents three would visit the home of the family, too. The analysis of the situation and reasons shall solve the absenteeism of the student. Parents would be motivated and encouraged to send the girl regular to school ('girls education is important'). Situation illustrated is vary in the second situation. Here the girl student dropped out. Again teachers illustrate their intervention: All teacher would get in touch with the parents either in school or at families home to 'discuss', to 'motivate' and to 'convince' parents. One teacher would wait 3-4 days before he follow-up absenteeism. However two teacher would take help from external agencies ('Government officers' and 'hostel') and one teacher would discuss the issue with the 'landlord'. Teachers intervention would not be different for both situations when the student is a boy. The responses illustrate encouragement among teachers. Teacher pose consciousness towards children outside the school. To bring the child to school some teacher would take the help from officials. But the bulk would first try to motivate and convince the parents to send the child to school. Referring to the
answer 'discuss with the landlord' it remain unclear if parents or an third agency (like the employer) was in the mind of the teacher. However no and one teacher would motivate the student in the first and second situation respectively. Teacher tend to assume parents take the decision for children. The fact illustrate children's position in the family hierarchy. Children tend to have no voice in taking own decisions (e.g. to stay in or out of school). Latter undermine position of children's associations (see chapter 3.4).

Regularly teacher go for parents consultation either in regular meetings (weekly) or in the monthly meetings of the School Management Committee (SMC). One teacher would go to meet the parents when there is an urgent issue to solve. The teacher would schedule an additional meeting when the 'child did not behave proper' or there is 'any other problem with students performance'. Further one teacher would call community members or call 'higher authorities' when there is a need. However parents hand over the responsibility for children's care to the teacher during the day. Respect and a good relationships is integral part of an social access to school and education especially for illiterate parents. Therefore the interviewer read out the TFCR state 'teachers shall show respect for children and parents no matter their social background' and 'undertake a good parent-teacher-relationship'. Teacher was requested to describe what 'respect' and a 'good teacher-parent-relationship' mean in their point of view. Except one teacher all teachers responded. The 'same treat for all' was important for three teacher. It is the 'responsibility' of the teacher to 'respect both children and parents' and to make 'children good citizens'. Teacher belonging to SC mentioned an 'guilty feeling towards the poor'. It remain unclear if the teacher point out guiltiness conflicting equal treat or if she as a teacher feel guilty for the poor. However in face-to-face consultation understandability ('talk clearly') and 'honorary' is important for one teacher. To be courteous ('please take a seat') and to 'answer all questions' is important, too. Another teacher point out the importance to 'meet parent regular in school and in families house'. However latter teacher did not respond on the previous questions. But he is the only who would 'call parents additional to regular meetings' when the student does not behave proper.

Across the country lack of proper school facilities is reported (see for example ASER 2011). In the last part teacher was requested to describe their professional intervention in the case of 'lack of quality education (like fan, teaching material, and so on)'. Regularly distribution of material from the government was reported from one teacher only. Any delay in distribution of material would discussed in one school with colleagues. However two and one teacher prepare 'regular' or 'sometimes' own TML respectively. Teachers who prepare 'regular' own material are teacher in a
special school. The case indicate a lack of adequate TLM in Urdu. Another two would use study material from senior students and one would introduce 'playing material' in school. No teacher complained multi-grade teaching or lack of furniture in classrooms. However in every school students was sitting on the ground their bags in front or aside. Some used their bags as blotter. A table and chair for the teacher was in place in every observed classroom. Both absence and presents of table and chair for students and teacher respectively reproduce silent the hierarchy between teacher and student and increase social distance, too. Uncritical acknowledgement illustrate and reproduce 'symbolic power' (Bourdieu and Passeron 1973). However the lack of proper sanitation was not complained from teachers. At least in two schools toilets was available but not used either teachers or students. In one school sanitation facilities was function and in use. There was separate toilets for both gender. It remain unclear if the teacher is aware RTE regulation. Examples mentioned in the question may contribute type of responses. However one teacher each refer to 'local mobilisation of resources' and 'government aid' for material. Another teacher summarized and addressed issues to the government in Hyderabad. At the end a number of interviewed teacher tend to go for individual solutions rather than to address issues to local authorities and state government same as the two teacher pointed earlier (see chapter 6.3e ). Others however would address incidents of delay or lacks towards the community or authorities. The trend may emerge from the awareness on the right to education and related public schemes.

India's education policies mainly target quantity rather than quality of education. Limiting education towards the access to education clearly fail quality education. Provision of access hide social and cultural barriers of the system. Education that wants to empower pupil need to force an open and honest discourse regarding syllabus, teaching methodology, social access to schools, classroom settings, teaching and learning material, and at the end the aim of education (cf. Michauk 2009).

Teachers have a double role to play. First they have to motivate parents to send their children regular to school. When children attend school they have to provide quality of education. They are intermediates between the community, parents and children on the one and the education officials and politician on the other hand. Teacher are 'a key partner in planning and implementing community participation strategies' (SSA 2011: 90). At the end they are both object and subject of community mobilisation on the right to quality education. Therefore MVF encourage teachers through an area-based peer-to-peer approach. In the early 1990s MVF facilitated teacher to form their own Forum the Teachers Forum for Child Rights.

66 observation from interviewer
g) Teachers Forum for Child Rights (TFCR)\textsuperscript{67}

The Indian movement on the Right to Education children's rights on the top of the public agenda. Raising awareness on the Right to Education encouraged a number of national and international agencies to push children into school. But schools was not ready for a bulk of children mainly from less educated backgrounds. However teachers in general and primary teachers in particular are main driver for the right to education. Since 1996 the Forum for the Liberation of Child Labour or Bala Karmika Vimochna Vedika (BKVV) bring together public primary school teachers. Like MVF the forum define every child OOS as child labourer. Early OOSC was surveyed and data from children (age 5 to 14) was used for parents mobilisation and enrolment campaigns (cf. BVKK 1999). Later the survey became a common part of MVF social mobilisation and government run projects.

"Foundation gave me mentally strength to do my work. Officials may know a lot, but on the ground level there are the teachers. Teachers have to change. Only with him changed are possible. This work I have to do. I got motivated by the organization only.'

(TFCR member)

'I became a teachers from heart. Often Sunday was not free. I used Sundays to mobilize other teachers. I tried to encourage them on behalf of the children and for child rights.'

(TFCR member)

Schools is the only place where children from different backgrounds come together. School facilitate inclusion and diversity. Class and caste was no reason to keep children OOS. The TFCR 'recognizes that older children require special attention to prepare for studentship and bring them on par with other children of similar age group in school' (TFCR nd.). Age appropriate admission was integral part of the professional understanding. Bridge Courses shall facilitate smooth admission and enrolment from older children and child labourer's into formal schools. Latter intend to defend children from teasing, harassments and other discrimination in school from students and teachers. Child rights are the baseline of daily learning and teaching. All children are welcome in school no matter their background. A child friendly atmosphere and environment, and child centred pedagogy instead of CP shall maintain discipline and learning outcomes. Multi-grade teaching shall be displaced by a child centred class-wise learning and teaching. BKVV summarized the holistic and child right based principles in six non-negotiables (see table 18).However the non-negotiables

\textsuperscript{67} In the absence of a proper documentation on BKVV and TFCR the following paragraph refer mainly to field experiences, official meetings conducted from TFCR, structured and unstructured interviews, and a blog set up from the author (\url{www.tfcr2012.wordpress.com}). In 2011 BKVV became official recognized as TFCR. However both acronyms BKVV and TFCR are used synonym.
expand role and responsibilities of teachers beyond the classroom.

| All children must join schools into classes according to their age. |
| Schoolteachers must recognize that it is the responsibility of the school to give children a guarantee that they would learn. |
| Schoolteachers must provide a guarantee to build competencies of children in order to reach the class in accordance with their age. |
| School teachers must guarantee that corporal punishment will not be used in the classroom to discipline children. |
| School teachers must ensure that all children feel wanted and are comfortable in the school. |
| School must ensure that there is no violation of child rights in the school as well as in the community. |

**Table 18: Non-negotiables from the Teachers Forum for Child Rights (TFCR nd)**

The Forum commit to strengthen government schools and common schools. Education is argued as public responsibility. Common schools shall provide education of choice for both parents and children. Social mobilisation and teachers campaigns for the right to education (e.g. learning guarantee) and child rights (e.g. combating CP) bring together communities in general and teachers in particular. TFCR facilitate the exchange and peer-to-peer learning. Regularly teachers share field experiences like pedagogy methods and ideas area-based in meetings.

The Forum bring together teachers no matter their social and economical status, gender, caste or political attitude on the behalf of the child. Regarding Teachers Unions the Forum and teachers profession the Forum contribute a shift in perception towards child rights and professional understanding. Collaboration between Unions and Forum contribute collaboration among teachers unions, too. Previously latter was an exception rather than the rule. In the absence of proper teachers trainings the Forum conduct trainings for the application of child centred methodology. At the end the Forum is assumed to minimize the duration for a proper implementation of the RTE and other schemes.

(Representatives from TSTU and AIPTF)

Significantly teachers join in solidarity for the protection of child rights. The bulk of the teacher is affiliated with their respective teachers’ unions. In collaboration with MVF TFCR motivate and encourage parents, and lobby with Teachers Unions. Lobbying with Teachers Unions TFCR among others contribute a shift of unions agenda. Affiliation from Unions towards political parties and religious groups are assumed to create an political and social child friendly atmosphere. However the narrow frame of salary and benefits was transcended. Child rights and the right to education became one of the on-top points. In a parallel process Teachers Unions had picked up 'child labour' and 'child rights' in different coalitions across the country (cf. National Coalition for Education, 68 personal notes; unstructured interview, 25. July 2012)
NCE). However in early times Teachers Unions healthy mistrusted BKVV. The forum was argued as another competitor in the highly fragmented union landscape. An international conference in 2004 marked the change: Participants from Teachers Unions and NGOs reconfirmed the important role of both unions and teachers towards child labour. Quality of education was argued as one precondition for the eradication of child labour.

'As teacher I have to look for the students as children. Schools have to protect children's rights. I have to take care not only about education but about health, dignity of children and social circumstances, too. Well sometimes it is difficult to maintain all rights - education is the main right. When education is maintain there are agencies like the Health Department which will take care about further rights. Teachers only have to report and ask for help.'

(TFCR member)

Joining hands with civil society organisations the Forum grew. As part of the Indian movement for the Right to Education the All India Teachers Forum for Child Rights (AITFCR) was set up in 2001. AITFCR brought together teachers from Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Jharkhand and Assam on the right to education (Times of India 2007). With enacting RTE in 2009 the Forum achieved his major aim and the across state forum came to an end. In 2011 BKVV went for official recognition. Officially TFCR was launched. 2.500 members spread over seventeen districts of Andhra Pradesh and state level forums was launched in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh in 2012. However across the years the Forum facilitated training, TLM for members, and information towards state governments and other child right advocates in India and abroad.

'Previous a teacher was a good teacher when his class was silent. Silence in the classroom was associated with 'good education' and good teacher performance. Headmaster would blame every teachers when his class is not silent. To ensure silence and discipline teachers used sticks in favour not to be blamed from the headmaster. Now Teachers Unions and Teacher Forum are burning their sticks in the public – sticks they used previous to beat students.'

(Representative from AIPTF)

Since the early 1990s MVF and TFCR bring together community members on the right to education in formal, full-time public schools. Community mobilisation (re)address the lack of quality education towards District Education Offices. Across the years SMCs took over main responsibilities for school monitoring. The Committees are regulated in the RTE Act and argued to increase quality of education. From officials they are emphasized as 'watch-dogs' (EdCIL (2009a).

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69 Teachers come together in the All India Federation of Educational Associations (AIFEA), the All India Primary Teachers Federation (AIPTF), the All India Secondary Teachers' Federation (AISTF) and the All Indian Federation of Teachers Organisations (AIFTO). As for trade unions member associations may affiliated to a party and or to a religion. However only AIPTF is member of the Education International (EI) the global federation of education unions.
h) Quality Education

hi) Community as 'watch-dog' – School Management Committee

Global agreement on CRC and MDG mark a milestone for the Right to Education. In India the Right to Education (RTE) Act is the major achievement of the education movement. However the Act however is the result of different less effective national education policies since independence. Centre, state and local governments share the responsibility for the implementation. In practise community members are brought together in Village Education Committees (VEC) and SMCs on the right to education. Both VEC and SMC are mandated to monitor school and teachers performance. Therefore RTE is not only guide by Human Rights but also by the idea of self-governance from Gandhi (cf. Panda 2009).

SMCs bring together representatives from local authorities, parents or guardians of children and teachers. However three fourth of the members shall be parents. The Committee monitor school performance, prepare and recommend a school development plan, monitor public and private grants and is in charge for other functions arising from the mandate (cf. RTE Act 2009, Section 21). Members discuss and negotiate with officials regarding quality of local schools. During a SMC meeting in Ranga Reddy District two main issues was discussed: quality of the local school and accountability of teachers.

SMC members compared quality of the local public school with another local private school. Quality of former improve only slowly. Parents are more likely to send their children to private schools at last with the transition to upper primary schools. Government school remain to be for the poor. Parents claim same same quality of education for public and private school. They state public grants are not sufficient for quality education. Government spend a larger amount per student in upper than in primary schools. At the same time there are more students in primary than in upper primary schools. Budget allocation mismatch with real needs. The quality of the local school was a main concern. (…) Teachers was argued to be less accountable for the students and less cooperative towards improvements. In meetings they refused lack of teacher performance, too. Because of the poor quality in government schools teachers go for vacancies in private schools. Quota for private schools match with parents demands.

Referring to the progress of the MVF project in Dornipadu Mandal notes from a SMC meeting (17th May 2012) in Ranga Reddy District in Northern AP are applied. However the situation and issues may similar in the project district after comprehensive set up of SMCs.
Community mobilisation and awareness rising contribute well informed SMC members. Parents was conscious regarding their rights, public policies and public budget for education. However the implementation of RTE stuck. Next to the lack of school facilities less accountability from teacher was pointed out. Obviously parents recognized lip service from officials and teachers towards RTE and quality education. The comparison of public government and private schools in the town underline parents doubts towards officials and schools. However during the last decades limited financial and physical resources sum up with deregulation and privatisation of education. Both put the public education system in general and the profession in particular under pressure. The following part of the hand in paper pick up development of the dual school system and profession matters.

hii) Private schools

Since independence India high illiteracy rates and educational matter are regular concern of politics. Unless the Constitution (Eighty-sixth Amendment) Act (2000) education policies remained lip service. A number of beacons, well funded and quality higher education and research institutions was set up. Education was provided for a small elite, only. However global agreement on the CRC in 1989 and the MDG in the 1990s put centre and state governments under pressure. Across the country Human and Child Rights was pick up from national and supported from international advocates. International awareness and community pressure contribute a large body on projects towards combating child labour and for education (e.g. IPEC, UNESCO). During the 1980s and 1990s the number of private schools increased across the country. Liberalisation of the economy in 1990s facilitate commercialisation of public goods. Private schools was attributed with quality education. India as an uprising economy was willing to sell education as commodity. Referring to donors GOI emphasized the private sector as partner on the way to UEE. Across the country mushroom of low fee private school was reported (see for example Jha et all 2008, Fennwell 2007, Nambissan and Ball 2010, see also chapter 6.3e) ).

Public education policies facilitate public education for the bulk and private education for those who can effort. Across the years and the country a large number of private schools for all level of education was set up. In 2005 estimated 13.000 or 15 per cent in AP are private schools. 7.000 in 62.000 primary and 5.000 in 17.000 upper primary schools run from private agencies. Estimates increased up to 35 per cent in 2009. The magnitude doubled and is estimate above the national average of 26 per cent. Private schools are predominant in urban AP (57 per cent). Parents are more
likely to send their sons to private schools in both rural and urban areas. However share of children in primary school-age (6 to 13) in private schools is estimated above 34 per cent (Government of Andhra Pradesh 2008: 103, cf. SSA 2009a).

‘In Tandor Mandal upper caste members are likely to send their children to private schools in favour to gain quality education. Public schools tend to be schools for lower castes only. However school has the possibility to bring together all children no matter their social background.’

(TFCR member)

India is far away from universalising education and from implementation of the RTE. A large number of schools especially in rural India still lack basic facilities and quality education. MVF and other experimental approaches across the country aim to facilitate and increase quality of education. Community mobilisation continuous increase demand for education and quality schools. However local and area-based approaches remain a drop on the hot stone. Mushroom of private schools is the contradiction towards the Human Right to Education. Latter facilitated and emphasized from official national and international policies as well as ODA agencies. Private schools are a ‘side-effect’ that (re)produce social hierarchy, class and gender disparities.

Political reluctance contribute an uneven expansion of SSA. Number of schools increased slower than magnitude of students. Public government schools facilitate some education to the bulk of children. Mainly girls from poorer sections and minorities remain in public educational institutions. Lessons are taught in local language, only. Higher educational institutions teach English. Therefore children in public schools may put in a worst position. Additionally ASER found that forty per cent of children in grade four classes were unable to successfully complete grade two levels exercises (ASER 2011). Shortage of facilities and quality is picked up from private businesses and shortage of teacher was filled up with para-teacher. Private schools are often run from private entrepreneurs in a Transnational Advocacy Network (Nambissan 2013: 87f). However private schools are a counter revolution from above. Elites provide access and participation in some public education. With the commitment they avoid uprising from masses. Mushromming of private school sector maintain the difference between better-off and the poor. However parents try to put their children better-off and at least as best as possible. However better-off families and those you can effort send their children to high and low fee private English schools respectively. English lessons are attributed to middle class jobs. Private schools argued to provide better education than government schools. They run image campaigns and compete with large advertisements across the country to attract parents with English medium, high quality environment (e.g. computer, fans). Recently
research did not reveal the assumption of better quality – at least not in terms of learning outcomes. But the data is weak (see Hanushek [2010] for a review of developed country evidence, and Kremer and Holla [2009] for a review of evidence from developing countries cited in Mukerji and Walton (2013): 114).

Private school does not only de-regulate teachers working conditions and jeopardize families income but children's potential, too. 25 per cent reserved seats in private schools encourage parents who want to put their children better-off. The reservation intend to decrease the individual segregation and equity gap. Parents are in favour for some quality private education. But there is no public monitoring for the implementation. Private schools are free to set up management but without participation from civil society. Referring to the decline of the children population by three million since 2001 (Government of Andhra Pradesh 2008a: 111) the reservation is likely to boost decline in class strengthen. Currently GOI discuss to shut down rural and hamlet schools. Latter would weaken their own system and jeopardize any achievements towards the right to education (TFCR 2012: 2). However the dual system reveal the myth of an elite education system and contribute a distinct students perception. Differentiation may lead to conceptualization of 'we' and 'the other' as 'natural categories' and part of once 'self-image'. Low level of education is attributed to social-cultural background and one's identity. Latter interwoven with distinct future perspectives and aspirations. The system reproduce inequity and disparities boosted from poor performance of public schools rooted in underfunded education schemes and policies. The public system remain to offer low level education up to a minimum age for entering into employment. Equity and quality can not be discussed separate. Past actions focused on access but less on quality education. Both access and quality need to be link with one another. '(...) [S]tate government's are effectively widening the education equity gap, which is likely to perpetuate caste, social, cultural and economic division in the Indian society' (De Koning 2013: 105).

Across the years national and state policies reproduce the contraction of a dual education system. The private sector pushed from ODA and private national agencies provide (assumed) quality education for the better-off whereas the public system suffers lack of quality education for the bulk of students. The government of Andhra Pradesh launched a number of programmes and schemes to improve public government schools. Learning Guarantee (2002\textsuperscript{71}), CLIPS (2004, for basic skills; numeracy and literacy in primary schools), CLAPS (2006, for improvement of learning outcomes in all grades), LEP (2009, Learning Enhanced Programme), LIPS (2011) and recently CCE (2012) was add centre schemes. However uneven implementation and lack of public budgets reveal poor outcomes.

\textsuperscript{71} GO Ms. No. 300 dated 21. May 2002 (MVF 2006: 22)
Collectively public primary teacher commit on child rights, the right to education and pubic schools. Their professional understanding enlarge the responsibility of teacher beyond the classroom and school. A rights based approach put children in the centre of the school and the profession. Public policies shall maintain quality but mainly provide quantity. In practise teacher face challenges across the country. Strengthen the public education system is a huge task. 'In fact the process of providing such access [equal access to quality education, E.M.] in itself constitutes quality education and is to be regarded as an indispensable aspect of pedagogy.' (MVF 2006: 3).

hiii) Professional Educators

Children [from less educated background, E.M.] need other teaching and learning methods to fulfil school duties and homework. Additionally to given government resources we introduced a number of new, creative material like learning cards for each classroom. Newspaper provide a number of basic information regarding sciences, maths, and so on. Sometimes the newspaper offer quizzes, small paragraphs with jokes, a short comic, too. We use the material. However each learning card covered by plastic summarize information regarding one topic. The cards kept in an open library system. Cards arranged in an pocket system. Each class has his own system according to the age. Students go and pick up a card for self studies. Wall paintings, games, songs and dances request all senses. They support memorizing and bridging syllabus with local culture. (…) We introduced two different folders for every student, too. They summarize individual learning achievements. One folder is use for projects during the academic year. Students would get a exercise class-wise or across classes. The second folder is for the vacation period. For latter we carry out a number of exercises. The exercises pick up the syllabus from the current academic year. They are not compulsory but 95 per cent of the students would complete them. (…) Currently we are planning a botanical garden. In the garden each plaint shall get an information sheet (with name, fruit, use of plaint) and we think about to cultivate some vegetable and fruits, too.

(TFCR member)

The TFCR member illustrate improvements in TLM in his school. Encouraged from TFCR teacher introduced a number of additional material to the given material from the government. He bridged the gap between children and school. A child centred approach pick up local culture. Students are inspired and encouraged from a child friendly atmosphere that spread from teachers encouragement. Referring to the teacher students became likely to carry out additional but not compulsory homework during vacations. With their experimental teaching teachers seem to minimize the social distance from school and offer what is called joyful learning (for further case studies in Gujarat cf. Chant et all 2011 and Chant and Shukla 1998). However not all teachers are encouraged like TFCR members and smooth the access to school for 'hard to reach' children.
The bulk of India's children come from less educated background. They did not gain cultural capital (cf. Bourdieu 1992, 1973) as their counterparts from better-off families. Families may not have books at home and parents may not encourage children in an adequate way or help them out with home work. Children would need different special support to cope with structure and syllabus as professional interventions from interviewed teacher indicate (see above). However officials, schools and teacher tend to be bias towards children from less educated background. Therefore children may feel displaced, not welcome, discriminated or alienated from school. Children from disadvantaged groups are less likely to be absent, to drop out and to get engaged into child labour. The additional use of CP for poor performance push students out of school. However Child Rights are Human Rights. Children does not lose their rights by passing the school gate. With the implementation of RTE children spend large daytime in school. Schools and teachers have to respect child rights and maintain dignity and care during school hours. Towards child rights teacher have to bridge the gap and adapt methodology, practise and attitude towards the student. Professional intervention and attitude, identity and self concept towards children matters. 'If teachers in the school are not sensitised to actively dispel traditional perceptions regarding gender or caste roles, they are unlikely to take measures which would help girls, children from disadvantaged groups and weaker sections pursue education which is equitable and free of anxiety.' (GOI 2011: 10).

The Human Right to Education is a coin. One side stand for the quantity and the other for the quality of education. Early actions under RTE focused equity and access to education especially for disadvantaged and marginalized groups in rural India. Policies intend to decrease inequality in education for minorities such as girls, children with special needs, urban deprived children, child labourer's, children from seasonal migrants and landless agriculture labour, children living in slums, children affected from civil strive, children from nomadic communities to note only some (cf. GOI 2011: 50). The RTE Act provide free public education equally for all. The Act describe a set of inputs and measurements (see table 19). Additionally MDM, schemes for uniforms, school bags, bus pass and scholarships should ensure access for children from poorer sections and belonging to disadvantaged groups. All costs unhidden and hidden are prohibit. However on quality measurements RTE remain silent. However measurements are assumed to provide quality education. However educational inputs does not guarantee learning and outcomes. The 'average Indian child' is at the same level as the 'worst OECD or American student' (Mukerji and Walton 2012: 112). Without quality education as a whole RTE tend to produce a schooled population but no
educated citizens (Brinkmann 2012: 113f). However in practise the National Curriculum Framework for Teachers Education (NCFTE, 2009) shall bring together the 'mission of a teacher' (Kulapati 1972) as personal aspiration and the quality profession performance as collective expectations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measurements</th>
<th>Timeframe</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Establishment of neighbourhood schools with reference to:</td>
<td>3 years (by 31 March 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision of school infrastructure</td>
<td>3 years (by 31 March 2013)</td>
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<tr>
<td>All-weather school buildings</td>
<td>3 years (by 31 March 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-classroom-one-teacher</td>
<td>3 years (by 31 March 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office-cum-store-cum-head teacher room</td>
<td>3 years (by 31 March 2013)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Toilets and drinking water facilities</td>
<td>3 years (by 31 March 2013)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barrier-free access</td>
<td>3 years (by 31 March 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library</td>
<td>3 years (by 31 March 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playground</td>
<td>3 years (by 31 March 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fences/boundary walls</td>
<td>3 years (by 31 March 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision of teachers as per prescribed PTR</td>
<td>5 years (by 31 March 2015)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Training of untrained teachers</td>
<td>With immediate effect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All quality interventions and other provisions</td>
<td>With immediate effect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19: Measurements and Timeframe as per RTE Act (2009) (GOI 2009)

Regularly District Education Offices conduct mandatory pre-service and in-service education programmes for teacher's. The training refer to the National Curriculum Framework for Teachers Education (NCFTE, 2009). NCETE introduce new methodology, education planning, monitoring and evaluation system. Teachers curriculum base on the right to education and make the same a guideline for teacher. Alternative child centred pedagogy and adequate TLM shall meet the needs from students from different backgrounds. The NCFTE does not stay back western Teachers Curriculum’s.

‘Critical awareness of human and child rights equips the teacher with a proactive perspective and a sense of agency Respect for human rights cannot be seen in isolation from an analytical awareness of the contexts in which human rights are to be observed, starting from Constitutional provisions (e.g., reservation and the right to education), the institutional context, extending to the social, national and global contexts. Teachers also need to be aware of children’s rights, the role of the NCPCR in protecting these rights, rights for gender equality and their implications for social change.' (NCFTE 2009: 30).
The NCFTE does not stay back western Teachers Curriculum’s. NCFTE reveal high expectations outlined before towards the 'total development of human being' – in physical, intellectual, emotional, social, moral and spiritual terms. Teachers education is inclusive education, towards sustainable development in a modern society. Inclusive education refer to sensitization of the teacher and change in personal attitudes towards minorities and hard to reach children. Sustainable development call for equity and respect of values and rights in a world with limited resources. IT is emphasized for both teachers and students education. Former in distance learning and to handle the bulk of uneducated in-service teacher. Keeping the lack of basic facilities in mind IT in classrooms tend to be a lip service only However the curriculum emphasize the teacher as 'role model' who teach children 'moral norms and values' should know basics of Human and Child Rights (NCFTE 2009: 11-20, see teachers interviews). Learning groups on the Block and District shall assure peer-to-peer learning. Groups shall facilitate what the curriculum is less likely to facilitate: an positive teachers attitude under constrains of quality education. Whereby quality education is summarised as child centred and need-based approach that base on a life related practise oriented syllabus and collaborate with high motivate teachers. However in practise 'government post teachers that it is' (D. Srinivks, S.A.). In the school teachers are alone with the students. They have to rethink their professional role in both the system and community (cf. Marsden 2009: 26).

Every education system and educators pose distinct attitudes and anticipation towards the structure and participants. Both contribute a number of structural and personal barriers in the access to the system. However children does not need to adapt but school and teacher need to chance. But both children and teachers are neither passive nor a homogeneous group. Both enter school with their individual package of social-cultural background, assumptions and aspirations towards school, learning and teaching. Quality education further is a both side learning process in the microcosms school in general and classroom in particular. Quality and inclusive education base on a child centred approach rather than an 'one fits it all' scheme. Latter to ensure social accessing, attending and continuing of children in school. Therefore the provision of physical access to school does not guarantee the right to education. What is same important but less manageable is the social access. Latter highly depend on the educators qualification and attitude towards students. Bhattacharjea et al. (2011) found that teachers’ qualifications did not make a significant difference in their ability to teach well (cited in Brinkmann 2012: 104). Teachers qualification as single input may not contribute what is argued 'quality education' but teachers qualification is one input that matters. Learning outcomes of students are a quarter higher when student and teacher share the same gender, caste and
social background (Rawal and Kingdon 2010, Ramachandran et al. 2003: 4999f). In reality, however, the system cannot offer a perfect match regarding the same social background of both teacher and student (cf. Rawal and Kingdon 2010). Therefore, students have to make capable to cope with the diversity. However, teachers are not free. On the way towards a Human Right based society Human Rights need to taught in educational institutions (Panda 2005) from conscious professional educational on the own example. However, inadequate teachers training and an 'overambitious curriculum' left a bulk of students on the way. Teachers learn methodology and syllabus but less how to smooth access to school. Latter is a matter of consciousness and identity.

Every single teacher and their union towards child rights (see for example NCPCR 2012, GOI 11, EI). Teachers and unions are crucial in strengthening and improving the education system and the profession. TFCR make a stand with their six non-negotiables. The non-negotiables enlarge the professional understanding beyond the school towards the community and society, and bring together personal aspirations and professional accountability and prestige. The guide, a 'code of professional ethics' (CoE). The code is an '(.) explicit statement of the core purpose, key ethical principles, the kinds of qualities expected of people who belong to this profession and the kinds of conduct required' (Banks 2003). Across the years, non-negotiables became part of the professional identity of TFCR member – similar like EI DPE (2004) and CoE from AIPTF. However, the CoE is somewhat complemented by the Code of Conducts (CoC) for Teachers from National Council for Teachers Education (NCTE). However, all refer and emphasize the CRC in general and the Right to Education in particular.

CoE and CoC have a tradition in India. Before independence, CoCs was known as 'education codes'. However, after independence, the CoC was centralized and embedded in the anti-corruption policy frame like in other countries, too. The CoC set standards for behaviour intend to enhance accountability of teachers (UNESCO 2006: 109). With the last revision (2010) associations and teachers get the responsibility to supervise their profession. Enforcement of teachers duties and obligations shifted from public officials to the profession and teachers associations. School, block, district, state and national Ethic Committees shall be established. Whereas the CoE empower the CoC is self-governance (cf. Foucault 1988). CoC manage and empower teachers respectively. An oath shall thwart earlier reported lack of awareness (cf. UNESCO 2006: 136ff).
Across the state thousands of children are denied their Right to Education. RTE shall provide education for all but the legislation remain silent what 'quality' mean. The practise illustrate physical access is not enough towards the Right to Education. Educational professional have to bridge the access to school for children especially for 'hard to reach' children. TFCR commit on non-negotiables their CoE. The code call professionals create a child friendly atmosphere, to provide social access to school.

6.4 Summary

During colonial times language of instruction and pedagogy was designed to suit children from a relatively higher class and caste strata. 'If anything, it deepened social inequality by incorporating children of the emergent middle classes while successfully keeping the rest out.' (Ramachandran 2003: 964) The Supreme Court decision (93rd Constitutional Amendment, 2001) made education a fundamental right in India. Free education, was added by schemes for free textbooks, uniforms and MDM. But only where such schemes are implemented at a socially significant scale they had an significant impact. However working children was given a great attention. The was pushed out of poverty and illiteracy and into school. But less was done for the millions mainly in rural India who was enrolled but not attend or drop out for some reason. More schools and teachers was added although in communities marked by low school participation. The large body of education policies only focused on the physical access. Latter easily put in operational targets. Without an holistic and comprehensive policy government schools remain 'good [but] only for the poor' (Ramachandran 2003: 964) and deepen disparities and exclusion. Children will denied from their rights.

The importance and impact of social access and qualified teacher was long underscored. However the profession was blamed for failure of educational and social policies. Nowadays SMCs and VEC complete CoC. Community monitoring shall ensure quality school and teachers performance. Mass empowerment with the potential of soft governance (cf. Foucault). Still both empowerment and governance are root in unequal power-relations. Any true, open and equal dialogue between students, parents and teacher lead to emancipation and quality education. Latter based on child rights. It is far away from the glorification of the profession.

Education is a common good. As Human Right education shall be free accessible to everyone independent from social, cultural and political aspirations. Government has to ensure access and quality of education. However education is dialectical. Education is the beginning and the path
towards self- and community development and emancipation.

Emancipatory education liberate the individual in the living environment. The living environment is the starting point and object of education. Decoupling education from the practise will neither attract, retain nor emancipate the individual. Education has to refer to the environment in advance to enhance practical faculty of judgement, critical faculty, solidarity and accountability. However guidelines for participation and radical democracy are respect, tolerance and value towards the individual. Learner and teacher – both interchangeable as education no one way process but an dialogue – are subject of education (cf. Freire 2005, Holzkamp 1985). They are neither passive nor a homogeneous group. Social processes and institutions shape their assumptions and aspirations towards live and education ('social capital' cf. Bourdieu). Children as learner in particular are not a closed box. Children grow up in a particular environment and are therefore subject and 'object of modernization' (Hornstein and Thole 2005: 533). However early they experience social, economical and cultural pressure referring to social norms and values. Children are no empty sheets of paper. Further they carry an intergenerational burden of emotional and material constrains within one's family or kinship. Children have an understanding of exploitation and different threat referring to the background of a person (Tausendpfund 2008: 7). Emancipatory education has to pick up those experiences. School has to adapt towards children rather than to provide an 'one fits it all' scheme. Therefore students are their own best teacher. They know and recognize their own needs best and are crucial for the improvement of teachers performance, too. The professional is a 'change agent' and 'activator' in a child friendly atmosphere. An atmosphere that welcome all equally and all care for one another (cf. Hattie 2003, 2011, see also TFCR).

School is one and 'the best working place' (EI 2012) for children to learn for life. School shall not accommodate children for a distinct time. Educational institutions are the place for transformation towards citizenship. Emancipatory education reproduce and enhance self, environment and therefore society (reproductive capacity). Any restriction will reduce education to learning. Unilateral pronouncement towards society decouple education from incorporated emancipatory and subversive potential. Education will transform into a commodity available on the market for those who can effort. Employability and competences will dominate the discourse around measuring and testing education as well as coupling from professional salaries on student outcomes. 'Successfully' education will be measured by productivity in terms of growth rate rather than wealth of the society. Any aspiration referring to HRBA has to refuse processes that intend to limit access and content of education, and remain unsettled processes and outcome from education.

72 For example: Students in one school reported their siblings (similar age) work as child labourer's. Dialectically parents treat children different.
However emancipatory education need time and space. Time for develop and enhance individual capabilities. Space for a common and ideological learning process. Students 'success' highly depend on encouraged educational professionals (cf. Hattie 2003, Hattie 2011). Emancipatory education refer to teachers who look on their performance 'through learners eyes'. Content, syllabus and pedagogy are flexible tools on the way to emancipation. Pedagogy, psychology and methodology in theory and practise (sic!) shall facilitate liberation. Professionals however have to be conscious towards the power and contradiction of the educational partnership, content and environment. Ignorance will uncritical reproduce social structures and alienation that further hamper and avoid emancipatory education. Emancipatory education depend on equal treat but consciousness and awareness for different requirements in the learn setting.

School is the best work place for children. Quality education does not compromise. A qualitative teachers education shall encourage positive pedagogical professional attitude and mindset. Professionals educators need self-confidence, authenticity and consciousness. Its a matter of identity. A decent work place for teacher is a decent work place for children towards capabilities and opportunities. Therefore government has to show political will and put one's money where one's mouth is in favour for children.

HRBA in Andhra Pradesh intuitive pick up the emancipatory element incorporate in community mobilisation. MVF does not simply empower the community. Activists facilitate the process of emancipation. Questions of injustice and inequality addressed towards authorities both inside and outside school. Early teachers was acknowledged as important for the implementation of RTE. However teacher go beyond. Professional educators fill RTE with life. Referring to HRBA they facilitate and smooth the way from school towards community and reverse. Teachers enhance emancipatory education towards (other) community members, too.
7. Outlook

Worldwide a number of agencies accelerating towards child labour. One among them the non-profit-making union GEW Foundation 'Fair Childhood'. Referring to EI agreements GEW picked up the responsibility towards child labour and for quality education national and international.

The South-North collaboration shall initiate and facilitate release of child labourer's and enhance the implementation of the Right to Education. However community mobilisation based on non-negotiables is briefly discuss in the hand in paper. In Germany FCF focus on awareness rising, lobbying towards the government, educational advertising, collaboration with educational institutions, proscription of products produced from child labourer's. Latter shall disrupted from outlets. However names from businesses and traders dealing with products produced from child labourer's shall be published and 'child labour free zones' established. On the way GEW organise workshops and local working groups, initiated the 'competition on ideas' and spread information through print and electronic media. The following paragraph intent to illustrate opportunities emerging from the South-North partnership in both countries.

7.1 Development cooperation

The South-North partnership is a bilateral learning process build up shared concerns: the right to education and accelerating towards child labour. Both organisations profit in organisational and professional matters. The project 'School instead of working in the cotton-fields' brought together MVF and GEW with their distinct history and foci. The collaboration is a SMUs. GEW facilitate community mobilisation and the change of social norms. Latter is done from MVF activists and empowered communities.

MVF and GEW have different approaches. MVF concept of social mobilisation root in their history as social movement. For the purpose of sustainability and not at least to spread faith towards international donors the movement went for recognition. However MVF is independent and not affiliated to any party or union. Core target group of the movement are children age 6 to 14. The German Education Union root in the labour movement and became institutionalized in the second half of the last century. GEWs concern is decent work in the education sector. Additionally the union deal with social, political and cultural matter in the field of education and beyond. GEW organize professional educators and students from early childhood education to lifelong learning institutions.
7.2 Learning lessons for and from Unions

MVF accelerate towards the change of social norms. Community mobilising address the communities as entity. Activist however does not neglect individual identities. Putting children in the centre activists bring together community members from different background. Empowerment and emancipation unite diversity of the communities in the periphery. Communities and people who are largely decoupled from the gains of wealth. MVF organize the unorganized towards a (re)distribution of the public good education. The mobilisation attempt individual and community perceptions. Firstly towards other community members as equal with same rights and duties (employer, village elders, women, parents and so on). Secondly towards social institutions especially schools and their agencies teachers. Initiated intra-community processes re-conceptualise self- and community-identities towards a right based practise and life. HRBA however transform self-perception that is (re)produced by the society (cf. Bourdieu, Polletta and Jasper 2001). However parents are empowered to challenge an elite education system. They does not longer take over attributed backwardness and 'culture of poverty' uncritical. Parents challenge the 'self-fulfilling' procedure and cycle of poverty through the claim for education for their sons and daughters. Additionally labourer's claim their right for decent wages and benefits from social policies. MVF build capacities on the local level. Emancipation re-conceptualise individual and collective identities. TFCR in particular re-conceptualize teachers individual and professional identities beyond the school. Professional educators enlarge their personal and professional attitude and responsibilities towards both community and authorities. Towards the community through the provision of social access and a child friendly environment. Towards authorities through the claim for the implementation of the right to education and decent work. Latter precondition and consequence of former.

During the last decades national based labour movement and unions was under attack. In the North deregulation, privatisation, increasing importance of international businesses and global division of labour contribute a cross border decline in union membership. Additionally impact from multiple crisis affect labour movements and lead to high unemployment and precarious working conditions. Labour situation in the South mirror the North. High informality however hid the movement additional. In India in particular 'all 11 national centres have increased their membership by three to five times since 2002, but this has not increased the effectiveness of the movement' (Bhownik 2013: 2, cf. Bowles and Harriss 2010: 254). MVFs successful area-based grass root mobilisation reveal possibility of mass mobilisation. People does not only become aware of fundamental rights.
Actively they claim their rights and push authorities towards implementation of legislation. However somehow MVF remain and push unions towards their roots. Release and withdraw from children from child labour does not only ensure child rights but benefit working adults. Adults may bargain for better wages on their own in the informality. Collaboration open the mind for the concern of workers especially educational professionals in social mobilisation. However social mobilisation offer unions the opportunity to make a stand for labourer's. As mentioned earlier unions are less visible in the informal sector in general and in agricultural in particular. An deeper exploration from methods, modification and experimental application of vehement and strong community mobilisation may benefit unions in the North and South. However therefore unions would have to overcome their infighting referring to religious and political matter. Any partnership would be a transmitter for Child and Labour Rights in the project area.

7.3 Learning lessons for and from Teachers Forum for Child Rights

MVF early acknowledged the importance and empowered teacher in the second freedom struggle. BKVV/TFCR empowered primary public school teacher and facilitated self-organisation. In a peer-to-peer process teacher re-conceptualise their aspirations and attitudes towards children and the profession. Other concerns (e.g. pay scale, pensions and working conditions) are not on TFCR agenda. Latter is focused from teachers unions. Therefore any exception towards competition strongly need to refused. TFCR members however commit on non-negotiables. The Forum encourage teacher area-based and fill child rights in school in general and the right to education in particular with life. In the core the TFCR pick up DPE from EI. The code is largely unknown in both countries. However the self commitment towards children and community (re)shape the professional understanding as an Human Rights Profession (for the discourse on Social Work as Human Right Profession see Staub-Bernasconi 2007). TFCR members welcome all children in school no matter their background. The forum however fill the gap between theory (NCFTE) an practise regarding child centred methodology. Referring to local knowledge teacher improve government TLM. Teacher create a child friendly environment. They put children in the centre od education and facilitate physical and social access to school. Teacher contribute the professional development (Brinkmann 2013: 104ff). However the bulk of TFCR members is affiliate towards any unions. Until now official collaboration tend to be irregular or short term. Earlier mentioned infighting and fragmentation may contribute the distance between unions and the forum. Anyhow teachers workplace is students learning environment. In RBCs and KGBV for example professional educators work 24 hours and 60 hours per week respectively. RBC teachers not only teach but
(partly) life together with students. In both cases teachers family especially own children have to suffer\(^73\). TFCR alike is a low level approach towards teachers unionisation. Any collaboration on issues like decent work, privatisation, para-teacher, and quality education have the potential to lift up the right to education and the workers rights. Limited personal and financial resources call for serious collaboration and unionisation in the name of both children and teacher.

TFCR in collaboration with MVF facilitate teachers and civil society organisations in India. The process has to go on. Until now cross border teacher-to-teacher exchange was limited. Non-negotiables reshape and emancipate the profession uplift child rights towards EFA. However they may be applicable for other teachers unionisation especially in countries where teacher unions tend to be weak or even not existent. Additionally the TFCR may be a middle-term solution strengthening both professional self-concept and unionisation. In general the partnership open up the possibility for professional and cultural exchange. Keeping different culture in mind any exchange would offer the possibilities towards a professional discourse regarding right based inclusion and diversity\(^74\). Cross country and bilateral exchange on pedagogy and organisation would contribute children from different backgrounds and push quality education. Referring to GEW projects in India an exchange will facilitate peer-to-peer – among teachers and unions and between teachers and unions respectively – learning process among GEW partners NGOs, and Indian based SMUs. Namely the National Coalition for Education (NCE), the Indian section of the Global Campaign for Education. Latter was launched parallel to MVF in 1996 (ASPBE 2011: 62ff)\(^75\). However until now there was no collaboration between MVF and NCE. The first step was made during an official meeting.

### 7.4 Global Campaign for Education... - 'Post 2015'

Globally the negotiations towards education go in the second round. HRBA and social mobilisation bring together communities on the right to education. However currently UN and UNESCO facilitate the open debate around Post-2015 – what will happen to MDG and EFA after 2015. Through the Global Campaign for Education GEW is part of the process. Same their Indian counterpart NCE. However the introduced process offer the opportunity to adjust and reshape

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\(^73\) Notes from a personal meeting with official representatives who visited the project 11/2012

\(^74\) Official representatives visited one village and got aware about one child who was OOS. The child was disabled. The case illustrate the ignorance and half-measurement of ‘inclusion’. In the discussion the partner agreed no difference has to be made. The child has the right to education and has to be main-streamed (notes from a personal meeting with official representatives who visited the project 11/2012).

\(^75\) The NCE India bring together social movements, NGOs and Teachers Unions working for child rights among them BBA (a network of several hundred organisations and thousands of activists), All Indian Primary Teachers Federation (AIPTF), All India Federation of Teachers Organizations (AIFTO) and World Vision India (cf. NCE website).
MDG. Seeking 'getting zero' (e.g. OOSC, drop outs, children unable to read and write) will remain issues on the agenda. However access and getting zero 'does not guarantee the much-promised returns from education' (Adams 2012: 14). Access to primary education need enhanced through quality education throughout one's lifespan. Basic school education need embedded in Early Childhood Education (ECE) and continuing education secondary, vocational and beyond. MDG may refer to quantity and quality EFA Goals. The process can not stop providing some education to the masses in the periphery. Focussing literacy and numeracy will not justice emancipatory education but exploitable and accurately fitting in the job market. Putting employability on the top divide prime Human Rights in general and the Right to Education in particular. Impact and value of education is limited to what is usable for economies growth.

Emancipatory education is an process not an goal that need enhanced and defended. Impact of multiple crisis especially cuts in social expenditure and ODA across the globe. Countries does not meet their commitments on EFA and MDG. Education can not be jeopardized because of failure of a system running out of steam and reach limits. The process need refused. The world 'bottom million' are not responsible for a few brokers and managers.

Globally education contribute increased productivity. However decent work and returns remain unequal distributed. The masses of 'working poor' and unemployed (Adams 2012: 14) tells its own tales. Well-being and quality of life need emancipatory education towards self-fulfilment and decent work. 'Life and livelihoods require a broader concept of educational outcomes.' (Adams 2012: 12) Education shall 'provide the students with civic competencies and prepare them for democracy as well as addressing their social, emotional and intellectual needs' (EI 2011b: 2) in addition to what is need for the job. However pronunciation of learning outcomes, coupling from teachers salaries on students performance and mushrooming of private educational institutions however reduce education to a minimum. At the end the claim for emancipatory education and decent work – both as source of well-being and livelihood – dialectically have to challenge enforcement and exploitation of labour from learners and teachers.

7.5 Changing social norms in Germany

Community mobilisation in Dornipadu Mandal bring together community members on Child Rights and the Right to Education. German Education Unions is on the way to change social norms in Germany.

GEW stepped in the development collaboration. The history of development assistance is a history of exploitation of the global South. Exploitation during colonial times was substitute through
international aid and assistance referring to programme targets mainly set from the North (see chapter 5.2). The operative GEW Foundation facilitate projects abroad and intend to change social norm in Germany. GEW initiative call for awareness rising on child labour, lobbying with the government for transparency of product business chains and ban from products produced from children in the country (FCF –a).

Germany has a comprehensive labour and education law. Children age 6 to 14 have the right to free and compulsory education. However children are denied their Right to Education. In practice mainly children from adults with permanent residence would attend school. Children from asylum seeker tend to be OOS. However 'permanent residence' is define from state governments and may differ across the country. Children from circus artists, showman and mariner have the duty to admit in common school, too. But only when they stay more than three days at one place (cf. DAS 2012). They all may – temporary – denied their right to education. In Germany child labour is a 'mass phenomenon' (Wienold 1997) and social norm (Ingenhorst 2000). As the country is developed less is written about child labour. However across the country a number of children working regular in formal and informal relationships (cf. DGB Jugend 2010, EduMagazin –, Wihstutz 2006, Hungerland and Liebel 2006). However parents reallocate domestic work. Children care for siblings or children from third parties. The work either is paid or unpaid. Unpaid work is mainly part of the domestic work. Children take over given responsibilities 'voluntary'. In distinction paid work – informal and formal – is done for the sake of autonomy, participatory and recognition from others. Some children however redistribute earned money to the family (cf. Wihstutz 2006, Hungerland and Liebel 2006). Fading out those children simplify reality and (re)construct a dual world. GEW has to pick up incidents of child right violation in Germany.

Globalisation lead to a global division of labour. A large body of MNCs outsource production from the global North to the South for the sake of less taxes and decline of labour costs. Latter to increase profits and to meet demands for cheap consume products in the North. FCF pick up the issue. Awareness rising and lobbying towards the government address transparency of the production chain. 'Fair consumption' is emphasized. 'Especially the role as consumers has to be considered' (cf. Fair Childhood Foundation –a). The 'free choice' of consumption shift the responsibility towards the individual. Pricey fair trade consumption salve one's conscience and facilitate others guilty. However 'fair trade' – an increasing profit market for label and certificates – is argued to change living and working realities from child labourer's. Past similar campaigns illustrate not only limits but impacts on children: living conditions became more worst; child labour was displaced to other
sectors, only (cf. Rugmark).

HRBA is a comparatively new approach for national and international agencies. In distinction development assistance as a long history not only in Germany. Regularly media and aid organisations interchangeable advertise small sad or laughing children to call for donations either child or project sponsorships. Similar the GEW project (cf. FCF –b). Those who can effort will take the ownership and spend some money. However donations facilitate the ideology of individual charity and 'doing some good'. Stereotypes of 'givers' and 'beneficiaries' (outlined earlier) become (re)constructed.

Education shall be free from direct and indirect costs, equally and free accessible for all children. India's centre and state budget for education declined as ODA increased. South-North collaboration intend strengthen the public education. But funds are raised from private donations. How does both public education and private donation match? Changing of social norms, raising awareness and putting pressure on officials for a proper implementation of legislation and adequate budgets is a double concern national and abroad for the present and the future. In the short run the implementation of the right to education would need compromises (cf. GEW chairman in dradio 2011). SMUs will be need to push governments towards the implementation of the Right to Education and accelerating towards child labour. The bilateral private-private commitment need outlined towards union members and partners. Both to resolve the contradictions and speculations. Governments are in charge for the public good and Human Right Education. Privatisation need refused.

Awareness rising towards child labour and the Right to Education need facilitated. Uncritical 'critical consumption' and charitable donation does not conceptualize child labour in social and political matter nor address global injustice and redistribution of wealth. But fall back to an dual world view instead to bring together diversity on similarities. A large body on material referring to child labour and the right to education is on the market. The bulk is unilateral. Unions point of view and role is largely neglected. Decent work – in the full meaning rather than as short cut as 'better wages' – tend to be marginalized. However unions lack material especially educational material for educational institutions. Educational professionals are in the position to facilitate information and material towards students and parents. GEW has the know-how for own TLM based on the 'Beutelsbacher Consensus'. However the union did not provide own material, yet.
'Walking while asking questions' (Zapatistas) - GEW does not have a policy. EI CLR and DPE are GEWs non-negotiables. However both are largely unknown among education professionals. FCF was launched two years ago. The first project started early 2012. Now it is time to coordinate and strengthen activities in Germany. Latter will need a policy regrading educational and developmental matter. Referring to the hand in paper the following points are a first attempt (suggestions) for an future intra-organisational debate.

➢ Organisational consciousness
  • evaluation of own activities national and international (approaches, assumptions, motives);
  • Critical review of previous activities and replacement in the (new) professional and organisational policy
➢ Professional consciousness
  • spread and vitalize Declaration of Professional Educators
  • spread and vitalize Resolution on Child Labour
  • (re)conceptualization of child labour and the right to education in the social, political and cultural context national and international respectively
➢ Public relations
  • clear phrasing and visualising of intentions and aims;
  • review of material regarding stereotypes
➢ Capacity building
  • analyse and professional commentary of educational material from third agencies;
  • provision of own educational material for students and teachers in different educational institutions

Operational goals and strategies shall be formulate based on previous international solidarity and referring to education policies national and international. Injustice, social and economical disparities, unequal distribution of wealth and decent work need direct addressed towards supranational agencies, national government and local authorities. The intra-organisational debate shall elaborate cornerstones for a national and international development policy. The debate is assumed to prevent any decoupling of members and facilitate additional information towards uninformed.

At the end left to point: Globally and locally diversity of social mobilisation will re-address inequalities and injustice towards governments and authorities. Latter have to fill lip service with life. Gaining the right to education on the grass root level may be the first cornerstone towards emancipation of the masses in the periphery. SMUs have an important role on the way to revitalize MDG and to place emancipatory education as source for sustainability, justice global and decent work on the top of the agenda.

76 GEW fundamental principles of non-discrimination, solidarity and equality are note in GEW charter.
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Appendix

Critical review of the methodology

In a simple random sample teacher from Dornipadu Mandal was chosen for an interview. The sample size was nine. However two teachers did not finished the interview for some reason.

Structure of the field manual (broadly):

- **General information**
  - name of the village, name of the school, form of education
- **Social background (teacher and his own family)**
  - teacher (age, gender, caste, religion, origin, occupational matter, education, working conditions, tuition, harassment, drop out, living conditions, marital status); wife/husband (age, education, occupation, children); family of origin (father: age, education; mother: age, education; siblings)
- **Social activities**
  - voluntary activities, teachers union (name, duration of memberships, kind of membership)
- **MVF**
  - knowledge about MVF, attribution
- **Professional occupation and TFCR**
  - knowledge about TFCR, personal aspiration, personal responsibilities, perception from society on the profession, teachers training
- **Teachers performance**
  - classroom situation and professional intervention; knowledge about Corporal Punishment (kind, application in school and home, legislation and follow up); Human and Child Rights (knowledge about Human and Child Rights in general and the Right to Education in particular; professional interventions referring to the Right to Education); perception and attitude towards parents and children

The field manual was in English. It was filled from the author. However teacher was not familiar with English. Therefore a translation was needed. The translation was facilitated from MVF staff. The staff was not professional interpreter. Translation was facilitated from English in Telugu and from Telugu in English. Kind of interpretation may limit quality of the responses.

The questionnaire was introduced to three staff member. Doubts and questions regarding the form was cleared before the interviews started. However during the interviews additional questions from both non-professional interpreter and interviewee came up. Doubts was cleared during the interview. However MVF staff facilitated interviewee with exemplary responses at some point in time. Therefore some of the responses tend to be stereotypes.

In the reflection the questionnaire was too long and time scheduled was to less. Further teachers understanding regarding question was limited. Especially in the case of illustrated situations teachers tend to less capable to image the situations (‘What would be your professional intervention when...’). Easier phrasing and more time may solve the lack. However (participatory) observation will be necessary to verify responses with special reference to child centred methodology and Corporal Punishment. Doing so the time spend will be beneficiary for additional exploration of teachers self perception. Latter in direct comparison with the practise (theory and practise).