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Preface

It is being increasingly recognised that formulation of appropriate policy responses for the elimination of child labour would, to a large extent, depend on the inputs provided by research studies undertaken to explicate the different dimensions of the problem. This is especially so in relation to the assessment of the effectiveness of existing policy interventions. It is in this context that V.V. Giri National Labour Institute had undertaken a large multi-centric research study in nine hazardous industries to assess the impact of the existing child labour legislations on the deployment of children. The present study on Child Labour in the Glass Bangle Industry of Firozabad is part of this multi-centric study.

The major objective of the study is to examine the impact and implications of the existing legislation on the deployment of child labour in the glass bangle industry. The study provides a detailed account of the evolution of the glass industry in general and the bangle industry in particular in Firozabad and examines the different supply and demand side factors which have contributed to the increase of child labour in the industry. While the analysis relating to the demand side factors have been carried out on the basis of an exhaustive review of the existing literature, the supply side factors were examined on the basis of a household survey undertaken in 1000 households. The analysis clearly brings out that a host of demand and supply factors have contributed for the persistence of child labour. Although the legislations have tended to reduce the deployment of child labour, especially in large factories, it has not been successful in mitigating the problem entirely. This is because the provisions of the existing child labour legislation, i.e. the Child Labour (Prohibition and

Regulation) Act do not apply to any unit where an occupier with the aid of his family carries out the work. The study finds that this provision in a way, has resulted in the shift of work from factory based work to home-based work.

The study lists out a number of recommendations which could go a long way in achieving the objective of elimination of child labour from the hazardous glass bangle industry of Firozabad. It emphasises the need for convergence of all development investment in order to develop the general livelihood resources of the people instead of targeting individual households. The study also emphasises the pivotal role which the expansion of education can play in eliminating child labour. The Institute is thankful to ILO-IPEC for supporting this study and it is hoped that the scholars and practitioners working in the area of child labour would find this essay useful.

Uday Kumar Varma

(Uday Kumar Varma)
Director

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Child Labour, despite several national and international efforts for its elimination continues to be a major political, social, economic and moral challenge. Out of an estimated 210.8 million children world over, between ages 5-14 who are engaged in some form of economic activity, 186.3 million children fall within the strict definition of child labour and of this 111.3 million children could be included in the category of children working in hazardous work (ILO,2002).

The eradication of child labour has been recognised as one of the most important and urgent task before the humanity today. However, the complexity of the phenomenon precludes any simple strategy. In some western countries, the incidence of child labour has experienced a steady decline over the years, which could be attributed to an array of interventions, ranging from legal to welfare interventions in the form of welfare measures and efforts to make education compulsory.

In India, the problem of child labour has been haunting the policy makers for quite some time and legislations have been used at different points of time starting with the Factories Act of 1881 to combat the problem of child labour. After independence, the Constitution through Article 24 prohibited the working of children in factories, mines and other hazardous employment and at the same time the State through Directive Principles of State Policy, as laid down in Article 45 sought to secure compulsory education for children. Over the years, several Acts have been enacted prohibiting the employment of children in different hazardous activities and several committees have been set up to assess the child

labour situation. These culminated in the formulation of the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 (CLPRA) which prohibits the working of children in the listed hazardous occupations and processes.

At the same time it was realized that without improvement in the causal factors, mere legislation was ineffective. Therefore, during 1980s, the Government of India initiated several rehabilitation programmes to withdraw children from work and prevent them from entering into the labour markets. In 1986, the year in which the Department of Education articulated the National Policy of Education which stressed on the need to provide non-formal education to the large number of children who work, the National Child Labour Policy was conceived. The policy was based on three main ingredients (a) legal action plan with emphasis on strict and effective enforcement of legal provisions relating to child labour under various labour laws, (b) utilisation of various ongoing development programmes of other Ministries and Departments for the benefit of child labour families and (c) project based plan of action for the welfare of working children in areas of high concentration of child labour.

Child Labour : Demand – Supply Analysis

It is usually argued that the phenomenon of working children is associated with poverty and the rate of growth of child population. Child labour is often included as one of the descriptive features of underdevelopment and as being associated with the survival strategies of parents. It is seen from the surveys by ILO and World Bank that the highest incidence of child labour is found in the poorest countries of the world and in the poorest regions of these countries. In fact, child labour participation is as high as 32.9 per cent in Eastern Africa, 24.2 per cent in Western Africa, 20 per cent

in east Asia, 14 per cent in south Asia, 12.8 per cent in South America, 11.1 per cent in South-east Asia, etc. (The World Bank, 1998).

It has been reflected by various studies that there are too many children who are willing to offer themselves in the labour market. The supply of children in the labour market tends to keep the wages exceptionally low and the result is exploitative nature of employment. During the early phases of industrialisation, countries experienced a population explosion which was characterised by sharply declining death rates but high fertility rates. This imbalance affected the population pyramids whereby there was a sharp increase in the proportion of children in the 0-14 age group. It was seen that the incidence of child labour was at its peak when the proportion of child population was around 42-45 per cent and virtually disappeared when it declined to under 30 per cent. A lot of empirical results support that high fertility exists in such economic structure where child labour plays an important role. Due to their poverty, families are vulnerable and have no choice but to use young children for the survival of the family. The flow of wealth from children to parents make it economical to have more children.

Besides poverty, social factors also play a major role in influencing child labour. In India it has been found that lower caste people and tribes are educationally backward and economically deprived. Studies have shown that the phenomenon of child labour is more frequent among them. Vemuri (1986) in his study of child labour in India over the 61 agroclimatic regions defined by National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), showed that the presence of scheduled castes in the region increased the employment of child labour. Besides caste factor, another factor which is often

thought to be a cause of child labour is illiteracy. It has been observed in several studies that education has a negative influence on child labour. Hirway (1979) has shown in her study that correlation between the incidence and child labour and illiteracy was 0.78, indicating that lower the level of literacy the higher is the incidence of child labour. Child labour in third world countries is partially due to inadequate educational system and certain socio-cultural constrains of the poor. The educational system in developing countries frequently lacks the infrastructure for providing compulsory primary education. Thus, parents often make a choice between education and work. They feel that education may not guarantee income, whereas, if a child is being trained for a skill, it has a definite advantage for the child's future (Reddy and Narayana, 1987).

However, poverty or other social factors are not the only reasons for the existence of child labour (ILO, 1979). The picture varies across households and across regions and countries. Countries which are equally poor may yet have relatively low levels of non-school going children or of working children. Underlying child labour is obviously also the pull factor, the desire to maximise profits and to command an utmost docile and flexible labour force. The demand of child labour may be derived from the nature of the labour process which may not require any knowledge-based skill and which implies total substitutability between adult and child labour. It has been felt that there are certain sectors that tend to rely heavily on child labour because of the pliability of children and low wage. Besides, the informal sector which is largely labour intensive, is beyond the scope of any legislative framework. Therefore larger the expanse of the informal sector (which is very large in all developing countries), the greater

is the demand for child labour by employers as children offer a cheap and relatively docile work force which is easily amenable to the requirements of surplus value extraction.

The absence of a strong (adult) labour movement and a strong civic society in general, in combination with the inertia of government institutions will allow these tendencies a free hand. Democratic grass roots' movements of the working people, for example trade unions movement, to an important extent help reshape the division and the redivision of the value added in production in favour of the poor families, and thereby help assure survival without recourse to child labour (Lieten, 2000).

On the basis of a quantitative cross-country empirical study, Iftekar Ahmed (1999) has therefore concluded that child labour is mainly associated with inequality in society and not with poverty, which ranked last among the seven determinants of child labour in terms of their respective explanatory power. The study after accounting for the set of eight factors which influence child labour, concluded from the multiple regression results, that economies with very unequal income distribution and with a high dependence on agriculture have higher rates of employment of child labour.

Child labour in the Home-based Industries

During the seventies, a new phenomenon emerged which was the informalisation of the organised sector. There was a restructuring of work with a major part of the work being shifted to small units or home based units. The home-based units which are highly unorganized, dispersed and scattered include a major chunk of the woman and child workers who work as a part of the family labour. The splitting of the bigger units into smaller units was an outcome of the stringent labour

laws, which provide for punitive measures against employer for hiring services of children in prohibited occupations and processes.

The process of growth of the home-based industries received a fillip in the eighties, with the introduction of the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986, which exempted family labour from the purview of law, according to provision in section III of the Act. The Supreme Court Judgement on Child Labour had further reiterated the provisions made in the Child Labour Act. As a result it has been seen that over the years, there appears to be a decline in the incidence of child labour in the organised sector with a corresponding increase of child labour in the informal home-based sector. The working children in these units have become invisible and are not a part of the counting process and are therefore not accounted for. Thus one can say that the incidence of child labour has not reduced, but more and more working children are now going into hidden areas of work. This also explains partially the reason for the wide gap between the figures on child labour as revealed by the government and those by NGOs and reiterates the directives issued by the Hon'ble Supreme Court on the conduct of survey, covering all shops, establishments and factories in the first phase and all the households in a district in the second phase. This exercise would bring to surface all working children both in the formal and in the informal sector.

It has been seen that the industries which employ child labour are highly fragmented. There is often a complex industrial structure with much of the work done through sub-contracting to small informal sector enterprises, which are paid on a piece rate basis. The fragmentation of industries is created in order to evade labour laws and commitments to

workers and also reduce the labour and production costs. Since the technology used for production is many a time very simple, with relatively little capital investment, therefore shifting of work to small units become easier. Once work is transferred to the home-based level, the involvement of children become easy.

The employers on their part feel that the responsibility for hiring child labourers has been legally passed on to another enterprise. In this way, labour laws on child labour are effectively avoided, since subcontracted enterprises directly hiring child labourers are in the informal sector. The subcontracting of jobs is done many a times to avoid child labour laws with the full knowledge of those who subcontract the job of how and by whom the work is carried out.

It can therefore be argued that despite the CLPRA, the problem of child labour has been growing. As the CLPRA exempts children working as a part of family from its purview, therefore there has been a shift of child labour from the organised to the unorganised (home based) sector. What is more, since they are operating in the unorganised sector they have become invisible as far as the law is concerned, thus defeating its purpose.

Background of the Study

The glass industry of Firozabad which is although famous for the different glass wares, is notorious for the use and abuse of child labour. The industry has drawn a lot of scholars from time to time. One pioneering work of this industry was done by Neera Burra (1986). This study gave a detailed account of the working children in the glass industry. The study described children carrying molten glass on a seven-foot iron rod called *labya* from the furnace to the adult worker

(blower) and back to the furnace to carry more molten glass for the blower. Children were preferred for this activity as children could run easily in the congested factory premises with the molten glass so that the blower could blow the molten glass to the desired shape. According to the estimate given by the local Labour Department nearly 85 per cent of the total children working in the factories were engaged in this activity (Burra, EPW, 1986). It needs to be mentioned here that the work done by the children in the factories though hazardous in nature, requires the least skill.

Several estimates of child labour in the glass industry has been made from time to time. Burra (1986) estimated around 50,000 children below the age of 14 years. The study by the Planning Commission (Mishra & Pande, 1992) estimated the number of child workers at the factory level to be around 30,000 and at the household level about two and half times more than the children working at the factory level. After the Supreme Court Judgement of December 10, 1996, a child labour survey done by the District Administration from 8.4.97 to 20.5.97 which found 4,978 working children of which 4537 were involved in hazardous work and 441 children involved in the non-hazardous work.

Thus despite the varying estimates, one cannot deny presence of child labour in the glass industry in large numbers. It shows that this problem continues to defy the various legislative measures adopted by the Central and the State Government to reduce its incidence. Moreover, the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986, provisions do not apply to those units that employ family labour. Over the years, several other academics have probed into the issue of child labour in this industry. A recent study that has been done is by Centre for Operations Research and Training

(1998), which looked into the issue of child labour in this industry from the point of irreplaceability of child labour argument.

However, most of the studies have looked into what economists call the labour supply side factors as to why children make themselves available to the labour market. There is therefore a need to carry out an objective study with regard to the demand side factors as to the structure of the industry, the reasons why children are in demand and the extent to which industries are dependent on child labour. Very little attention has been given to understand the economics of the industries, which hire substantial numbers of child labourers, and the role that is played by child labourers in these industries. Besides, the issue of legislation to eradicate child labour, which has been considered as an important tool to eliminate child labour, also has to be examined.

The present study on "Child labour in the glass bangle industry of Firozabad" has been undertaken as a part of the multi-centric study on "Child labour in the home-based industries in the wake of legislation" in nine different hazardous industries based on the above understanding that child labour is a consequence of both the supply as well as the demand for it. It is hypothesised in this study that as the child labour law prohibits the working of children only in the formal sector and ignores the working of children in the home based enterprises, therefore over the years there has been a shift of work from the organised sector to the home based enterprises in order to involve children in the workforce. The study also takes into account the state of education in the study area as it is believed that education is an important tool for eradicating child labour.

Since it has been felt that child labour is not a consequence of supply side factors alone and that the demand factors also play a very important role, therefore there is a need to take into account both these two factors for making interventions on child labour. The idea that child labour is a demand-driven phenomenon can be examined in terms of the organisation structure of the industry. The hierarchical structure of most of the industries (with the direct exporters at the top, sub-contractors in the middle and ancillary producers at the bottom, with the sub-contractors dominating both in numbers and magnitude of work done), it is clear that this group would try its best to minimise the cost of operations for which further sub-contracting would be resorted to. This has a major implication on the wages paid to the producer at the lowest level.

The study has attempted to evaluate the impact of the legislation both in terms of direct and indirect indicators Any assessment of the reach and efficacy of a legislation has to take into account its awareness among the community members. It is only when the different people who are affected by the legal provisions are aware of the penalties that could be imposed for violation of these provisions, that the next step of analyses of issues related to the enforcement, prosecutions and imposition of penalties could be taken up.

Objectives

Despite the CPLR Act, which bans the employment of children in certain hazardous occupations and processes, children continue to be engaged in such work. With the main objective of this study, therefore, being to understand the impact of the relevant legislation on child labour, it has focussed on three important factors: demand-side factors, supply-side factors and the state of education in the area.

Demand-Side Factors

- Evolution of the industry, factors behind the geographical rooting of the industry in a particular region, structure of the industry and organisation of production
- Segmentation of labour
- Productivity and cost factors, profitability of employing child labour
- The legal framework in relation to the industry
- Consequences for the industry on the elimination of child labour

Supply-Side Factors

- General profile of the area in terms of various development indicators
- Level of industrialisation in the region
- General profile of the population in the region
- An understanding of the profiles of the households depending on the industry for their livelihood

The state of education in the area concerned

An evaluation of access, quality and other issues relating to education in general and selected schools in particular.

Methodology

The methodology of the study is broad based as both quantitative and qualitative information has been collected and analysed. Discussions were held with the Labour Department of Firozabad and other government officials, NGOs, trade union representatives and other persons associated with the industry in order to identify the areas where glass bangle work is done. It was revealed that nearly 80 percent of the work is carried out within the urban limits.

Based on the discussions, ten areas having a concentration of glass bangle work were identified (8 urban and 2 rural). The selected urban areas were Nagla Mirza Bara, Bheemnagar, Hanumangarh, Nai Basti, Ramnagar, Devnagar, Ghalibnagar and Hazipura and the selected rural areas were Selei and Humayunpura. As per the decision taken in the workshop during the conception of this project, the sample of the study was restricted to 1000 households. In order to compare the situation of the child labour households with the non-child labour households, the study took a control group of 30 per cent of the households. Thus the sample consisted of 700 child labour households and 300 non-child labour households. The number of sample households in each of the study areas was drawn in proportion to the total number of households in each of the areas and the total number of households which had child labour. The households were interviewed with a pre-structured questionnaire. The head of the household was the principal respondent of our survey.

After the selection of the sample households, a pilot study was conducted to test the prepared questionnaire. The pilot study was conducted in order to assess the validity of the schedule and to add or delete items to the schedule as required. After completion of the pilot study, the questionnaire was finalised following which it was administered with the help of a team of field investigators. The investigators were selected through a process of interview from among those who had a prior experience of socio-economic surveys. After the investigators were selected an orientation was given to them in order to familiarise them with the survey topic.

In addition to the sample survey of households, a survey was undertaken in order to assess the educational system of the selected areas where the study has been conducted by

covering both the government as well as the private schools to see the effect of work on the dropping out of children from schools.

The study, besides obtaining quantitative information through questionnaires, has also sought qualitative information through observation and focus group discussions. In an effort to have a deeper understanding of the problem, the researchers have conducted several focus group discussions with different groups consisting of parents of the working children, education department officials, school teachers, labour department officers and other government officials, Panchayati Raj representatives, trade union representatives and employers.

Chapter 2

Profile of Firozabad

Geographical Location

Firozabad, which was one of the tehsils of Agra district earlier, was created as a separate district in 1989 and comprises of three tehsils and nine development blocks. The district which has a total geographical area of 2.34 lakh hectares, has a total cultivable area of 1.84 lakh hectares. This indicates that 69.48 per cent of the total reporting area of the district is cultivable. The cropping intensity in the district is also high. The pattern of operational holdings depict a high proportion of marginal and small holdings with an average size of 0.93 hectare. These marginal and small holdings constitute 75 per cent of the total number of holdings in the district. Coming to irrigation, it is seen that a very high proportion of the net sown and gross cropped area is under irrigation. More than 86 per cent of 168872 hectares of net sown area is irrigated and 90.48 per cent of 245773 hectares of the gross cropped area is irrigated. Thus it can be said that the agricultural sector of the district, which is the main source of production and employment, is not backward as compared with other districts of the state. As a result, non-agricultural activities appear to be significant in the district contributing significantly to the process of generating income and employment.

Demographic Charactertistics

The population of the district was 15.3 million as per the 1991 census with the rural population being 73.42 per cent and the urban being 26.58 per cent. The decennial growth

rate of population during 1981-91 was 21.65. The density of population in the district is 649 persons per sq.km.

The measures of fertility by crude birth rate (CBR) and total fertility rate (TFR) indicate a high fertility rate in the district, which is much higher than the state (CBR 37.42 & TFR 5.90) and the national average (CBR 32.73 & TFR 4.30). The child mortality rate (< 5 years) is also very high in the district as compared to the state and national figures (94 & 134 respectively). This may be a pointer towards poor health and medical facilities in the district (2.9 per 100,000 population).

The proportion of females to males is very low in the district. The sex ratio in the district as per the 1991 census is 832:1000

Social Profile

In terms of literacy it is seen that the district is quite backward with a total literacy rate of 46.39 per cent. On a disaggregated basis it is seen the literacy rate of the female population is only 29.8 per cent as compared to their male counterparts which is 59.8 per cent.

In terms of work force participation rate of the district which is 27.15 percent, it is seen that the work force participation rate of males it is as high as 48.44 whereas the women represent a very insignificant part of the workforce with their workforce participation rate being 1.55 per cent. However, this does not in any way mean that the women take a lesser part in the economy of the district. In fact the women of the district, like the children are mostly found working in the informal sector thereby they are usually not captured while making any estimates.

Child Profile

Children represent 26.12 per cent of the population. It is seen that in terms school attendance, the district is lagging behind as only 41.57 per cent of the total children are attending school. A comparison of the male and girl children show that the proportion of children to total child population attending school in case of male children is 48.49 per cent and in case of female children is 32.92 per cent.

The proportion of child main workers to total main workers is 2.03 per cent in the district. In case of the male children, the proportion of child main workers to total main workers is 1.94 per cent and in case of girl children it is 5.35 per cent.

Child Labour

The district is famous for different kinds of glass products and is also the only centre in India where glass bangles are manufactured. This makes the district one of the well known districts for glass items. However, the district although is famous for the glass products, yet it is highly infamous for the widespread (ab)use of child labour in these units. Initially, the glass industry was not included in the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 among the list of occupations hazardous to children. It has been included later on by a government notification on 5th October 1993, which covered all the processes mentioned in the Section 87 of the Factories Act[1] . The government has designated the glass Industry as a prohibited Industry for child labour mainly because of the heavy concentration of child labour and the serious health hazards involved in it.

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[1]The Gazette of India (EXTRAORDINARY) - Part II - Section 3, Sub-Section (ii), No. 593, New Delhi, October 5, 1993.

After the Supreme Court Judgement of December 10, 1996, a child labour survey was carried out by the District Administration from April 8, 1997 to May 20, 1997 in order to assess the extent of the problem at Firozabad. The survey found a total 4,978 working children of which 4537 were working in hazardous operations and Industries and 441 children were found working in non-hazardous operations. The study however was restricted only to the formal sector and did not take into account the children who work at the household level. In that case the number of working children would have been definitely much more.

Taking into consideration the large number of working children in Firozabad, the National Child Labour Project had been set up in Firozabad from the beginning of the Project in 1988. Under the National child Labour Project (NCLP), there are seventy special schools for child labour at Firozabad of which thirty one schools are being run by the Child Labour Welfare Society (CLWS), Firozabad and the remaining thirty nine schools are being run by the NGOs. Out of the nine Community Development Blocks in Firozabad, the NCLP schools are functioning in five Community Development Blocks.

Chapter 3

Glass Bangle Industry: The Demand Side Factors

The Glass Industry

The district of Firozabad is famous for glassware industries. The factories of Firozabad process a great variety of glass products: bangles (thin glass bracelets), bulbs, tumblers, jugs, chandeliers, cut glass and a various other items. Among the different glass products, the bangle production units attract more attention because of the massive use of child labour both within and outside the factories.

History of the Industry

The industry although very old, yet assumed a modern character as recently as during the war of 1914-18, when Indian manufacturers made considerable efforts to fill the void created by the stoppage of imports from Czechoslovakia, Belgium, England and Germany. With the cessation of hostilities in 1918, imports from abroad rapidly increased and the only branch of the industry, which could fight against foreign imports, was the glass bangle industry, which could compete successfully with the Japanese and Czechoslovakian varieties. Despite adverse circumstances, a number of new factories for the manufacture of hollow-ware and bottles and one for the manufacture of sheet-glass - which was the only one of its kind in Asia – were established in the period intervening between the two wars. The heavy demand from the army for hollow-ware, lampware, tableware, etc., gave a powerful fillip to the industry. (Report of Labour Investigation

Committeee, 1945). Over the years the glass industry prospered and Firozabad became a well-known centre for the manufacture of glassware, especially bangles.

Reasons for localization of the Industry

Inspite of the non-availability of basic infrastructure facilities such as raw materials, coal, power, market, etc. in the district, the industry occupies supreme position in glass making activities in India through skill, craftsmanship and aesthetic sense of the artists engaged therein. The majority of the skilled labour or the *shishgars* reside within 5-10 sq. km. of the town and many of them have been doing the work of bangle making which is a very specialized kind of work for more than two generations. Besides the workers, the good quality sand used for manufacturing glass is brought from Loghra, Bargarh (near Allahabad) which is about 150 kms from Firozabad and Panabi in Banda, Uttar Pradesh. The district is also very well connected both by road as well as by rail. The National Highway No.2 passes through the town linking it to all the important cities such as Agra, Kanpur, Lucknow, Calcutta and other important cities of the country. This enables easy marketability of the glass products manufactured here.

The Glass Industry: Problems and Growth

The glass industry is globally known to be highly technology intensive. However, the glass industry in Firozabad is technologically backward and the pressure on the workers is tremendous. The glass industry of Firozabad has multitude problems, which includes obsolete technology, primitive glass melting techniques, inferior quality of finished products, lack of management skills, poor working conditions, etc. Coal is mostly used as the main fuel in the furnaces and this is the

major source of pollution in the town. The work environment inside the factory is also is heavily polluted with heat, chemical fumes and coal dust all around. The floor of the glass factory can be seen littered with broken glasses.

Due to a technology gap, most of the units in Firozabad, continue to produce goods which are inferior in quality. The efforts of the Centre for the Development of Glass Industry (CDGI) to modernise and improve the working conditions in the industry have not been able to make much change. CDGI aims at improvement of skills and working conditions, protection of environment and development and adoption of new technologies and products. However, the factory owners of the glass industries were not very receptive to the production techniques being proposed by the CDGI. They were of the opinion that by adopting CDGI's method of production, the production costs would rise considerably, thereby leading to a rise in the cost of the glass items. Besides, many small glass units will not be able to bear the additional cost of using CDGIs techniques. The switching over from coal to gas which was being advocated by CDGI also did not evoke a very favourable response mainly because of the stipulation of a minimum charge for this facility even when it is not used.

Table 2.1: Growth of Glass Industry in Firozabad

Year	Number of Units	Employment
1950	30	7,500
1960	144	11,000
1970	170	40,000
1980	273	65,000
1990	342	127,000

Source: District Industries Centre, Firozabad

However, it is evident from the above table that the growth of glass industry in Firozabad has been quite substantial. It is difficult to estimate the volume and direction of exports from Firozabd as mostly indirect exports are carried out from Firozabad. Few large units, however, are reported to exporting directly to USA, Middle-East countries, etc.

Bangle Industry

The glass bangle factories and the bangle cutting units at Firozabad are registered with the government under the Factories Act. During the time of the study, there were 147 registered glass bangle factories and 35 bangle cutting units. Besides these, there were 112 blowing and 65 polishing units (Labour Office, Firozabad). The industry's annual turnover was estimated to be around Rs. 450 million with employment given to about 1,30,000 persons (NIDC, 2000). There are also several unregistered glass bangle cutting units and home based units where different processes of the bangle making is done. Within the glass industry, the production of glass bangles is most notorious for the widespread (mis)use of child labour. The bangle industry caters mainly to the domestic market the production of which runs into crores.

The glass bangle industry is a highly fragmented and labour oriented industry. The production process is broken down into several processes many of which are done at home. The primary activity of making the glass spirals is done at the factory level, following which the entire work is sent to the household sector either directly by the traders or through middlemen. Except in the factories, the payment to the labour is done on piece-rate system. The work in the factories is divided in three eight hours shift and the daily

wages are paid on shift basis. Security to the workers is an alien concept in this industry.

Processes of Production in Glass Bangle Industry

The raw material used for manufacturing glass is not available locally. The quartz or silica sand which is the largest constituent is obtained from Rajasthan and Allahabad and Banda districts of U.P. Soda ash which is the second largest constituent is brought from Gujarat. Limestone and dolomite are also obtained from Rajasthan. Besides these, colourant and special additives are also used. The prohibitive costs of Borax restricts its use in glass unless specified, e.g. medicinal, special coloured glass, etc.

The traditional way of making glass involve heating the mixture of silica (sand), soda ash and lime till the ingredients fuse into a transparent mass. Other ingredients are sometimes added to make coloured glass with special properties. While most of the factories manufacture glass from these basic raw materials, there are a few factories which re-melt the broken pieces of glass. The raw materials are stored in a mixing room where the 'mixer walas' weigh the prescribed proportions and put them in a big mixing trough in which the mixing is done by hand. This mixture which is called 'batch' is then transferred to a pot or tank furnace which is heated by using coal to a temperature of about 1800 degree centigrade. The furnace is kept heated continuously by thee furnace tender who are locally called the *fireman*. Here, the batch is converted into a homogenous molten mass and the bubbles are removed from it. A long iron rod of about six feet is then used to dip out the molten glass which is then carried to the loom maker. Here the molten glass is given a cylindrical shape and the iron rod along with the glass is again carried

to the furnaces to add some more glass on to it. This process of adding molten glass and blowing it continues till the *labia* or the glass block becomes about 10 inches. The *labia* is then taken to a small furnace where it is softened by *sekai* and then it is carried to the *belans*. The entire process is carried out in the following stages:

Preparing the batch

↓

Heating the batch in a pot or tank furnace at around 1800 degree centigrade

↓

Making the labia (glass block) and taking it to the roller (belan)

↓

Heating the glass block and drawing it into a thin glass wire by the tarwala

↓

Rolling of the glass wire on a rotating roller to form a glass spiral

↓

Glass spiral cut by a diamond tipped cutter, split, counted and packed

↓

Sent to the home – based units for the remaining processes

The *belans* are mainly managed by three workers locally referred as *Belania* or *Belanwala*, *Tarkash* and *Muthaiya*. A *belan* cannot function without proper coordination of these workers. *Belania* and *Tarkash* are considered to be highly

skilled workers and this is clearly reflected in their wages, which are the highest amongst all the workers in the factory.

The *tarwala* sits in front of the furnace and draws out the glass in the form of a wire (*tar*) with the assistance of the *belanwala* (roller-man). The *tarwala* holds the rod at one end and heats the glass block attached to the other end by putting that end inside the furnace. In the other hand, he holds another long iron rod and when the glass block becomes sufficiently viscous, he draws out the glass into a thin wire (*tar*) with the help of the rod and attaches it to an iron roller running transversely across the furnace. When the glass wire has thus been attached to the iron roller, the *belanwala* winds the roller rapidly with the help of a handle attached to it. By an arrangement, the roller is imparted a screw motion and the glass wire is wound on the roller in the form of a glass spiral which contains more than 216 bangles. If a multi-coloured bangle is required, the original parison is first formed out of that variety of coloured glass which is to form the nucleus of the bangle. Later small glass of other colours is welded on to its faces and this composite parison is then manipulated by the *tarwala* in the usual manner mentioned above. When the entire roller has thus been wound up, the thread is cut and the roller removed from the supporting axles. The processing by the *tarwala* is the most skilled job and results in the glass getting the shape of a spiral. Glass spirals of uniform thickness can be obtained only if the *tarwala* moves the parison back and forth in order to maintain that evenness and yet able to avoid giving jerks to the thread. Thus the task of the *tarwala* though simple is by no means easy and the success of his efforts would be jepoardised if the roller is not wound at a very uniform speed. Once started the process has to be continued for hours together by these two categories for workers.

Once the glass spiral is prepared it is removed by a hook and cut uniformly in a straight line with the help of a diamond tipped cutter by another worker called *kataia*. The job of a *kataia* is considered to be a semi-skilled job. After cutting, the split spiral rings are counted and tied together by two workers referred as *giniya* and *puriya* respectively. After this, the semi-finished bangles are sent to the household level from the factories, where it goes through several stages as mentioned below before the bangles are finally prepared.

Sadai (leveling of bangles) ⟶ **Judai** (joining the edges) ⟶ **Pakai** (hardening) ⟶ **Katai**(cutting) ⟶ **Pakai** (hardening) ⟶ **Chhatai** (sorting)

Sadai

At the home-based level, the first step that is carried out is leveling the edges of the bangles. This is done by placing the glass bangles on the edges of a big rectangular platform, which is heated by small burners. The workers sit on one side of the platform and arrange the bangles on the flame in such a way that the opposite side of the cut side touches the tip of the flame. The workers then press the cut edges in such a way that they are leveled together.

Judai

The workers along with their family members or with some hired workers carry out this activity of joining the edges of the bangles at the home-based level. The workers usually sit facing one another in a row of burners, which could vary from just a few to as much as 15-20 burners. The burners, which earlier used to be of kerosene, are usually gas burners now. The workers take a bunch of bangles in their hands and keep the cut edges of the bangles one by one near the flame. Once heated, the cut edges join by themselves.

Pakai

After the bangles are joined, they are usually sent to *Pakai Bhattis* in order to harden them. The *pakai bhatti* is usually constructed in a mud building with thatched roof. The *bhatti* is a small mud oven having three layers of varying temperature with the top most level having the highest temperature. The bangles are initially arranged in a metal tray usually by a child, after which an adult places the tray in the top most level of the bhatti with the help of a wooden handle and brings down the tray after every two three minutes to the middle and finally to the lower rung of the *bhatti* before finally removing the tray from the *bhatti*. Once the tray of bangle is removed from the *bhatti* another worker takes over whose duty is primarily to remove the broken bangles and count the bangles before finally tying one *tora* (local term for 13 double dozen or 312 bangles) of bangles together. After the *pakai* some bangles are sent for *katai*(cutting), some for *rangai* (colouring) and some for both the processes. The bangles which are coloured, need to be sent to the *pakai bhattis* once again in order to make the colours strong. However, it needs to be mentioned that the bangles which are not coloured, do not necessarily need *pakai* and this is decided depending on the kind of bangle.

Katai

This process is done both in small units and at the homes. In the units (which can vary from 2 to 10 workers), the males usually do the work and women labour is basically found doing this activity at the home-based level. The *katai* is done on spinning wheels which rotate with the help of motors. The workers sit on the two sides of the wheel, holding the bangles against it and by applying pressure create designs in the

bangles. There is a constant flow of water above the wheels so that they do not become hot and also so that the glass dust settles down without the worker having to inhale it. The bigger cutting units usually have the provision of generators for running the motors, but the smaller units are usually left with no option other than relying on the supply of electricity.

Rangai

After *katai*, the bangles are usually sent to small home-based enterprises where both men and women workers do the *rangai* (colouring). Although different colours are used for colouring bangles, but the most popular is the golden colour and the process is locally called *hill chaddhana*. The colours are applied with the help of a brush over the cut marks on the bangles that were done during the *katai* process. After *rangai*, the bangles are once again sent to the *pakai bhattis* so that the colour becomes strong. In the case of the golden colour which looks like a brown colour initially, the golden effect becomes visible only after the *pakai* has been done.

After this, the finished products are sorted according to the size, wrapped in white paper and packed in small rectangular cardboard boxes with each box containing 24 bangles. The bangles are then ready to be sent to the market.

Working Conditions

At the factory level, where the primary activity related to glass bangle production takes place, on an average four to five *belans* function simultaneously in the same unit. On every *belan*, two *belanias* or *belanwalas* are employed for one shift. The job of a *belanwala* which requires rotating the roller or *belan* that is placed on top of a small furnace at the same speed for about two hours continuously is very demanding.

Thus the *belanwala* requires to take rest after every two hours. It is because of this reason that two *belanias* are employed in one shift so that there is no break in the continuity of the work.

Next to the two *belanwallas* is the *tarkash* whose work is equally demanding. Though like the *belanwalla* the work of *tarkask* is also the most highly paid, but unlike the *belanwalla*, the *tarkash* is required to work continuously for a shift without any rest. The job of a *tarkash* requires a lot of precision. After putting the rod with the molten glass on the *belan* or the roller, the *tarkash* has to see that the molten glass is rolled on the rod rotated by the *belania* in the form of a thin glass wire (*tar*). More than 200 bangles come in the form of a glass spiral from each rod.

The job of *Kataia* as compared to the *tarkash* and *belanwala*, is neither very skilled nor very demanding. His job involves cutting of the glass spiral uniformly by moving a diamond tipped cutter across the spiral.

Wage Structure and Organisation of Production

There exists a differential wage structure - different wages for different work, in the glass manufacturing in Firozabad. At the time of the study, wages to the skilled workers are the best in the industry at the rate of Rs. 250 - 400 per shift).

The unskilled workers in the factory perform the majority of the tasks here (wages range from Rs. 60-125 per shift). These workers according to the nature of their jobs are locally referred to as *gundiwala, bubblewala, battiwala, gulliwala, muthaiya, giniya* etc. Except the females who are employed for cleaning the glass pieces, women are not engaged for any sort of job in the factory premises. The number of females employed in the factory for this purpose is around two per

shift. The turnover of the glass industry at Firozabad runs into crores. But even with such a high turnover, the benefits to the labour employed in these units are totally non-existent. Security to the workers is an alien concept in this industry. The workers employed here is mainly on daily wage basis and this deprives them of all benefits and results in mass exploitation. The workers do not have any job guarantee and often they are without any work as the units remain closed during the lean season when there are no orders. Due to this reason, the workers cannot be sure as to the number of days in a month when they would be getting work.

It needs to be mentioned here although the work in the factories is officially divided in to three eight-hour shifts and the factory owners claim to run three shifts, yet in reality there are only two twelve-hour shifts. Thus, the workers whose wages are fixed in terms of the eight-hour shift, are made to work for twelve hours with the wage of eight hours. It was realized that although everyone in that area, including the labour department officials, the trade union members and even the workers knew this, yet no effort had been made by anyone in this regard.

The workers in the factories are hired from any of several labour mandis in the city where the workers gather in search of employment twice a day before the shifts begin. The workers are also hired through the jaggaiyas who work as labour agents in the factories. The places where such labour *mandis* are found in Firozabad are Hazipura, Kotla Mohalla, Bhaunagra and Meera ka Chauraha (for the night shift).

Except in the factories, the payment to the labour is done on a piece-rate system. Women and children are generally employed only at the household level of bangle production.

They are engaged mainly for *sadai, judai, katai, chaklai* and *hill chadhana*. The wages for these jobs are on piece rate basis and the amount of work done is measured in terms of the tora (312 bangles) and for every tora, payment of Rs. 1.65 was being made for sadai, Rs. 2.75 for judai and Rs. 1.40 for chaklai *chaklai* (interwining the bangles to prevent them from breaking) at the time of the study. Besides this, one litre of kerosene per 14 toras is also provided. It has been estimated in the present study that for making 100 toras, about 14 workers (including the person who carts it back) are required for completing these processes for which the workers earn a total Rs. 600 (or roughly Rs. 43 per worker per day). It is thus seen that the payments in the households are low and this may be the reason why children have to pool their labour to maximise the household earnings.

The present study estimates (for plain bangles) that about fourteen workers (including the person who carts the bangles back) are required for completing these processes on 100 *tora*s for which in all they earn Rs. 600 (roughly it works out Rs. 43 per worker per day). In case of surplus of bangles (that are left if there is no breakage), the worker is able to sell the excess at Rs. 40-42 per *tora*. However, the workers claim that in case of breakage, the money is deducted at Rs. 70 per tora.

Not all the factories have their own godowns. The godown owners purchase the unfinished bangles from the factories at Rs. 10-15 per *tora* and then give the work on contract. The finished bangles are sold at a rate of Rs. 5 per dozen onwards (24 bangles are counted in a dozen). This indicates that the piece-rate wages can be increased and it can easily be sustained. Thus, though the work inside the factories is more

hazardous, the workers both skilled and unskilled in the factories are better paid than in the household sector. The payments at the household are low and this may be the reason that children have to pool in their labour to maximise the household earnings.

The production of bangles involves a number of processes performed at various places. The children work both at the factory level as well as at the household level. The proportion of child labour in the latter is much higher than the former. Children perform a variety of jobs at the household level. Children are employed in large numbers in back breaking processes, which include *Jhalai* (bringing the cut ends in level with each other), *Judai* (joining the cut ends) and *Hill Chaddhana* (Colouring). In *Katai* (creating grooves on the bangles), mainly adult labour (male) is employed. The hardening process (*pakai*) is done at the *pakai bhatti*. Children are employed here also.

Chapter 4

Child Labour: The Supply Side Factors

It is argued that one of the major influences on the incidence of child labour is the supply side influence, namely the rate of growth of child population. A sharp increase in the population is created by a sharply declining death rates and high fertility. This creates a imbalance which increases the proportion of children in the population to almost 40 per cent and sometimes even more. Thus more and more children get dependent on the adults which lead to stage when the children are involved by the family to contribute to the family earnings. Thus it has been seen that with the rise in the proportion of children to the total population, there has been a similar rise in the incidence of child labour and along with the decline of child population, there has been a similar decline in the incidence of child labour. Studies have revealed that the incidence of child labour was at its peak when the proportion of child population was around 42-45 per cent and virtually disappeared when it declined to as much as 30 per cent.

It has been observed that along with the demographic transition, developed countries have been able to overcome the problem of child labour. The phase of transition has however been different for the different countries. Coming to India, the proportion of children in the 0-14 age group was 37 per cent of the total population as per the 1991 census. However, if this is seen state wise, it is seen that some states

such as Kerala has a very low proportion of children to the total population as compared to the states such as Uttar Pradesh. Similarly it was observed that states like Kerala have a low or almost negligible incidence of child labour as compared to Uttar Pradesh.

This makes it very important for us to examine the demographic features in our study area more so as it is located in a state having a high fertility rate. Thus variables that have been used to examine the demographic profile are average family size, population structure etc. in order to understand the trends and relate them to child labour. But before going to that an analysis of the social structure of the population is important.

Social Profile of Sample Households

Our sample of 1013 households has a population of 5912. It is observed from the present study that more than half the population of our sample belong to the scheduled caste. It is seen that of the total 1013 households in the sample who are involved in the glass manufacturing processes, 54.4 percent belongs to the schedule caste which is followed by the minority group, represented by the Muslim community which constitutes 21.9 per cent of the total sample. The forward castes, which are denoted by 'others', constitute a very small section of the population. This leads us to believe that the majority of the people involved in the bangle making work belong to the SC community and the participation of the higher/ forward castes is very less in this activity.

Table 4.1 : Distribution of Population Across Caste/ Religion

Religion/Caste	Child Labour Households		Non Child Labour Households		Total Households		Total Population	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Schedule Caste	390	54	162	54	552	54.49	3108	52.57
OBC	115	16	46	15	161	15.89	959	16.22
Minority	156	22	66	22	222	21.91	1432	24.22
Others	54	8	24	9	78	7.69	413	6.98
Total	715	100	298	100	1013	100	5912	100

Demographic Profile of Sample Households

The demographic composition in the sample households indicates that the average family size of the sample households is 5.83 persons per household. A comparison of the households with and without child labour shows that the average size of the households is 6.00 for households with working children and 5.44 for households without working children. This explains that although there may not be a significant difference in the household size of the child labour and the non-child labour households, yet the average size of the households without child labour is lesser than that of the child labour households.

Table 4.2:Average Size of Households

Type of Household	Number of Households	Population Size of the Households	Average
Child Labour Households	715	4290	6.00
Non-child Labour Households	298	1622	5.44
All Households	1013	5912	5.83

A comparison of the average household size among various caste groups in the child labour and non-child labour households reveals distinct differences. The average household size among the different castes in the non-child labour households is lower than the child labour households as can be seen from the table below. Thus, the conventional perception of child labour households having a large family is confirmed by our study.

Table 4.3: Average Size of the Households by Caste

Community	Child Labour Households	Non-Child Labour Households
SC	5.71	5.42
OBC	6.22	5.28
Minority	6.70	5.84
Others	5.53	5.44
All	6.00	5.44

As far as the age structure of the sample population is concerned, children 14 years of age constitute 50 per cent of the total population which is much higher than the district and the state average. The trend is almost same across child labour and non child labour households. In the child labour households the percentage of children in the 5-14 age group is 50 as compared to the non child labour households where it is 47 per cent. Besides, there are also lesser number of adults in the above 18 age group, who comprise of the earning member of the household both in the child labour (41 per cent) as well as the non-child labour (46 per cent) households as compared to the children. Thus we see that there are more number of children in the sample households as compared to the adults who comprise the earning members of the household.

Table 4.4: Age Structure of the Sample Population

Age Group	Child Labour Households (%)	Non-Child Labour Households (%)	All Households (%)
0-5	7	10	8
6-11	24	27	25
12-14	19	10	17
15-18	9	7	8
19-40	29	34	30
41-60	11	10	10
Above 60	1	2	2
	100	100	100

Demographic theories relating to child labour hold the view that if the children comprise more than 40 per cent of he total population, there are chances of higher child labour. However, with the percentage of children more than 40 per cent both in the case of the child labour as well as in the case of the non-child labour households, it is surprising why some families do not send their children to work as compared to their counterparts? One possible answer could be that the proportion of children in the 12-14 age group in the child labour households is more (19 per cent) than that of the non-child labour households which is 10 per cent.

Migration

There is a general trend of in-migration of people to the Firozabad town from from different parts of the district as well as from other districts of Uttar Pradesh because of the job opportunities in this district. In our sample, of the 1013 sample households as much as 312 households or 30 per cent of the households (231 child labour households and 81 non-child labour households) have migratory status. Out of

the total migrated households, as much as seventy per cent households have migrated to Firozabad specifically in search of job. The findings of the study reveal that except just one household in the sample which had migrated from outside the state in search of job, the rest of the families have either migrated to the Firozabad town from the same district (46.79 per cent) or from other districts of Uttar Pradesh (52.88 per cent).

Literacy

The educational status of the sample population indicates that 54 per cent is literate (N=5453) with a relatively higher rate of literacy among males - that is 64 per cent as compared to 36.43 per cent among females. This trend is visible across all categories which can be seen from the table below. Further, the survey findings indicate that the rate of illiteracy is more among the child labour families in which illiteracy is 48.3 per cent as compared to the non-child labour families which is 42.1 per cent across all communities.

Table 4.5: Literacy Rate in the Sample Population (above 5 years) by Caste/Religion

Caste/Religion	Child Labour Households			Non-Child Labour Households		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
SC	65.22	43.89	56.08	67.19	51.60	60.35
OBC	65.56	41.84	55.19	72.88	45.83	60.74
Minority	37.33	31.10	34.46	50.97	38.99	45.75
Others	77.55	70.22	74.10	84.00	69.23	76.47
Total	59.32	42.15	51.75	64.94	49.07	57.89

The percentage of the iiliterates in the families of child labourers is higher (48.3 per cent) as compared to the households without working children (42.1 per cent). A

comparison of the educational levels of the child labour and the non-child labour households show that percentages of the different levels of literacy in the non-child labour is always higher than that of the child labour households. This shows that education plays a very significant role in contributing to child labour.

Table 4.6:Educational Level of the Surveyed Population (in percentages)

Educational Levels	CLHHs			Non-CLHHS		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
Illiterate	40.6	57.8	48.3	35.0	50.9	42.1
Upto Primary	31.1	27.2	29.3	29.9	30.8	30.2
Middle	14.6	9.6	12.4	14.0	9.9	12.16
Higher Secondary	11.8	5.3	8.8	17.6	7.8	13.2
Higher Studies	1.9	0.1	1.2	3.5	0.6	2.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Coming to the educational levels of the children in the 6-11 and 12-14 age group, it was found that in the child labour households, the percentage of children who are enrolled and attending school decreases in the age group of 12-14 (38.6) as compared to the age group of 6-11 (44.5). Similar is the case with children who have 'enrolled but remain absent' or with the case of children who have 'enrolled but dropped out'. This explains the fact that the younger children who are not capable of working are sent to schools, but as soon as they become grown up enough to work, their schooling is discontinued.

Coming to the 'never enrolled' category of children, it is evident from table 4.7 that the number of children in this category in the child labour households is more than that of

the non-child labour households. It is evident that the enrolment of the girls is lesser compared to boys in both the child labour as well as the non-child labour households. But it is significantly lesser in the child labour households and especially so in the '12-14' age group category, indicating that the girl children are especially used in home-based work in the child labour households.

Table 4.7: Status of Schooling of Children (6-14)

Status of Children		6-11			12-14		
		M	F	T	M	F	T
CLHHs	Enrolled & Attending School	256 (45.4)	211 (43.3)	467 (44.5)	191 (40.3)	124 (36.2)	315 (38.6)
	Never Enrolled	218 (38.6)	196 (40.2)	414 (39.3)	163 (34.4)	137 (39.8)	300 (36.6)
	Enrolled & long Absenteeism	2 (0.4)	5 (1.1)	7 (0.6)	11 (2.4)	4 (1.1)	15 (1.9)
	Enrolled & Dropped out	88 (15.6)	75 (15.4)	163 (15.6)	109 (22.9)	79 (22.9)	188 (22.9)
	Total	564 (100)	487 (100)	1051 (100)	474 (100)	344 (100)	818 (100)
Non-CLHHs	Enrolled & Attending School	112 (48.6)	87 (41.9)	199 (45.4)	56 (59.5)	31 (48.5)	87 (55.1)
	Never Enrolled &	72 (31.3)	71 (34.2)	143 (32.6)	13 (13.9)	13 (20.3)	26 (16.4)
	Enrolled & long Absenteeism	1 (0.4)	1 (0.4)	2 (0.4)	1 (1.1)	–	1 (0.6)
	Enrolled & Dropped out	45 (19.5)	49 (23.5)	94 (21.4)	24 (25.5)	20 (31.2)	44 27.9
	Total	230 (100)	208 (100)	438 (100)	94 (100)	64 (100)	158 (100)

Participation in Workforce

Table 4.8 below shows that the work participation rate in our sample households is 63 percent which is quite high. It is seen that the work participation rate in the child labour households is much higher at 71 per cent as compared to the non-child labour households which is 43 per cent. This higher workforce participation in the child labour households can be explained because of the involvement of children in work. If the working children are excluded from the workforce in the child labour families, then the workforce participation rate becomes much less. This explains the higher WPR among child labour households, which can be mainly attributed to the high incidence of child labour. On the other hand, the WPR of the non-child labour households is 43 per cent, which can be explained by the absence of children in the workforce in these households.

The participation of women in the workforce is less as compared to men in both the child labour as well as the non-child labour households. However, it is lesser for the households without child labour with only 36.7 per cent of the women in the workforce as compared to the non-child labour households where it is 41.9 per cent.

Table 4.8: Work Participation Rate

Households	Total population			Working Population			Percentage of Workers to total population		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Child Labour Households	2390	1900	4290	1786	1290	3076	74	67	71
Non-Child Labour Households	910	712	1622	445	259	704	48	36	43
All	3300	2612	5912	2231	1549	3780	67	59	63

It is seen in the following table that 38 per cent of the workers in the child labour households belong to the 6-14 age group. The percentage of workers in the 'above 18' age group in the child labour households is much lower with only 51.1 per cent working as compared to the non-child labour households where it is 89.3 per cent. Thus it is seen that the potential work force in the child labour families is much lower as compared to the non-child labour families, which probably explains the fact why children are involved in work at a very early age.

Table 4.9: Age-wise Distribution of the Working Population

Age groups	Households with child labour		Households without child labour	
	Number of workers	Percentage workers	Number of	Percentage
6-11	406	13.1	-	-
12-14	768	24.9	-	-
15-18	330	10.9	75	10.7
Above 18	1572	51.1	629	89.3
Total	3076	100	704	100

Income levels of the Households

In order to work out the monthly income of both the child labour as well as the non-child labour households, we have taken the individual as well the family income from all sources. As per the findings of our study, a large number of households have a monthly income of less than Rs. 2,500. They constitute about 64 per cent in the child labour households and 75 per cent in the non-child labour households. Only 13 per cent child labour households and 8 per cent non-child labour households earn between Rs. 2,501 and Rs. 3,000. Another

12 per cent child labour households and 8 per cent non-child labour households earn Rs. 3,001-.4,000. A very small proportion of households (6 per cent child labour households and 4 per cent non-child labour households) earn between Rs. 4001 and 5000, while just 5 per cent earn above Rs. 5000 in both kinds of households.

Table 4.10: Income Range of the Households

Monthly Income Income Range in (Rs.)	Child Labour Households		Non-Child Labour Households	
	Number of	Percentage	Number of	Percentage
Upto 1000	15	2	43	14
1001-1500	89	12	85	29
1501-2000	197	28	67	22
2001-2500	159	22	30	10
2501-3000	93	13	27	8
3001-4000	89	12	25	8
4001-5000	42	6	11	4
Above 5000	31	5	10	5
Total	715	100.0	298	100.0

Coming to the variation of income between the child labour households and non-child labour households, the findings of the study show that the income of the child labour households is more than that of the non-child labour households. Taking into account individual and family income, the average monthly income of child labour households works out to be Rs. 2524.65 per month whereas the average monthly income of non-child labour households works to Rs. 2101.39 per month. This indicates the fact that as the workforce

partcipation rate in the child labour households is more at 71 per cent as compared to that of the non-child labour households at 43 per cent, therefore the income of the child labour households are more. Thus, it is clear that the income levels of the child labour households will go down if the children are not sent to work.

Table 4.11:Average Income of the Householdscheck

Type	No. of Household	Population	Total workers	Average worker per household	Total Monthly Income of household	Average monthly income of household	Per Capita Monthly income
Child Labour Households	715	4290	3076	4.30	1805127	2524	420
Non-Child Labour Households	298	1622	704	2.36	626215	2101	22

Distribution of Working Children According to the Age of Entry into Employment

Table 4.12 shows that children enter the job market at the very early age of five and six years. However, the maximum entry is around the age of 10, when children become capable of handling jobs easily. As can be seen from the table, a majority of the children in the sample joined the labour force by the time they attained the age of 10 years. Though the children at the age of seven years are considered to be very young for employment, a large number of children are reported to have started working by this age. When the work comes to the homes, it is difficult to keep a tab on the entry of children in these activities. Labour at such a young age can have dire consequences on the child's overall development and could condemn the child worker to a bleak future.

Table 4.12: Age of Entry to Work by Age and Sex

Age of entry To work	Present age of the children																		
	6 yr.		7 yr.		8 yr.		9 yr.		10 yr.		11 yr.		12 yr.		13 yr.		14 yr.		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Total
5 yr.	5	4	1	1	2	2	-	-	-	1									16 (1.36)
6 yr.			6	6	5	5			1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	26 (2.21)
7 yr.					29	23	3	8	4	3	3	-	3						76 (6.48)
8 yr.							33	22	25	34	6	10	11	13	8	4	9	7	182 (15.51)
9 yr.									40	41	15	20	21	14	5	3	11	6	176 (14.99)
10 yr.											29	18	100	79	41	28	54	41	390 (33.22)
11 yr.													29	13	43	24	9	10	128 (10.9)
12 yr.															18	10	73	54	155 (13.2)
13 yr.																	13	12	25 (2.13)
14 yr.																			-
Total	5	4	7	7	36	30	36	30	70	79	54	48	165	119	115	69	169	131	1174 (100)

Contribution of Children to the Family Income

In about 62 per cent of the child labour households, the contribution of children is up to 20 per cent of the family income. In another 36 per cent of the households, it is between 20 per cent and 50 per cent. Only in a small 1.68 per cent of the households is their contribution over 50 per cent. Thus, it can be concluded that children contribute if not

in a major way but at least in a substantial way to the family income in most of the child labour households. This is probably indicative of the reason for the large number of children working in the glass industry of Firozabad.

Table 4.13: Contribution of Children to Family Income

Contribution	No. of households	% to total households
Up to 10%	139	19.44
10-20%	304	42.52
20-30%	167	23.36
30-40%	67	9.37
40-50%	26	3.64
Above 60%	12	1.68
Total	715	100.00

Thus, one can say that the issue of child labour in Firozabad is that of a vicious circle. The present structure of production has pushed a major part of the work to the home-based level, where the workers are not able to bargain for their wages. Thus, in an attempt to increase the family income, the children are made to work along with their parents at the household level. This supply of children in the workforce keeps the wages considerably low, thereby enhancing the demand for child labour.

Chapter 5

State of Education in Firozabad

A distinctive feature of modern societies is that they break with the principle of social reproduction. It is no longer assumed that children necessarily ought to do what their parents have done. Indeed, given the ways in which the occupational structure of modern societies constantly changes, it is essential for the continued expansion of the economy that children be educated to take jobs that are different from their parents. A key factor for this is education. Although education may not actually guarantee occupational mobility, yet without education occupational mobility will be increasingly difficult in a modern society. Thus it has been increasingly felt over the years that education can play a very important role in breaking the cycle of social reproduction thereby reducing or eliminating child labour.

It is in this context that the modern states has regarded education as a legal duty and not merely a right and has regarded compulsory primary education as a policy instrument by which a state can effectively eliminate child labour. It has been revealed by the studies of scholars like Myron Weiner (1991) that the governments of several developing countries have made it compulsory that all children attend school and thereby have been able to eliminate child labour. Thus in order to understand the relationship between work and education and make an assessment of the state of education in the child labour endemic areas, the present study has made an assessment of the status of educational

facilities in Firozabad which is extremely notorious for the large number of child labour in the glass industry.

The present study also looked at the state of education in the child labour-endemic areas of Firozabad, in order to find out whether it is responsible for the large number of working children in this town. Although routine information on the schools (including the child labour schools) has been obtained in structured forms from the survey areas, the focus is on the facilities: teacher-pupil ratio, availability of teaching and studying material, infrastructure, dropouts, follow up action, basic infrastructure, etc.

The field data on the status of schooling collected from the 10 pockets of Firozabad show that only 43.33 per cent of the children were enrolled in schools. The enrolment for girls is far below the boys. The results indicate that 36.06 per cent of the children were never enrolled in school and another 19.6 per cent were enrolled and dropped out.

Educational Status of Children in the 6-11 Years Group children

The children in the surveyed households have been classified into five categories - children at school full time, children at work full time, children at school full time and at work part time, children at work full time and at school part time, and children neither at school nor at work.

It was seen that only 37.42 per cent of children in the child labour households and 55.06 per cent of children in the non-child labour households attend school full time. The proportion of boys is higher in terms of attending full time school. This applies to both the child labour households and non-child labour households. In the child labour households,

54.81 per cent boys are attending full time school as compared to 45.18 per cent girls who are attending full-time school. In the non-child labour households, 56.28 per cent boys are attending school full time compared to 43.71 per cent girls. We found that 32.53 per cent of all the children in the 6-11 year age group among the child labour households are at work full time. This proportion is more in girls (33.84 per cent) when compared to boys (31.37 per cent).

Educational Status of Children in the 12-14 Age Group

The percentage of children attending school full time in the non-child labour households is almost double (55.06 per cent) that of the child labour households (28.51 per cent). In both the child labour households and the non-child labour households, the number of boys attending full –time school is higher than that of girls. In the child labour households, more than two-third of the children are at work full time which explains their low presence in full time schooling. With regard to children who are neither at school nor at work, the percentage is very low (1.99 per cent) in the child labour households but is very significant (44.94 per cent) in the case of non-child labour households. These children who are neither studying nor working, or in other words who are called the "nowhere children", have been shown by several studies as the potential child labourers. However, among the non-child labour households, almost 48.69 per cent of the boys and 71.90 per cent girls are attending school full time compared to 38.61 per cent boys and 36.06 per cent girls in the child labour households.

A comparison of the children in the age group of 5-11 and 12-14 shows that the percentage of 'children enrolled and attending school' is more in the 5-11 age group as compared to the 12-14 age group. It is seen that in the 12-14 age group, the percentage of children who are 'enrolled and dropped out' and 'enrolled and long abstention' is higher. This further confirms that as the children grow up, they become potential workforce for the families and are drawn into the home-based work.

Table 5.1: Status of Schooling of all Children (Working and Non-working)

Status of schooling	5-11 yr.		12-14 yr.		5-14 yr.
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Enrolled and attending school	368 (46.3)	298 (42.8)	247 (43.4)	155 (37.9)	1068 (43.33%)
Never enrolled	290 (36.5)	269 (38.7)	176 (30.9)	154 (37.7)	889 (36.06%)
Enrolled & dropped out	131 (16.4)	124 (17.8)	132 (23.2)	96 (23.5)	483 (19.6%)
Enrolled & long abstention	3 (0.3)	6 (0.8)	12 (2.1)	4 (0.9)	25 (1.01%)
Total	794 (100)	695 (100)	568 (100)	408 (100)	2465 (100%)

Dropout of Children from Schools

A look at the dropout rate of children in the child labour households reveals that more than one-third (34.16 per cent) of the children have dropped out as their parents could not afford the cost of education and almost another one third (38.1 per cent) dropped out because of the non-accessibility

of schools. The dropout rate of children in the non-child labour households is more than half that of children in the non-child labour households. Even in the case of the non-child labour households, of the total number of children who dropped out, more than 55 per cent have done so because of non-accessibility of schools in that area and another 27 per cent have dropped out as parents could not afford the cost of education.

Table 5.2: Class-wise Dropping Out by Working Children

Dropout class	5-14 yr.		Total
	Male	Female	
1st Std.	74(28.14)	59(26.82)	133(27.53)
2nd Std.	51(19.39)	45(20.45)	96(19.88)
3rd Std.	40(15.21)	21(9.54)	61(12.63)
4th Std.	28(10.65)	32(14.55)	60(12.42)
5th Std.	17(6.46)	28(12.73)	45(9.32)
6th Std	17(6.46)	17(7.73)	34(7.04)
7th Std.	16(6.09)	8(3.64)	24(4.97)
8th Std.	14(5.32)	6(2.73)	20(4.14)
9th Std.	6(2.28)	3(1.36)	9(1.86)
10th Std.	-	1(0.45)	1(0.21)
11th Std.	-	-	-
12th Std	-	-	-
Total	263 (100)	220 (100)	483 (100)

To examine the cases of dropouts, the information is further classified by the classes in which the children dropped out. It is evident that a majority of the children dropped out at the primary level (1st to 5th). In the 1st standard itself, 27.53

per cent of the students dropped out. This may indicate that schools in these areas with in the reach of population are not 'attractive' enough to hold back the students. With such a high dropout at early stages and non-enrolment, it becomes imperative to explore to reasons behind such high dropout rates (Table 5.3). While there has been increased awareness amongst parents regarding the need to provide basic education to their wards, the same is not as strong as for girls. Obviously the basic education of girls suffer much more.

Table 5.3: Reasons for drop-out

Reason for Dropout	5-11 yr.		12-14 yr.		5-14 yr.
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total
Parents cannot afford eduction cost	39 (29.78)	38 (30.65)	50 (30.65)	38 (39.58)	165 (34.16)
Pulled out for learning traditional craft	1 (0.76)	-	-	1 (1.04)	2 (0.41)
Pulled out by parents for earning	1 (0.76)	1 (0.81)	2 (1.51)	-	4 (0.83)
Not interested in education	13 (9.92)	8 (6.45)	33 (25)	11 (11.46)	65 (13.46)
Due to migration	-	2 (1.61)	-	-	2 (0.41)
Non accessibility of school to continue	59 (45.04)	56 (45.16)	37 (28.03)	32 (33.33)	184 (38.1)
Others	18 (13.74)	19 (15.32)	10 (7.58)	14 (14.59)	61 (12.63)
Total	131	124	132	96	483

Figures in the parentheses are percentages to column total

Non accessibility of school to continue schooling emerges as a major factor for dropping out. The effect appears to be stronger in the case of children belonging to the younger age-group and it is comparatively more in the case of girls of all ages. It is true that economic considerations also constitute an obstacle for progress in education. The findings here

are corroborated by other studies (PROBE, 1999; NCAER, 1994) that indicate that the cash costs of education play a major role in discouraging poor families from children to school, especially when the quality of education is low. Contrary to the common belief that primary education in India is free and there is no financial burden on the parents with regards to education of their children. According to the PROBE, the average cost of sending a child to a government school till primary level works out to Rs. 318 per year. Similarly, NCAER survey data put the cost of schooling up to elementary level as Rs. 478 per year. Another interesting finding that emerges from the table is that children are pulled out of schools more for other reasons rather than the need to earn (0.83%).

State of Schooling

To examine the state of schooling, the present study covered 56 schools in the sample area comprising of ten child labour endemic areas. The general picture of these schools is presented below. In all the areas, schooling facilities were found to be grossly lacking. In a majority of schools the basic infrastructure is sadly under-provided (Table 5.4). Despite shortcomings in the various school facilities, all the sample schools admit to not being able to meet the demands for enrolment.

Table 5.4: Schools in the Child Labour Endemic Areas of Firozabad

Type of School		Availability of rooms		Drinking Water		Toilet	
Pucca*	47(83.9)	No partition	8(14.3)	Available	44(78.6)	Available	46(82.1)
Kutcha**	4 (7.1)	Pucca partition	41(73.2)	Not Available	12(21.4)	Not Available	10(17.9)
Mixed	5(8.9)	Temporary partition	7 (12.5)				

* *cemented walls*
** *mud walls*

Lack of sufficient number of teachers is often the cause of poor learning in the schools. The quality of education is affected to a great extent because of the adverse teacher-student ratio. Table 5.5 below shows that in one-third of the schools of Firozabad the teacher-student ratio is in the range of 1:16 – 1:30 which is considerably alright. In another one-third of the schools, the teacher-student ratio is in the range of 1:31 – 1:45. There are also a few schools found in our sample where the teacher-student ratio was as high as in the range of 1:61 – 1:75 and even >1:75.

Table 5.5: Teacher-Student Ratio

Teacher-Student Ratio (Range)	No. of Schools	Percentage Distribution
1:15	6	10.7
1:16 – 1:30	20	35.7
1:31 – 1:45	22	39.3
1:46 – 1:60	1	1.8
1:61 – 1:75	6	10.7
> 1:75	1	1.8
Total	56	100

It was also noticed that in majority of the schools, the number of classrooms were very less compared to the students of the schools. It was noticed that because of the lack of adequate classrooms, the students in many of the schools were made to sit in the *veranda* (corridors) of the schools or in the lawns

Table 5.6: Number of classrooms

Teacher-Student Ratio (Range)	No. of Schools	Percentage Distribution
1-13	23	41.07
4-6	24	42.86
7-9	6	10.71
>9	3	5.36
Total	56	100

Government Primary School, Selai, Firozabad

Selai is known as a high child labour incidence area. The bangle making processes carried out at homes is the most visible activity here. The Government Primary School is housed in a dilapidated building, consisting of two courtyards and two rooms. Out of these, one room is used as an office. The total strength of the school exceeds one thousand students - the majority of the students belong to the scheduled caste community. There are seven teachers. The children bring their own *tatpattis* (jute bags) to sit. Some of the classes are conducted in the open field. It was reported that the attendance in the school is subject to weather conditions; lowest attendance in the rainy season.

Role of NGOs in Education in Firozabad

In India, the issue of child labour involved in various occupations, particularly those notified as 'hazardous', has been an area of concern at all levels ranging from policy makers, Government and NGOs as well as the initiatives taken up by the international organisations working in the area of child labour. To curb the problem, various government and non-government measures are at work in India. Although the early efforts were mainly focused on the former, the later initiatives have also concentrated on the latter, i.e. NGOs. It is now realised that both measures have to work in tandem and the synergy between them should be utilised to the maximum. The efforts of the NGOs vary from awareness generation, to provision of education, adequate health and nutrition facilities as well as rehabilitation of children withdrawn from work.

NGOs motivated by the highest of ideals can be an asset in ensuring that the human element is not forgotten in

projects of manufacture or massive development. Unfortunately, in many cases the NGOs concern seems to be determined more by other factors than the issue itself. The level of sincerity and honesty of their contribution is often reflected in their work.

Following the Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act of 1986, the National Policy on Child Labour was formulated in 1987. Its approach is one of welfare, with several health and education schemes and projects to provide some relief for children who work in factories. The policy consists of three main ingredients: (1) Legal Action Plan; (2) Focusing of general welfare and development programmes on child labour and their families; and (3) a Project-based Plan of Action.

Under the National Policy on Child labour in 1987, four projects have been taken up in Uttar Pradesh. These are:

The Glass Industry in Firozabad

The Brassware Industry in Moradabad

The Hand-made Carpet Industry in Mirzapur-Bhadoi

The Lock Industry in Aligarh

There are no tall success stories in respect of the action plan taken up in Uttar Pradesh under the National Policy. In Firozabad, the special child labour schools (National Child Labour Project Schools) are functioning since 1989 and the efforts are on to increase the number of such schools. The role of NGOs in Firozabad is limited to mainly running these special schools located in and around Firozabad. The number of special schools for child labour at Firozabad is 70 (31 schools run by the Government's Child Labour Welfare Society (CLWS), and 39 schools by other NGOs). Out of the

9 Community Development Blocks (CDB), the special schools are functioning in 5 CDBs. The NCLP schools function with a budgetary constraint. Besides vocational training, the schools have provision for mid-day meals and a month stipend of Rs. 100/- for children. The monetary incentive appears to be a motivating factor for sending children to these schools. The study found large variations and discrepancies in the claims and functioning of these schools. These schools in general present a sorry state of affairs. The NGOs blame financial crunch for this state, coupled with long delay in releasing the grants by the government. The facilities in the NCLP schools are grossly lacking – poor infrastructure, irregularities and erratic supply of teaching and study materials. The teachers in these schools get a salary, which falls much below the minimum wages.

Besides the NGOs involved in running the NCLP schools, there are two more NGOs that are working for the cause of children. *Disha*, run by the Child Fund India is an experimental family based intervention for child workers at risk in Firozabad city. *Disha* has 210 children in all at their centre (60 children up to the age of six years for pre-school and 150 children for non-formal education). The students are provided with supplementary diet at the centre. The centre has a doctor on their roll to look after the medical needs of the children. The parents' meeting are held every 3 months at the centre. The organisation started working in Firozabad from 1994 and has so far helped 568 children (including the 210 children at present at the centre). Besides educating children, *Disha* is also running 5 Adult Education Centres for women (30 women per centre). The organisation is also trying to create self-help groups (SHGs) for women. Out of the 5 SHGs, only 2 SHGs are functioning at the moment.

The Centre for Rural Entrepreneurship and Technical Education (CREATE) is running 25 non-formal education (NFE) centres for children in the Firozabad district (around 40 children per centre). Each centre has 1 teacher and 1 helper. CREATE started these NFE centres in 1998. They have made a provision for medical facilities to children and women, and organise camps for tuberculosis patients every six months. Like *Disha*, CREATE is also working towards empowerment of women through SHGs. The recent efforts of the CREATE include imparting training to children (above 14 years) for making leather bags in Nagla Kara and setting up of a workers' co-operative (comprising of 12 workers) in the village Dhirpur in the Tundla block of the district. Since this a very recent initiative and at a minuscule scale, it is difficult to comment on their effectiveness and sustainability.

Chapter 6

Child Labour Legislation and Its Implementation

Legislation and Child Labour

In the Western world, the incidence of child labour has witnessed a steady decline by an array of interventions made at different points of time. These interventions range from intra-national legalistic and welfare based to supra-national interventions in the form of labour standards and international conventions (Basu, 1989). Alternative policies and measures, which have successfully prevented the growth of child labour vary from legal provisions of various kinds (including the ban on employment of child labour in hazardous jobs and ban on imports of goods from the countries and industries using child labour), to more positive interventions in the form of compulsory school education and supportive programmes to promote the enrolment and retention of children at various levels of school education. The effectiveness of these measures has been documented by a number of studies, which has subsequently led to a debate about their usefulness.

Scholliers' (1995) study of child labour in Ghent, Belgium revealed that by the mid-nineteenth century ".....the number of children under twelve had diminished substantially, and this without any legislative intervention". By contrast, law played an important role in the decline of child labour in the cotton mills of Manchester (Bolin-Hort, 1989). Brown Christiansen and Philips (1992) in their study of fruit and vegetable canning industry in the USA, found that between 1880-1920, the major decline in the incidence of child labour

was due to both natural economic and legal reasons, though the authors contend that the stronger explanatory variable were to be located in the economic reasons. In the context of developing countries, Wiener argues in favour of legislating for compulsory education instead of simply banning child labour. He points out that if at all legislative fiat is being used to curb the problem of child labour, then it would be effective to have a legislation for compulsory education, rather than one dealing with a ban on the use of child labour. According to him, it is easier to ensure the presence of children in schools rather than to ensure their absence from work. However, there are others who in the context of the historical debate feel that legislation, whether it be for compulsory education or a direct ban on child labour, cannot be as effective as economic progress (Nardinelli 1990, Cunningham and Viazzo 1996).

Another means to combat child labour is through supra-national interventions by which international organisations, such as the ILO, the WTO, and the UNICEF, by establishing conventions and encouraging and cajoling nations to ratify them, have tried to curb child labour. The most powerful and also controversial instrument that the supra-national institutions can use to curb child labour is the imposition of 'international labour standards', that is a set of rules for labour which all countries are expected to satisfy. Since the adoption of such standards makes it possible to take punitive action (such as imposing trade sanctions) against defaulting nations, these can be potentially quite effective.

It has been seen that several developed countries have made legislation in their own countries in order to curb child labour in developing countries. The Child Labour Deterrence Act, or the so-called "Harkin's Bill" in United States is one

such example which disallows the import of goods made with the help of child labour. The "Sanders' amendment", which seeks to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 so as to deter the import of goods produced by unfree or bonded child labour, is another example of extra-national intervention. Recent efforts have led to the labelling of "child labour free" goods for the purpose of exporting them.

Coming to India, we have an old history with regard to child labour legislation. In our country, the Factories Act of 1881 for the first time banned the working of children below seven years in the factories. Over the years, many other Acts were enacted which banned children from working in several occupations and processes, thereby increasing the role and responsibility of the State. The legislations were enacted so as to increase the minimum age of work for children, decrease the total working hours of the children in non-hazardous work prohibit work during certain hours such as during night. However, all the legislations focused on the organised sector. As 92.5 per cent of the workforce in our country is confined to the informal sector, therefore such enactment covering only the formal sector serve very little purpose. It is well known and documented that the informal sector operations involve a large number of children. The introduction of the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986, which exempted family labour from the purview of law, seems to have provided a fillip to the home based industries which make child labour invisible. Over the years, although the incidence of child labour has reduced in the formal sectors but more and more children are being engaged in hidden areas of work in the informal sector. Legislation to ban child labour in home based industries is being advocated to overcome the grim reality of child labour.

Protagonists of total ban on child labour are in favour of introducing legislation for compulsory education and specifying the obligations of parents (See for example Burra 1999). Thereby, they argue that the State should lay down clearly the rights of children and ensure universality of education. One assumption behind this stand is that all working children are involved in similar nature of work and environment, and therefore require extreme action of banning child labour in all circumstances. The second assumption is that such a ban is desirable in order to ensure equity in granting rights of children. Lastly it also assumes that the only way to intervene is through the State.

Impact of Child Labour Law in Firozabad

The law can be a deterrent only if the enforcement is done effectively. In November 1995, a survey of child labour was conducted in the district. According to the report made available in April 1996, this survey identified 21,322 child labourers, of which 18,126 were confirmed child labourers and 3,196 probable child labourers. The child labour belonged to 15,919 households. As a consequence of the historic judgement by the Supreme Court on December 10, 1996, a child labour survey was conducted by the district administration from April 4, 1997 to May 12, 1997. It identified 4,978 working children out of which 4,537 were in hazardous occupations and 441 in non-hazardous occupations. Based on the survey, 1824 employers were issued notices to deposit Rs. 20,000 per child to the Child Labour Welfare and Rehabilitation Fund. For non-compliance, up to January 31, 1999, recovery orders for Rs. 5,21,20,000 against 1500 employers were issued.

Problems of Enforcement

The enforcement of child labour legislation at Firozabad faces its own problems. The first is the inadequate staff to implement labour laws. The labour office has a staff of just five inspectors. This shortage of staff hampers effective coverage of all the units especially as labour inspectors are already overburdened by being required to enforce many other labour laws and not just those concerning child labour.

Besides, the workers do not come forward and, even when the labour office files a case against an employer, an out-of-court settlement is reached between the employer and the worker. Another problem is that employers keep false certificates showing that the child workers are more than 14 years old. This means that, when legal proceedings are launched against the employers, they gets away by producing these certificates. Generally, the workers also side with the employers as they do not want to risk their jobs besides avoiding the hassles of court cases.

However, the most critical problem relates to the nature of bangle production which involves both the factory as well as the household sector. Though the factories and the bangle cutting units are registered under the Factories Act, there are also many small units scattered all over the city operating clandestinely. It becomes difficult to enforce the law in such cases. Further, the subcontracting of work by the factories to the household units prevents any legal action, as it does not come under the purview of the law. The provisions of the CPLRA do not apply to any unit where the work is carried out by a worker with the help of his family. Taking shelter under this provision, the employer can show a genuine child labourer as his family member. Besides, in the small home-

based units, it is difficult for the inspectors to differentiate between the employer's child and a child labourer.

Interference by political leaders directly or indirectly also hampers effective implementation. For instance, as per the letter no. 1326/36-3-9[c]/9 dated May 6, 1994, the state government has instructed the labour commissioner of Uttar Pradesh to restrict the number of inspections and only after a prior permission is taken, any inspection can be made.

Conclusion

The present study found that bangle production is done at two stages. After the initial making of the glass spirals in the factory, the entire work is transferred to small home-based level units. In these units, the incidence of child labour is quite high. As the study reveals that the contribution of children to the family income is substantial, therefore the withdrawal of children will require concerted and well-planned strategic efforts at all key players' levels. Further, the formalisation of the informal sector may provide an opportunity for non-involvement of children in work.

Although some efforts have been made by the government to eradicate child labour by launched an enforcement drive, yet this has resulted in the informalisation and casualisation of work in the glass industry of Firozabad. Efforts have also been made to change the present organizational structure of the industry in which major part of the work is done at the home based level and also introduce new technological interventions in order to bring about improvements in working conditions. The workers should be encouraged to organize and bargain for a higher wage and also for the elimination of contractors. The workers should be encouraged to join savings and credit groups by which they can have easy

access to their money. This will help them to avoid taking loans in emergencies. The education system of the town should be improved considerably so that parents as well as the children are motivated to go for education. Finally, enforcement of CLPR Act should take place at the home-based level so that the factory owners cannot shift their work from the factories to the homes in order to escape the law.

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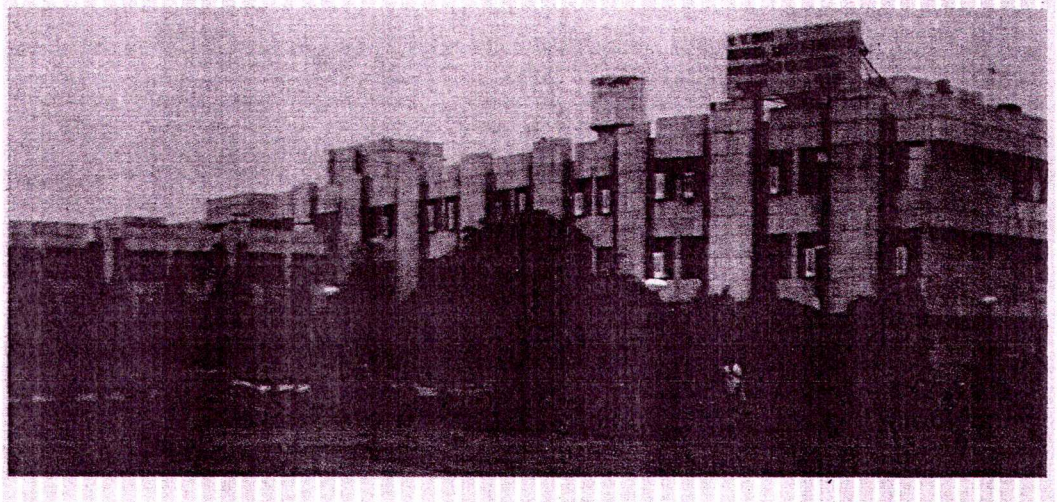

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