

Child Work and Schooling in India: A Case Study of Andhra Pradesh Village

キーワード: India, child labour, child work, school universalization, life-world

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(Received september 13, 2000)

Introduction

The purpose of this paper² is to consider the meaning of child work in rural Indian society in the context of their "life-world," and to re-examine its significance in relation to school universalization.

Though the need for investigation on child labour as a cause for school dropout has been emphasized repeatedly, not many attempts have been successful in demonstrating the actual condition of work undertaken by children, or its impact on schooling. The reasons for this might be: 1) the work is often undertaken in the informal context and therefore, difficult to understand its actual impact, 2) the available statistical data is sometimes superficial and not reliable, and above all, 3) the concept of "child labour," which usually means "work for wage," does not encompass the entire economic activity of children in villages (see for example, Chandrashekhar 1997).

Though it is impossible to demonstrate the total condition of child work empirically, we may be able to figure out some useful point of view by case studies focusing on inter-linkage between child work, schooling, and their living condition. To get a clue to this, the author carried out fieldwork in an Andhra Pradesh (A. P.) village in south India. This paper comprises three parts. First, on the basis of a review of some available studies, the author has summarized findings with regard to the child work and schooling in Indian rural society. Secondly, showing some field data collected from a village in A. P. as a case, the author shows the interrelation between child work, schooling, and their living condition. Thirdly, as a conclusion, the author introduces the concept of "life-world" in order to examine the frameworks to understand the interrelation mentioned above, and proposes an

alternative point of view for investigation.

1. Condition of Child Work in Rural India

(1) Definition of "Child Work" and "Child Labour"

Though it is generally agreed that there is considerable child labour in India, there is very little agreement on the magnitude. Nagaraju et al. (1995) points out that the magnitude of child labour in India range from 13.59 (1981 census) to 100 million (1981 CWC). They discuss that this difference is explained by the difference of the definition of "child labour." What is more, due to IAMR(1999), it is noted that "child labour" is used by policy makers or researchers to emphasize deprivation and exploitation. To avoid such confusion, "child work" is used as a keyword in this paper instead of "child labour".

In this paper, "child work" is defined as: activities undertaken by children which fulfill the economical requirements of their family directly or indirectly. In this definition, such activities as "feeding a cow" or "fetching water from a well" are considered to be "child work" though they may not earn from this. "child labour" is used as "child work for wage."

(2) General Condition of Child Work in Rural India

Though not many studies have been successful in depicting child work as stated in the Introduction, in recent years, some effort to reveal the condition of child work has started through the publication of academic papers. Before going into the question of inter-linkage of child work and schooling, an attempt has been made to go thorough some studies in this area.

Based on ICRISAT village studies, Jodha and

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Singh (1991) point out two roles of child labour in dryland area. : "Child labour broadly performs two roles in dryland agriculture. First it has an important place in the production and self-provisioning systems characterizing the agriculture of dry tropical regions. Secondly, depending on the relative demand and supply situation, child labour, through formal employment, supplements the family income." According to the same study, average proportion of child labour to total labour engagement is not more than 4% in all study areas; and even in that case, it is observed that children are not getting much employment in heavy work. However, contribution of child work to self-provisioning system : such as CPR product correction or seasonal activities are found to be quite high. They point out that child work of these kind fits well into the peasant adaptive

strategy in the dryland area and suggested this can lead to withdrawing children from the school.

Manocha, Nijhawan and Singh (1998) support this finding by empirical investigation. They carried sample survey in Azamgath division, Uttar Pradesh. Out of 428 children in the rural area age group of 5 - 14, 272 children (63.5%) were identified to be workers, but within those 272 children those who were identified wage paid worker were only 6 (2.2%), and self employed were only 2 (0.7%). The rest of them were found to be unpaid family workers.

A large scale study by Kanbargi and Kulkarni (1991) in Karnataka shows more details of the condition of child work and it's co-relation with schooling. Following tables are some of the results of their study. The following Tables³ are some of the data collected in their survey.

Table 1 : Average Time Input in Hours Per Child Per Day in Different Work Activities

| Sex, Age Group | Household Work | | | Directly Productive Work | | | | | All Work | Schooling |
|-------------------|--|--------|-------|--------------------------|-------------|----------------------|-----------|-------|----------|-----------|
| | Related to Food Preparation ¹ | Others | Total | Related to Own Livestock | On Own Farm | On Family Trade Etc. | For Wages | Total | | |
| Boys 5-7 | 0.06 | 0.97 | 1.04 | 0.49 | 0.13 | 0.02 | 0.15 | 0.79 | 1.84 | 2.35 |
| 8-9 | 0.06 | 0.90 | 0.96 | 1.36 | 0.57 | 0.07 | 0.15 | 2.17 | 3.13 | 2.43 |
| 10-11 | 0.06 | 0.90 | 0.97 | 1.38 | 0.67 | 0.34 | 0.38 | 2.79 | 3.76 | 2.55 |
| 12-14 | 0.09 | 0.90 | 1.00 | 1.84 | 0.89 | 0.09 | 1.57 | 4.40 | 5.40 | 1.74 |
| 5-14 | 0.07 | 0.92 | 1.00 | 1.16 | 0.51 | 0.11 | 0.49 | 2.28 | 3.28 | 2.28 |
| Girls 5-7 | 0.30 | 1.42 | 1.73 | 0.28 | 0.14 | 0.03 | 0.05 | 0.52 | 2.26 | 1.73 |
| 8-9 | 0.49 | 1.58 | 2.08 | 0.96 | 0.36 | 0.04 | 0.24 | 1.62 | 3.70 | 1.90 |
| 10-11 | 0.99 | 1.86 | 2.86 | 0.84 | 0.45 | 0.06 | 0.80 | 2.17 | 5.03 | 1.58 |
| 12-14 | 1.63 | 1.99 | 3.63 | 0.84 | 0.74 | 0.09 | 1.60 | 3.27 | 6.90 | 0.83 |
| 5-14 | 0.77 | 1.67 | 2.45 | 0.65 | 0.38 | 0.05 | 0.58 | 1.68 | 4.13 | 1.54 |

Table 2 : Average Time Input in Hours Per Day of Schooling and Non-Schooling Children in Different Work Activities

| Sex, Age | Percent in School | School-going Children | | | Non-School-going Children | | No. of Children |
|-----------|-------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| | | Household Work | Directly Productive Work | Schooling | Household Work | Directly Productive Work | |
| Boys 5-7 | 78 | 0.70 | 0.62 | 3.16 | 2.04 | 1.58 | 113 |
| 8-9 | 74 | 0.64 | 1.58 | 3.35 | 1.76 | 3.95 | 84 |
| 10-11 | 63 | 0.84 | 1.25 | 4.00 | 1.15 | 5.61 | 73 |
| 12-14 | 40 | 0.93 | 1.68 | 4.20 | 1.03 | 6.34 | 74 |
| 5-14 | 66 | 0.74 | 1.16 | 3.52 | 1.41 | 4.71 | 344 |
| Girls 5-7 | 59 | 1.16 | 0.36 | 3.08 | 2.60 | 0.85 | 137 |
| 8-9 | 56 | 1.57 | 0.52 | 3.46 | 2.71 | 3.01 | 75 |
| 10-11 | 39 | 1.95 | 0.74 | 4.04 | 3.43 | 3.06 | 89 |
| 12-14 | 23 | 2.18 | 0.57 | 3.94 | 3.97 | 4.08 | 83 |
| 5-14 | 46 | 1.52 | 0.50 | 3.45 | 3.27 | 2.81 | 384 |

The findings of these studies in relation to the present study can be summarized in the following three points. First, the work for wage was reconfirmed to be quite low as seen in former studies. Second, these studies suggest that children are devoting quite some time on child work as can be seen from Table 1. Average time input to the work of 5 to 14 year old boys and girls is 3.28 and 4.13 respectively. Especially, in case of boy above age of 12 years, and above age of 10 years in case of girls, they are spending more than 5 hours in a day. Third, as is seen from Table 2', strong co-relation is recognized between schooling and child work. Though the average time input of school-going children on household work and directly productive work are 0.74 hours and 1.16 hours respectively in case of boys, and 1.52 hours and 0.50 hours respectively in case of girls, the time spent of non-school-going children of each category is 1.41 hours, 4.71 hours, 3.27 hours, 2.81 hours respectively.

Though the studies provide useful data, what is required for further consideration is inter-linkage between child work and schooling in the context of their daily life. This is because the reasons of school malfunctioning in rural society are often explained by the failure of school to build up adequate relationship with the local society. For example, Ramakrishna Rao Committee⁵ (1995) points out "Apart from the consideration of cost, quality and relevance of the inputs to be provided to the schools, what is not adequately realized is the need to bring in interactive relationship, between the school and the child in the school." The following is the interim report of the fieldwork to understand the meaning of child work and schooling in terms of their socialization process.

2. Case study In an A. P. Village

(1) Profile of the study area

The fieldworks were undertaken in a village (T village) in A. P. four times, between August 1994 and September 1997⁶. The total stay in the village was 78 days. T village is a middle sized old village in Chittoor District with a population of 905 people⁷. A hamlet of scheduled cast people (H hamlet, populated by 512 people) is adjacent to T village⁸. It takes 45 minutes in the bus from the closest town. T village is originally dry-land area where paddy cultivation was not possible. However, in recent years development of irrigation system made paddy cultivation possible in some part of the village. Most of them are making a living by paddy cultivation, ragi, jonna, tomato, sugarcane, beans and so on. Besides agriculture, many people raising livestock: cow, bull, buffalo, sheep, goat, hen, cock and so on.

(2) Child work in T village

Following are major areas of work in which children are frequently used.

a) Fetching Water

The first activity in which child plays a big role is fetching water for the house use. Since there is no water supply system in the village and it is only four houses that have their own wells, most of villagers have to bring water from the well just as in most of the Indian villages. The following figure shows the number of the users of water resource in 90 minutes in early morning (7:00-9:00), forenoon (9:30-11:30), afternoon (13:30-15:30) and evening (4:30-6:30) of a day⁹.

Table 3 : User of Water Resource in a Day

| Age | Early Morning | | | | Forenoon | | | | Afternoon | | | | Evening | | | | Total | | | |
|-------|---------------|-----|----|----|----------|----|----|----|-----------|----|----|----|---------|----|----|----|-------|-----|-----|-----|
| | TM | TF | HM | HF | TM | TF | HM | HF | TM | TF | HM | HF | TM | TF | HM | HF | TM | TF | HM | HF |
| ~ 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 0 | 1 | 8 | 14 | 4 | 5 |
| 5~ 9 | 5 | 16 | 5 | 9 | 3 | 8 | 8 | 13 | 10 | 3 | 17 | 15 | 8 | 18 | 7 | 17 | 26 | 45 | 37 | 54 |
| 10~14 | 2 | 26 | 8 | 14 | 8 | 20 | 2 | 7 | 5 | 24 | 5 | 2 | 6 | 36 | 4 | 4 | 21 | 106 | 19 | 27 |
| 15~19 | 16 | 25 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 8 | 20 | 39 | 14 | 14 |
| 20~ | 30 | 103 | 14 | 30 | 9 | 19 | 6 | 10 | 6 | 20 | 12 | 15 | 11 | 33 | 44 | 36 | 56 | 175 | 76 | 91 |
| 計 | 53 | 170 | 35 | 56 | 23 | 53 | 20 | 33 | 25 | 57 | 34 | 36 | 30 | 99 | 61 | 66 | 131 | 379 | 150 | 191 |

(TM, TF, HM and HF means 'male user in T hamlet,' 'female user in H hamlet,' 'male user in H hamlet' and 'female user in H hamlet' respectively.)

(4 bore well and a well in T hamlet, and 2 bore well in H hamlet.).

As can be seen from the Table 3, regardless of the schooling hour (forenoon and afternoon) or not (even the ratio of number of child is relatively low in the early morning), frequent use of children are observed. Nearly half of the users are children. Especially, in H hamlet, use of low age children is frequently observed.

It was observed from interviews with some villagers, that the required amount of water is about ten jugs (binde) in a day (for cooking, drinking, bathing, for live stocks and so on) in case of a middle size family, (5 or 6 member). It takes about 7 minutes to go to 50 meters' away bore well and bring the water to the house from there¹⁰. Therefore, it is estimated that the net requirement of time for fetching water is more than one hour per family.

b) Taking care of livestock

From the statistics, it is quite clear that villagers are keeping considerable number of livestock in this area. The number of livestock in T gram is reported to be : bulls 827 (hybrid 102), cows 2036 (hybrid 698), buffaloes 63, sheep 2568 and goats 826¹¹. Considering that the population and household numbers of T gram are 5830 and 1150 respectively, it is quite obvious that the livestock is an integral part of the economy and self-provisioning system of T village. On an average, each household keeps about 2.5 cows or bulls.

Cows serve villagers as source of milk and are used in agriculture as well. Oxen are used in agriculture and pulling cart. The milk is to be sold for Rs¹² 4 to 5 per litter as well as consumed in their own houses. Ordinary (not hybrid) cow produces about 3 litters' of milk (about 10 litter in case of hybrid cow). Considering that the wage of labourer in not-busy season is Rs 30 to 40 in a day, income or benefits from cows is an important source for their economy. The work for maintaining to the cows and bulls are milking, feeding and watering, most of which can be undertaken by

children. Hybrid cows and oxen need more attention as they need to be fed more carefully and bathed regularly.

Sheep and goats are taken care of by children in majority of the cases. Not many adults are engaged in this work for this is thought to be less productive. Usually, they go to feed 20 to 40 sheep or goats in the morning to the planes 1 to 3 km away from village and come back in the evening. Though it is a simple job, it needs full time commitment during the daytime. Therefore, those children (most of them are boys) undertaking this job does not have a chance to go to school and are observed more in H hamlet (usually above 8 years).

c) Food Preparation

Cooking is mainly the work of women and girls. Except some spices, most of the food items are cooked from scratch, which is time consuming. It takes generally approximately 2 hours for breakfast and 1 hour for dinner. Gender role stereotype is quite prominent with regard to cooking. Girls start working from a very young age (usually age of 4 or 5). However, boys generally do not help their mothers for they are not considered their job culturally.

Firewood collection is another part of a child's work in the village related to food preparation. Though kerosene is sold in the village, ordinary (not very rich) people use only firewood for cooking in order to save money. They have to go the forest 1 km from T village. From the interviews to the villagers, it was observed that, if an adult works a day, he will be able to get firewood for a week's use. The firewood can also be sold for Rs 30 to 35 for the amount of wood collected in a day even during the agricultural off-season. It is frequently observed that firewood collections are undertaken both by boys and girls (usually above the age of 8)¹³.

d) Agriculture

Though major workforce of agriculture is adult, child work has two meanings in this

area : to help the job and to learn the agricultural works to be carried over them by their child. Due to the interviews to several villagers, the major process of child' enrollment in agricultural works are as follows.

Boys usually start going to farm by the age of 4. First they follow their parents and just observe their parents and start learning the manes of tools used in the farm. Then, they start delivering father's lunch from their home or carrying some light tools. They start working in the field by the age of 6 or 7. At this age they start weeding, feeding their livestock around their farm, or making watercourse or footpath between rice paddies¹⁴.

As they grow up, they start learning every aspect of farming. After certain age, they start learning hoe or leveler attached by bulls (madaka or madimanu in local language). Use of madaka or madimnu was observed in the case of these above 11 years old.

The farmers informed that, they can learn how to handle each aspect of farming by the age of 15 or so, and they can be an independent farmer by the age of 20¹⁵.

Girls are not observed in heavy work, but they also start joining in planting, cropping and so on by the age of 11 or 12.

e) Other

Other than the works mentioned above, girls spent their time taking care of their sisters or brothers in order that their parents can spare time to engage in other work. In the interviews to Headmaster of T Village Elementary School, it is mentioned that this to be the biggest reason for villagers to withdraw their children from the school. This is observed much more in girls than in boys.

Boys sometimes go to the forest to collect leaves for cooking, fruits, nuts and so on for the family or for sale. They said they are sometimes fortunate to get honey.

(3) Findings of the fieldwork

Findings of the fieldwork can be summarized in following three points.

First, child work is observed more frequently

in traditional style of work rather than newly developed style of work. All the works stated above are simple and connected to traditional life style. Therefore, there is not much possibility for the works itself to make these children to be motivated toward learning some other things from school.

Second, child work is totally embedded in the life structure of rural society and they are important part of their socialization though they are not taking the form of organized education. Each and every child work successively lead to adult works in the village. Some of them, such as fetching water or taking care of their brothers and sisters are part of learning of inter-relation or mutual-dependency in their life process, and some another such as taking livestock or helping agriculture are preparation or "rite of passage" to adults work, which makes orientation toward another step of their life.

Third, though not many of them are work for wage, they help the family economically indirectly as peasants' adaptive strategy. It is reconfirmed that their work is well fit into agro-climatic environment of the village that calls for high degree of diversification. Some of the output of their work such as fire wood collection or milking or pasturage can be sold or can at least save the expense. Another work such as taking care of their brothers and sisters help to increase their income by making time available to parents to engage in another work. Reflection of these nature of child' activity will make clear that the concept of "child labour," is not valid to comprehend their entire economical activity.

(4) Schooling in T village

Being an educationally backward state, high ratio of dropout has been pointed out as a big problem of rural education. Due to 1991 census, 55.68% students dropped out between class I and class V in total (Gout. of A. P., 1994 : 27) Schooling in T village is no exception. Though promotion is based on attendance, many children are seem to dropout from their school before reach to the level of Class 5 as can be seen from the following Table.

Table 4 : Constitution of the students in T village elementary school (1st April, 1996.)

| Class | Male | Female | Total | SC M | SC F | ST M | ST F |
|-------|------|--------|-------|------|------|------|------|
| I | 15 | 14 | 29 | 5 | 9 | 0 | 0 |
| II | 23 | 17 | 40 | 12 | 6 | 0 | 1 |
| III | 16 | 22 | 38 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| IV | 9 | 9 | 18 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| V | 8 | 8 | 16 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 71 | 70 | 141 | 29 | 16 | 0 | 2 |

(SC and ST means 'scheduled casts' and 'scheduled tribes' respectively.)

Table 5 : The Number of Students in the village going to private elementary school (1st April, 1996.)

| | OC M | OC F | BC M | BC F | SC M | SC F | ST M | ST F | Total |
|--------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| Number of Students | 7 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 34 |

(OC, BC, SC and ST means 'other casts,' 'backward casts,' 'scheduled casts' and 'scheduled tribes' respectively.)

What has to be noticed, however, is a certain number of children go to the private schools. The following Table shows the number of children in T village going to private school.

As is seen from the above table, large number of children (21.9 % in total school-going children) are going to private school and it is not seem to be limited to the rich class. Therefore, though the process of schooling is not related to the other aspect of life in the village, it is assumed that there is some other reason that motivates them to send their children to the schools. The only major reason that we can assume is job opportunities in the town in future, which could be possible by getting qualification of SSC and so on through schooling¹⁶.

With regard to the teaching process or curriculum in the village schools, the detailed discussion is beyond the scope of this brief paper. However, some general trends can be given of schooling in rural area. The following quotations from reports of State Government will be suffice to show ineffectiveness or malfunctioning of rural schooling since there is no controversy over this point.

"As of now, the school in a village is in isolation and alienated from the community and the families of children... The balance between the demands of the school in terms of its calendar, timings, curriculum, pedagogy and

the demands of the people governed by their own existential situation has been always not in favor of people. School has been demanding the people to adjust themselves to its demands rather than adjusting itself to the demands of the people." (Ramakrishna Rao Committee : 1995)

"But those bodies (Districts Board in rural areas) were beset with all sorts of problems and could hardly bring about any improvement in rural areas. ... The reasons for the failure were : First, the management of education used to be personalized around the functions of Education Department and their personalized management acted as a disincentive to mobilize the masses in the task of spreading education. Second, the personnel who were drafted in the Educational Department were hardly trained in the gigantic task of spreading education of the rural areas. Third, education was not an important item on the agenda in the perception of the government. Fourth, with the rural schools being so spread out, Department of Education felt very difficult to closely monitor the functioning of these schools." (V. Krishnamacharyulu, Special Officer of A. P. Open School Society : 1994)

"The matter of real concern here is 'How far we are away from the goal of universal and

equitable access to the education.” (State Component Plan : 1997)

3. Conclusion

(1) A model for understanding child work, schooling and their life-world

In order to understand the meaning of child work in the context of their everyday life, the author would like to introduce the concept of “life-world.” “Life-world” is the concept in phenomenology, which is a realm of daily life consists 'reality' of people. Life-world works as a hidden assumption in everyday life and defines “thinking as usual.”¹⁷ If we are to accept that human behavior is normally based on “thinking as usual” which is not always rational or calculated but deeply embedded in the structure of behavior in the society, then, the constitution of “life-world” is to be an important focal point of the studies as well as objective situation of the children in rural society.

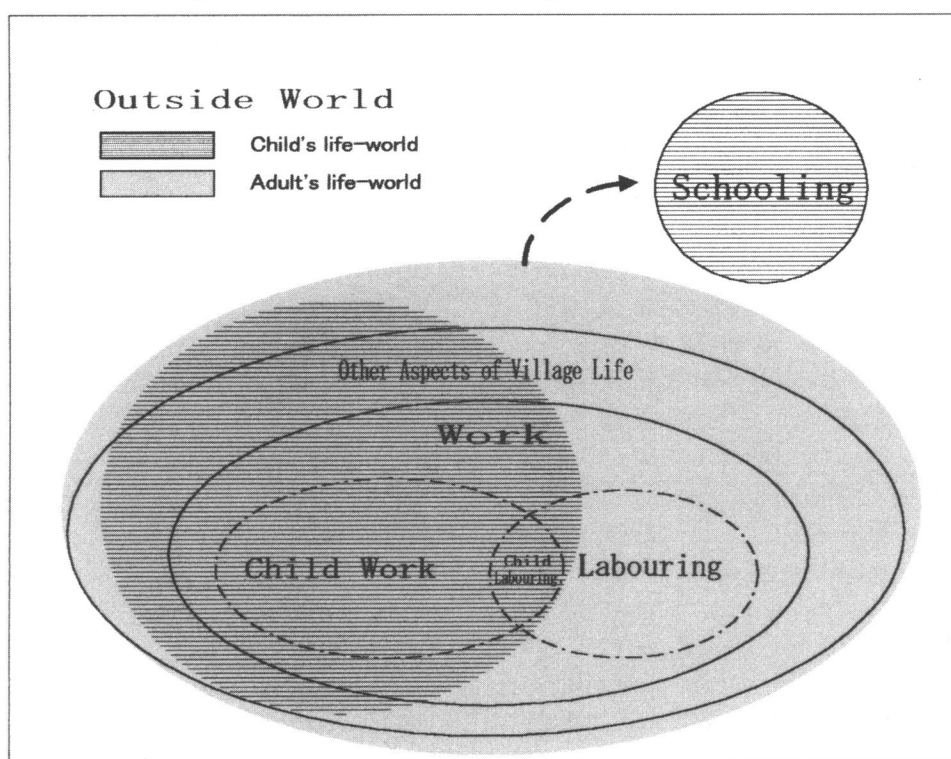
It will be easier to explain the use of this concept by explaining a model. Following figure is an attempt to illustrate inter-linkage of their life. The author has attempted to describe the

relationships between child work, child labour, whole work in the village, and schooling by Venn diagram based on what has said in the last section. Subsequently he has tried to figure out child' as well as adult' “life-world” covering areas of those phases of the social life. In the following model, assumed area of child' and adult's life-world are illustrated by shadowed portion.

As is seen in the Figure 1, child's “life-world” is constituted of two different entities : the world of work and other aspects of village life, and then, the world of schooling. The former part of their life-world is encompassed by adult's life-world. But it does not cover whole aspect of village life as is true for child's life-world in any society. Adults have a little chance to see the outside world since they go to the town only now and then, but children have only a little opportunities to get in touch with outside world. Child work has important place in their life-world but child labour is only a small part of their work. The world of schooling is totally separated from village life. There is little observed evidence that those two parts of their life-world are linked together.

On the other hand, adults' “life-world” does

Figure 1 : Child work, schooling and their life-world



not encompass the life in the school nor the actual content of lessons taught in the school. This is because adults' daily life does not have any relation to schooling process, and many of them even has never been to school in their childhood. However, seeing the fact that some of them are interested in schooling for the job opportunities as pointed out above, what bridges schooling and their life-world is those qualifications of schooling. This means the motivation comes from outside of village life though it is visible from their life-world. The arrow mark in the figure indicates this.

(2) Implications

Though this model does not provide any readymade solution for the schooling in local area, the author believes this model can help us to make theoretical understanding of the problem more valid.

For example, understanding of the child' and adult's life-world shown in above model explains the difficulty of "local-based" or "self-reliant" development of education. Though the need of "grass-rooted educational development" is often stressed in the discussion of third world education, there are not many success stories. The reason for this has been usually explained simply as ineffectiveness of curriculum, teaching method or indifference of villagers (see for example, Rave et al. 1994). Whereas, if we consider this structure of their life-world, it will be possible to explain this malfunctioning from a different point of view.

That is to say, this discrepancy of life-world within the children as well as between the children and the adults can be critical reason for retardation of school development in rural India. As the author pointed out in previous section, child's life world in the village does not create much orientation to schooling. In case of adult on the other hand, those separation of school form village life might have resulted in valuate schooling not as learning process but as chances for job opportunity. If both them are not interested "schooling as learning", teachers will not have much chances to be motivated toward improving their practice, which will result in

further loss of child's interest. What is assumed to be a bottleneck of educational development in rural area is this vicious circle.

As pointed out by Kumar (1989), the question 'what is learned by pupil' is no more significant than the question 'who learns and who fails to learn' under this structure of their life-world. What Meyer has called school as "personnel-certifying agency" (Meyer : 1977) can hold more validity in this structure. Therefore, the system of school education based on local society can be even more marks oriented : attaching excessive emphasis on standardized knowledge for examination rather than interests of children or useful skills related to their daily life. Perhaps it is right to say that this is a paradox of grassroots development in education, which underlies Indian educational policy since "Basic Education" post independence.

What is required in the further discussion of child work and school education can be summarized in the following three points. To begin with, though it is important to consider child labour (child work of wage) for their protection from exploitation, what are to be focal point of the discussion of effectiveness of schooling is "child work" which is based on total structure of the life style in the local society. Then, since the form of work will be highly influenced by the life style of local society as we have seen in the example of A. P. village, linkage of child work and schooling must be discussed vis-a-vis socio-economical structure of the society as well as general situation of child work in a large area. Finally, since it is assumed that there are difference of constitution of life-world between child and adult as I have suggested in above model, what is to be focused in the discussion are the valuation systems of children and adults of the school education : to which not much attention was paid so far.

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² This paper is a revised version of the paper read at The South Asian Conference on Education held at University of Delhi, November 14th-18th

1999.

³ The figure is made based on Table 8.2 (Kanbargi and Kulkarni 1991 : 138)

⁴ Out of 773 children In Table 1, 45 were going to school for only a part of the year and are not in the Table 2.

⁵ "Ramakrishna Rao Committee" is a committee for deliberation to reform school education constituted by A. P. Government in 1995.

⁶ The fieldworks on child work are carried out as a part of a study on development of a private school in the village. In the fieldwork, other data such as : consumption pattern of the villagers, changing of the culture, cast structure and so on are collected though they are unable to be shown in this paper.

⁷ The population data is collected from elementary school in T village in 1995 July.

⁸ The area of observation of this fieldwork includes H hamlet also. In this paper, when the author means both "T hamlet" and "H hamlet" in the following context, the author calls them simply by "T village" for convenience.

⁹ For data collection, a researcher is allotted in each bore well or well and the age of each user is questioned. The duration of observations are exact but the timings of the start of the research differ by two minutes in each research points due to research convenience.

¹⁰ It is an average measured minutes in a house in August. Though this is not based on survey, we can roughly estimate the required time. However, the time will be differ depends on the season (more time in dry season).

¹¹ The statistics of T village was not available. However, it is assumable that the ratio of number of livestock to population in T village will not be differ from that of T gram for there is no town part in T gram and the industrial structure is more or less similar in any village in T gram. The data is collected from the sub-collector's office in the Mandal (subunit of a district).

¹² 1 Re is about 3 yen as of April, 1997.

¹³ Though the ratio of child in firewood collection was not researched in a course of this fieldwork, from a study in Karnataka, it is reported that 27.7% of total work are undertaken by children

in average (Kumar 1980 : 59).

¹⁴ This is common practice in this area to maximize utilization of water resource.

¹⁵ One of the informant of interview mentioned that they used to learn by the age of 15 in 20 year's back but since they started going to the school in these days, they are getting delayed in learning farming jobs.

¹⁶ This assumption is partly supported by the studies of The Probe Team in Association with Centre for Development Economies (1999 : 14-25).

¹⁷ Schutz, A. (1970 : 81-82) pointed out : Thinking as usual may be maintained as long as some basic assumptions hold true, namely : (1) that life and especially social life will continue to be the same as it has been so far, that is to say, that the same problem requiring the same solutions will recur and that, therefore, our former experiences will suffice for mastering future situations ; (2) that we may rely on the knowledge handed down to us by parents, teachers, governments, traditions, habits, etc., even if we do not understand their origin and their real meaning ; (3) that in the ordinary course of affairs it is sufficient to know something about general type or style of events we may encounter in our life-world in order to manage or control them ; and (4) that neither the systems of recipes as schemes of interpretation and expression nor the underlying basic assumptions just mentioned are our private affair, but that they are likewise accepted and applied by our fellow-men. There will be no doubt that life in Indian rural society have all of above assumptions very strongly so long as their life is not risked.

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インドにおける子どもの仕事と学校教育 —アンドラプラデーシュ州農村部における事例研究—

キーワード：インド，児童労働，子どもの仕事，学校教育の普遍化，生活世界

武井敦史

本研究はインド南部，アンドラプラデーシュ州におけるフィールド調査にもとづき，インド農村部における「子どもの仕事」のもつ意味を彼らの「生活世界」の文脈に照らして検討し，「子どもの仕事」と学校教育の普及との関連について考察することである。

調査対象としたのは混合農業地域の中規模村である。調査の結果から指摘されたのは，第一に子どもの仕事は雇用労働よりも伝統的産業において頻繁に観察され，それらの子どもの活動と学校教育の内容とは関連に乏しいこと，第二に子どもの仕事は農村の生活構造自体に埋め込まれたものであり，彼らの社会化にとって大きな意味を持っていること，第三に子どもの仕事のほとんどは賃金労働ではないが，間接的に家庭の経済に大きく貢献していることである。

一方で調査村における学校教育の内容は，学校外の村の生活と関連が薄く，それゆえ有用性に乏しいものであるが，にもかかわらず父母の学校教育に対する関心は必ずしも低くはない。学校の修了資格を得ることで将来的に町での就職の可能性への父母の期待がその理由と推測される。

一連の調査から示唆されるのは，現在のインドの農村部においては，子どもの生活世界における仕事と学校生活との乖離，学校をめぐる子どもの経験内容と大人の価値づけとの乖離，という二重の乖離が生じていることである。これは農村における学校の存在意義が，その教育機能によってではなく，「人材証明」機能の観点から価値づけられやすい構造が形成されるということの意味する。