

## THE LEGAL AND ECONOMICAL DIMENSIONS OF BONDED LABOUR SYSTEM

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### **INTRODUCTION**

India has always been committed to pulling people out of bonded labour and the clutches of slavery. The ambitions are remarkable but the situation is not. Even after 70 years of the promise to economic, social and political justice, the marginalized continues to face various socio-economical and socio-political challenges. The System of Bonded Labor hardly finds mention in the political speeches. A section of society so politically irrelevant and economically exploited that even Hope fails to knock on its door. Bonded Labour System is the modern form of slavery and is still practiced in various parts of India despite being criminalized about four decades ago. The System gives no regard to age and gender; it traps not only an individual but even the families; it doesn't recognize the minimum human dignity and it only seeks to perpetuate the bondage from generation to generation. There are various Laws in India to address the issue, but the real question is whether these laws are enough to tackle the problems. To answer that, we need to examine the real nature of the problem. The problem is not merely legal or social, rather it is more of an economical problem. The laws may do away with the exploitation by providing the fair rules of the game however it cannot make a weak player stronger. Most of the Bonded Labours are engaged in the unorganized and informal economy. The basic wages, regulation of service, work conditions, facilities specific to these informal sectors is not provided for. Neither satisfactory attempt has been made to formalize these sectors. As a result, the larger part of these sectors remains in the dark and somewhere in that darkness, bonded labour is constantly subjected to exploitation, violence, injustice and marginalization. Thus understanding both the legality and economics revolving around bonded labour becomes imperative to better appreciate the need to the hour. This article aims to explore both of these aspects. It discusses the existing Legal Framework for the protection and upliftment of bonded labour as well as the various sectors of the economy they are engaged in along with various economic factors such as living standards, compensation, economic justice etc.

### **I. LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR PROTECTION OF THE BONDED LABORS**

There is a wide variety of laws to protect the interests of bonded labourer's in India. Right from the Constitution to the various laws enacted by both the Parliament and State Assemblies there is a range of protections, direct and indirect, available to the bonded labourer's. However, due to various factors such as lack of awareness and education and the presence of marginalization and backwardness, these protections are rarely availed by the bonded labourer's. Nonetheless, the majority of the laws are sought to be discussed to bring forth a wider picture of the legal framework advocating against Bonded Laboring. Indeed, the general and special laws pertaining to the labours or workmen apply to bonded labourers also, but, for the sake of brevity, an attempt is made to discuss only those which directly apply or accord protection to the bonded labourers.

## 1. The Constitution of India

The foremost law which finds its relevance here is the Constitution of India, 1949 i.e. the *grundnorm*. The provisions of the Constitution regarding the protection of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes are much relevant as most of the labourers who are trapped into bonded labouring belong to these sections. The Constitution guarantees a Right against Exploitation as a “fundamental right” under “Article 23 and 25 of the Constitution”. It prohibits *Traffic of human beings and beggars and other similar forms of forced labour*<sup>1</sup>. It lay down a separate fundamental right to the children below the age of fourteen (14) years of age and categorically states that “*No child below the age of fourteen years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment*” under “Article 24”. With this specific mandate the Constitution also provides for other ancillary provisions such as the “Right to Equality (Article 14), Right against discrimination (Article 15), Right to equal opportunities in the matters of public employment (Article 16), Right against Untouchability (Article 17), Right to freedom of Movement, Right to free speech and expression, Right to carry out any trade and profession etc. (Article 19) and Right to life and dignity (Article 21)”. The Constitution also provides to the children above six (6) years and till fourteen (14) years of age a “Right to Education (Article 21A)”. These rights are well recognized and protected. However, there are certain rights which are recognized but not specifically protected by the Constitution. These rights are put under “Part-IV of the Constitution titled *Directive Principles of State Policy*”. These rights are to be given due regard by the *State* while enacting laws and making policies. Article 42 talks about making provision for just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief it mandates that the “*State shall make provision for securing just and humane conditions of work and for maternity relief*. Similarly Article 43 casts an obligation on the State that it “*shall Endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organization or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities and, in particular, the State shall Endeavour to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas.*” In addition to these directive principles, the Constitution also provides for the promotion of educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections under Article 46. It mandates the State to promote “*the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation*”. Hence the Constitution identifies the problems faced by the bonded labourers provides for the protection of the same.

## 2. The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976

Though the Constitution was fully enforced in the year 1950, it took a quarter of a century for the parliament to effectuate the spirit of Article 23. The “Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act, 1976” is the major legislation dealing with the subject it defines certain key terms such as bonded debt, bonded labour and bonded labour system. The term bonded debt is defined to mean “*an advance obtained, or presumed to have been obtained, by a bonded labourer under, or in pursuance of, the bonded labour system;*”<sup>2</sup> and a bonded labourer is defined to mean “*labourer who incurs, or has, or is presumed to have, incurred, a bonded debt under Section 2(f)*”.

The definition of the bonded labour system is found under “Section 2(g) of the Act” wherein it is defined to mean “*the system of forced, or partly forced, labour under which a debtor enters, or has, or is presumed to have, entered, into an agreement with the creditor to the effect*” to any of the five (5) instances as follows<sup>3</sup>:

- i. “In consideration of an advance obtained by him or by any of his lineal ascendants or descendants.”
- ii. “in pursuance of any customary or social obligation”
- iii. “in pursuance of any obligation devolving on him by succession”
- iv. “for any economic consideration received by him or by any of his lineal ascendants or descendants”,

<sup>1</sup>Article 23 of the Constitution of India, 1949”

<sup>2</sup>Section 2(d) of the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976”

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

- v. “because of his birth in any particular caste or community, the labourer would render labour or service, to the creditor or his benefit OR forfeit the freedom of employment or other means of livelihood OR forfeit the right to move freely throughout the territory of India, OR forfeit the right to appropriate or sell his property or product at market-value”

Section 6 of the Act extinguishes the debts of the bonded debt and bars initiation of any proceedings before any court in relation thereto. Section 9 imposes imprisonment of up to three years on any creditor who accepts the payment concerning the debt extinguished by virtue of section 6. Where a labourer or Vigilance Committee claims a dent you be bonded debt then Section 15 casts the burden of proof on the creditor to prove it otherwise. The Act also provides for various penalties and punishments. Section 16 of the Act imposes a maximum of three years of imprisonment on anyone who compels a person to do bonded labouring. Further Section 17 and 18 also imposes similar punishment on any person who attempts to or lends money under the bonded labour system and enforces any custom, practice or tradition enforcing the bonded labour system respectively. Apart from these provisions Section 19 also provides for imprisonment of up to 1 year to those who fail to restore a bonded labourer the possession of property taken from him.

### **3. Other Legislations**

Apart from the above-discussed laws there are various other laws indirectly touching upon and providing protection to the bonded labours. These are as follows:

- “The Child and Adolescent Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 (As amended by Act 35 of 2016)”
- “Contract Labour (Regulation & Abolition) Act, 1970”
- “Indian Penal Code, 1860”
- “The Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989”
- “Employee Compensation Act, 1923 (As amended through EC (Amendment) Act, 2017”
- “The Inter-State Migrant Workmen (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979”

As already discussed that the list will go on to include all the applicable laws however for the sake of brevity only the laws that specifically apply to the conditions of the bonded labours are being listed here.

### **4. The Central Scheme for Rehabilitation of Bonded Labours, 2016**

Apart from the above-discussed legislations, the Union Government has also floated the Central Scheme for Rehabilitation of Bonded Labours, 2016 with effect from 17.05.2016. The Scheme provides for an Immediate interim relief at the time of rescue up to Rs.20,000 to each victim. It further enhances the financial assistance from previous “*Rs. 20,000/- to one lakh per adult male beneficiary, Rs. 2 lakh for child labour & women and Rs. 3 lakh to trans-genders, or woman or children rescued from ostensible sexual exploitation*”<sup>4</sup>. It also makes various provisions for Land, housing and other non-cash assistance. It also seeks to dedicate an amount of Rs. 50 lakh per district for bonded labour surveys. The Scheme provides for the creation of the “District Bonded Labour Rehabilitation Fund” with a permanent corpus of at least Rs. 10 lakh at the disposal of the District Magistrate for extending immediate help to the released bonded labours.

In addition to this Scheme, various other schemes can be availed by a bonded labour viz. “Grant in Aid Scheme on Child Labour, Grant in Aid Scheme on Women Labour, Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojana. Craftsmen Training Scheme (CTS), Apprenticeship Training Scheme (ATS) and Skill Development Initiative Scheme (SDIS) etc”

### **5. Key Judicial Precedents**

The Hon’ble Supreme Court and the High Courts have, from time to time, pronounced various judgments on the subjects in the public interest litigations under “Article 32 of the Constitution”. In these judgments, the Courts have made various directions to the competent authorities who are directly or indirectly responsible for the

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<sup>4</sup>The Central Scheme for Rehabilitation of Bonded Labours, 2016

implementation of the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976. Few of these remarkable judgments are discussed hereunder along with the key directions made therein.

**i. “Bandhua Mukti Morcha v. Union of India (UOI) and Ors”<sup>5</sup>**

The Hon’ble Supreme Court held that *“Whenever it is shown that a labourer is made to provide forced labour the Court would raise a presumption that he is required to do so in consideration of an advance or other economic consideration and he is, therefore, a bonded labourer entitled to the benefits under the law.”* It also noted that *“the State government should adopt a non-formal and unorthodox approach in the implementation of the law which is an important instrument for ensuring human dignity”*

**ii. Neerja Chaudhury Vs. State of Madhya Pradesh<sup>6</sup>**

Taking cognizance of the letter dated 20.09.1981 of the petitioner about 135 bonded labourers who had been released with a promise of rehabilitation but not rehabilitated even after 6 months the Hon’ble Supreme Court held that *“Rehabilitation must follow in the quick footsteps of identification and release, if not, released bonded labourers would be driven by poverty, helplessness and despair into serfdom once again.”* It also mentioned that *“the Social action groups operating at the grass-root level should be fully involved with the task of identification and release of bonded labourers.”*

**iii. “Santhal Pargana Antyodaya Ashram v. the State of Bihar”<sup>7</sup>**

The Hon’ble Supreme Court in this matter stressed about the issuance of a release Certificate to the bonded labourers. The Hon’ble Court directed that *“All the labourers who are bonded by the Saxena Committee may be directed to be released . . . and on their being released the concerned Collector will issue forthwith a certificate to each of them certifying that he or she is a bonded labourer and has been released from bondage. These certificates shall be issued by the concerned Collector and handed over to the bonded labourers simultaneously with their release.”*

**iv. “Public Union for Civil Liberties v. State of Tamil Nadu”<sup>8</sup>**

In this case, the Hon’ble Supreme Court discussed the obligation of the State Governments to provide rehabilitation to the released bonded labours. It categorically directed the State Governments *“To provide adequate shelter, food, education to the children of the bonded labourers and medical facilities to the bonded labourers and their families as part of a rehabilitation package,”* and also suggested taking steps for survey and identification of bonded labourers and prosecution of offences pertaining to them and ordering reports to the Supreme Court on compliance with these directives. The Court also recognized the importance of the various social action groups and NGOs and suggested that *“The services of philanthropic organizations or NGOs could very well be utilised for rehabilitating released bonded labourers. State could give necessary financial assistance under proper supervision”*.

**v. DhanurjayaPutel v. State of Orissa<sup>9</sup>**

In this case, the Hon’ble High Court for the State of Orissa made a comparison between slavery and bonded labouring. The Court stressed that minimum wages must be provided to a labourer otherwise it is equivalent to Slavery. The court stated that *“It appears from all the aforesaid meaning attributed to the term ‘slave’ and ‘slavery’ that deprivation of the freedom of movement and right of expression with respect to person or property can be connoted as the meaning to the term ‘slave’ or ‘slavery’.* In this case, as per the prosecution allegation, when a person is allowed to put a labour of about 18 hours a day for a paltry sum of Rs. 30/- maybe with the assistance of his family members and yet he shall not have the freedom of expressing his grievance against the exploitation and meager payment, this Court finds no better example of satisfying the requirement of the term

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<sup>5</sup> AIR 1984 SC 802

<sup>6</sup>“ AIR 1984 Supreme Court 1099”

<sup>7</sup>“1987 Supp (1) SCC 141”

<sup>8</sup> (1994) 5 SCC 116

<sup>9</sup>2002 (II) OLR 412

*'slavery' in the context of the present-day scenario and the prevailing law. Therefore, the allegation available from the Case Diary makes out a prima facie case satisfying the requirement of the terms 'slave' and 'slavery' too."*

Law is an evolving phenomenon. It evolves with society and seeks to address the contemporary needs of any given society. The prohibitions, abolitions, restrictions and regulations not only suggest the development of social consciousness but also reflect the social evils that society seeks to get rid of. Though despite such a rich jurisprudence and strict laws the practice of debt bondage is still prevalent, nonetheless some progress has been made. It needs to be noted that most of the bonded labouring occurs in unorganized sectors like agriculture, plantations etc. We must provide for minimum wages, basic work conditions etc. for the workers so the exploitation is eliminated and labour is given a fair amount and that his generations are not forced into repayment of their debt.

## **II. THE ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE ON BONDED LABOURS**

From an economic point of view, the issue of bonded labour is far more than mere servitude for repayment of debt. The problem is more aggravated due to the non-regulation of key sectors like Agriculture where these workers are employed. Legality may seek to reinforce social or moral values; however, the core principles of economics are quite distinct. Economics, as such, is more about the *value* of a thing and *reciprocity* in exchanging values. From a perspective of a Lender economic justice would be to receive the value he lent along with the opportunity costs i.e. interest accrued. For bonded labour, it might be about the opportunity cost of working somewhere else where he could have generated more value and have repaid the debt of the Lender much earlier than the time of bondage. The law doesn't aim to deprive the lender of his due but to discourage the exploitation of another under the guise of such due. Mostly the marginalized and the backwards are subjected to such exploitation. In the foregoing discussion, we shall discuss how the Scheduled Castes and Tribes are trapped into this bondage. For the sake of brevity, only key sectors where bonded labour is practised are being discussed here. Bonded labour, it may be noticed, is rampant in "brick kilns, stone quarries, crushing mines, beedi manufacturing, carpet weaving, construction industries, agriculture, in the rural and urban unorganized and informal sector, power looms and cotton handlooms, fish processing etc".<sup>10</sup> However, most of the bonded labourers are found in the following sectors:

### **1. Agricultural Sector:**

The Agricultural sector witness a lot of bondage labour as the sector has never been regulated and organized. To date, the largest number of bonded labours belongs to the Agricultural sector. There are practically no minimum wages or service regulations, monitoring or inspection for them. Despite legal prohibitions, the practice continues to date especially in agricultural States like Punjab, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh etc. Similarly, the terminology used for them varies from region to region.

In Punjab, the Bonded Labors are known as *Siri*. Usually, they are members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and are denied even basis of rights and are also outside the purview of the basic labour protections. Their wives are usually employed for cattle-shed cleaning and are indirectly bonded because of their husbands or fathers. Similarly, the children employed in agricultural areas are known as *Pali*. They are treated like slaves and are often subjected to physical violence and boycotts. Similarly in the State of Madhya Pradesh, the cases have often been reported from the Harda District usually the people belonging to the *Bhil* and *Gond* Tribes are targeted. Apart from these the states of Andhra and Tamil Nadu have also reported various cases of bonded labourers in agricultural sectors from time to time Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana, Karnataka, Orissa, Maharashtra.

### **2. Brick Kilning Sector**

The Brick Kilning Industry employs a lot of bonded labourers. A study conducted by the "Anti Slavery International" on brick kiln workers from three states – "Chhattisgarh, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh" which involved 383 persons, of which 339 were directly engaged in brick moulding work in kilns found "***that 100% of brick moulders were from a minority group; all were from traditionally marginalised/ excluded castes and classes. In***

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<sup>10</sup>"Public Union for Civil Liberties v. State of Tamil Nadu (2013) 1 SCC 585"

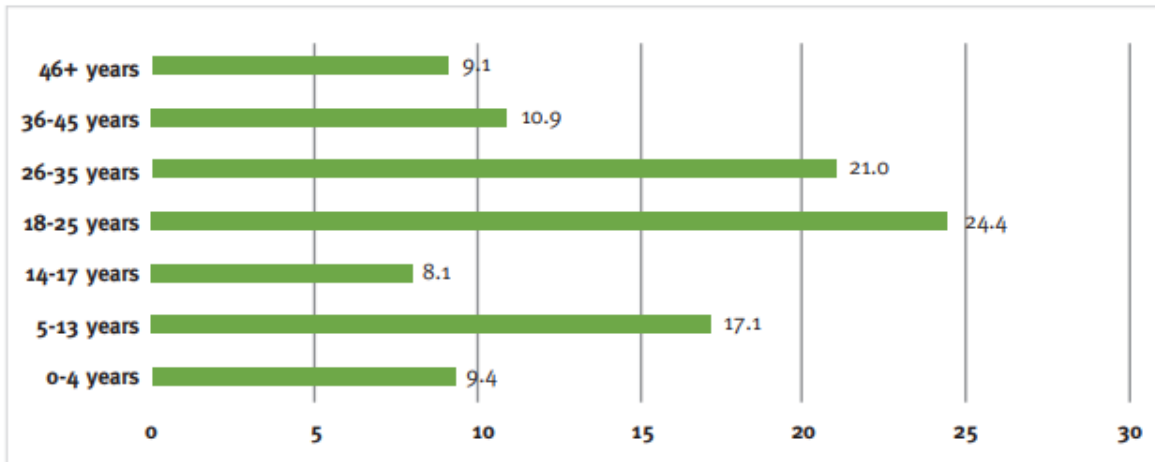
break-down, 53% were Scheduled Caste (Dalits), and 47% were ‘Other Backward Classes’ (marginalised socio-economic class). Whilst there were no members of the Scheduled Tribes (Adivasi groups) this is likely due to the selection of states (Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Chhattisgarh).<sup>11</sup> The report studied various aspects of the Brick Kiln workers such as working conditions, leaves, age group of workers, reasons for employment, work environment etc. It found that such labourers were not only underpaid but were also required to work overtime for no compensation. The report discusses the quarterly and monthly loss incurred by a worker due to non –payment of overtime wages as depicted in the table below:

	Monetary loss of a brick kiln worker due to absence of overtime wages	
	Per Quarter	Per Month
As per the 75 hours of overtime in a quarter (permissible under law) & at the current minimum piece wage rate, i.e. Rs.578.89/1000 bricks	Rs.5,100	Rs. 1,700
As per the actual 262 - 534 hours of overtime in a quarter & at the current minimum piece wage rate, i.e. Rs.578.89/1000 bricks	Rs. 17,952 to Rs. 36, 312	Rs. 5,984 to Rs. 12,104

Thus it is clear from the above that not only the workers are at constant risk of their life but they are exploited very rigorously. The report also found that in most cases the wages of the workmen would be withheld for the entire season which is usually 8-10 months long. With more than 33% of the labourers being underpaid in the sector, 90 percent of them had to pay for their electricity and buy their own types of equipment. The report also studied the age profile of the labourers working in the sector. It found that the “Brick kiln moulders usually migrate to the kilns with their families, including their children or other dependents. Only one member of the family, generally the male head, is registered with the kiln as the employee - either formally or informally For payment purposes, this family unit is paid as a single entity, however, all members of the family contribute to the production of bricks for the working family unit. In the case of inter-state migrants<sup>60</sup>, almost all the workers are migrating as a family, including children. In the case of intra-district migration in Punjab, 50% of the Punjabi workers migrate with their families. It appears that this is done to increase the production capacity of the unit by adding more members from the family to the unit”. “The majority of the workers (76%) migrate in units of two to five members. 87% of the persons, who migrate to the kilns, including children, work at the kiln. Of the brick kiln population, the largest numbers are in the age group of 18-25 years, followed by a significant percentage in 26-35 years of age. 8% of the population are adolescents (14-18 years) while 26% are pre-adolescents, toddlers and infants.”<sup>12</sup> The following is the graphical representation of the age profile of the workers who were interviewed in the study.

<sup>11</sup>“Slavery in India’s Brick Kilns & the Payment System, 2017”

<sup>12</sup>“Ibid (Slavery in India’s Brick Kilns & the Payment System, 2017)”



The report also found that 96% of the labourers have taken advances from the employers and their wages were withheld for the entire season whilst they were required to work on average fourteen hours a day in the summer months. 65% to 80% of children under fourteen are working for an average of nine hours a day in the summer months.

### 3. Stone Quarries and Crushers

The famous case of *Bandhua Mukti Morcha vs UOI* and *Neeraj vs the State of MP* were pronounced in the backdrop of the bondage of the labours engaged in the Stone quarries. The infamous stone quarries of Rajasthan are well known for their bonded labours.

*“According to a study conducted by UNICEF in Kota and Bundi, out of 438 children, taken as a sample, 38% children worked in stone quarries. This report reveals that the situation for children living in sandstone mining areas of Kota and Bundi requires immediate attention. These children are drawn to work by deprivation and the hope of earning a living for themselves and their family, yet they are in reality sacrificing their childhoods, their education and their chance of a better future.”*<sup>13</sup> It is pertinent to note that not only these labours are affected physically but due to the nature of the sector they are also exposed to various chemicals which leads to a reduction in life expectancy and various diseases. These workers work at high temperatures and are prone to respiratory illnesses such as silicosis. A report suggested that of the 150 labours working in stone quarries 50 were suffering from silicosis.<sup>14</sup>

Similarly in other states also *“More than 70% of the workforce in granite quarries are casual labourers employed on a daily wage or piece-rate basis. With wage advances of one to three months wages and high-interest loans, the quarry owners are tying workers to the job. Nearly 25% of the workers are recruited by providing loans, with annual interest rates of 24% to 36%”. “More than half of the migrant workers owe large amounts to quarry owners or contractors. This creates debt bondage, as workers must clear the amount before they can change employer. In nine quarries this form of modern slavery is prevalent. Middlemen are recruiting workers, mostly migrants, but offer them no contract and do not respect legal requirements”. “Migrants constitute around two-thirds of the total workforce in granite quarries. Workers are mostly from the so-called ‘lowest caste’ of Dalits or Adivasi (tribal people). They are extra vulnerable due to their low social status in Indian society”.*<sup>15</sup>

### 4. Other Sectors:

<sup>13</sup>“Children’s Lives Cast in Stone; UNICEF, 2015”

<sup>14</sup>“Parker and Change: Feasibility Study: Combating Child Trafficking and Bonded Labor in Rajasthan”

<sup>15</sup>“India Committee of the Netherlands : The Dark Sites of Granite dated August 23, 2017”



The Bonded Labors are majorly found in the construction sector among others. They are often engaged through middlemen and contractors. It is not that these workers are engaged only in private areas but also governmental ones. For example, the National Adivasi Solidarity Council rescued about 45 people from a governmental canal irrigation site in Karimnagar district on August 3, 2018. Most of these workers belonged to the most vulnerable Chenchu tribe. These workers were engaged through a sub-contractor.<sup>16</sup> These types of workers are usually small or landless farmers who rely on loans from contractors or employers who lend at heavy rates. Owing to their inability to repay the debts in time they are offered to work for lump sum money or instead of debts. The women are often subjected to sexual and physical exploitation. Similarly in the Jalandhar district of Punjab also various workers had been rescued. It was found that these workers have not been paid their wages for more than 4 months. On an inquiry conducted by the National Human Rights Commission, it was found that even the local administrations failed to take appropriate steps to rehabilitate the workers.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the Plantation sector also involves a lot of bonded labour, these workers are usually found in tea plantations in the areas of Assam, Kerela and West Bengal and Lemon plantations in Andhra Pradesh. The Tamil Nadu Commissioners Report (1995) also found that the migrant bonded labourers were also found in cardamom plantations. The Mining Industry also employs a lot of child labour who are usually trafficked and bonded into labouring. A study conducted by the “Impulse NGO Network”, an independent human rights organization, has found that 70,000 children are working as bonded labourers in private mines in Meghalaya, in India’s northeast. Children are reportedly trafficked from neighboring countries such as Bangladesh and Nepal<sup>18</sup> Apart from these areas the Bonded Labors are also found in various sectors such as Gem Cutting, Rice Mills, Bidi Manufacturing, Mat Weaving and Salt production etc.

Hence the Governments must take steps not only to propose effective laws but also for providing appropriate employment opportunities, basic wages, skill development, education and awareness and also to empower these workers to help them break the shackles of debts and free themselves of bondage.

### **III. CONCLUSION AND RECCOMENDATION**

As it can be found above that there are various legal tools to help the bonded labourers but we need more of the economic and social tools. The law can only punish irregular behaviour, it may not however enforce regular behaviour. It needs to be understood that regularization of sectors such as Agriculture, Brick Kilning, Stone Crushing and many more where such exploitation occurs, would help us keep track from an economic perspective. The focus should be more on the economic factors such as Unemployment, Literacy, Nutrition, Wages, Empowerment Schemes, Rural Banking, Insurance and so forth. The unemployment rate in the rural area needs to be calculated more effectively especially of the small and landless farmers, provisions should be made for the development of their skills and opportunities must be created for those skills to serve or produce. The financial institutions must be made stronger in the rural areas and alternatives should be created for taking of debt by the marginalized. Thus, unless and until we employ economical tools along with legal tools, the problem of bonded labour must remain intact.

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<sup>16</sup><https://thewire.in/rights/telangana-bonded-labour-rescue-tribals-compensation>”

<sup>17</sup>“NHRC Case No. 663/19/1999”

<sup>18</sup><https://www.dw.com/en/thousands-of-bonded-child-miners-in-india/a-5211821>”



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