

Rekha Pande (*Henry Martin Institute, International Centre for Research, Interfaith Relations and Reconciliation, Centre for Women's Studies, University of Hyderabad, India*)

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3552-5240>

panderekha@uohyd.ac.in

WOMEN AND GIRL CHILD LABOUR IN THE BANGLE INDUSTRY OF HYDERABAD, INDIA

Abstract: The present paper attempts to see the women and child worker in the old city of Hyderabad in the Bangle industry. Women make up a sizable portion of India's labour force, yet they are paid less and have less secure jobs than men. As a result, many of these mothers choose to earn an income for their families by working from home. Women who work in the informal sector work with minimum pay and hence the girl child is an easy prey to assist the mother in supplementing the income and helping in the household chores so that more time is left to pursue the trade for an income. Our sample includes 100 women respondents and 150 girls. Being in the unregulated, home-based informal sector has made it challenging to organize the employees, leaving the bulk of bangle-makers in precarious positions both at work and at home. The increasing number of children, especially girls, who are taking part in the production of bangles is also a cause for alarm. It would appear that the piece rate method of payment and the fact that the work may be done from home encourage the participation of family members, including children, in the labour force.

Keywords: child labour, Bangle industry, Hyderabad, trade, Informal sector, girl child, *Karkhana* (workshop)

<https://doi.org/10.14746/sho.2023.41.2.009>

INTRODUCTION

Significant structural changes have occurred in the Indian economy in recent years, the most notable of which are the increased engagement of women in the labour market and the globalization of the sector. Women make up a sizable portion of India's labour force, yet they are paid less and have less

secure jobs than men. As a result, many of these mothers choose to earn an income for their families by working from home. Work from home is not an analytical category. Instead, the producer is neither an employee nor a business owner, but rather falls somewhere in between, characterizing the complicated relations of production and distribution. There are three types of remote workers: those who manufacture their own goods and services, those who outsource their production, and those who are paid a salary to perform their work from home. According to a survey conducted during 2011–12, the total workforce is estimated at 47.41 crore, out of which 33.69 crore were rural workers and 13.72 crore were urban workers. Women made up 25.5% of the labour force as a whole. Employment in the country increased from 45.91 crore in 2004–05 to 47.41 crore in 2011–12 and agriculture and related industries employed 23.18 ('India has a workforce...', 2014).

The concept of a self-sufficient and independent individual, which is used in India's legal definitions of both employees and independent contractors, is not applicable to producers who work from their homes. Out of India's total female population of 496 million, 25.60%, or 127.22M people, are employed (*Census*, 2001). A large majority, 80% of these people work in informal industries like construction, petty trades, and homemaking. Workers who are unable to form a union due to factors such as the precariousness of their jobs, a lack of formal education or training, the limited number of businesses in their area, or other similar factors are "unorganized labour." One defining feature of the informal economy is that despite women's participation in a wide range of economic activities, they typically do not reap a substantial financial reward. Most women who work in the informal economy lack formal education and are wary of change and new people. They are clueless about banking's many advantages. Unpaid care and domestic labour are crucial to individual and societal well-being, yet they are rarely acknowledged. Despite their immense significance to the economy and society, these pursuits receive no monetary compensation since the System of National Accounts does not include them in the computation of national gross domestic product (GDP). Instead of being shared among various actors in society, in many countries they are seen as belonging to the private/family domain, and are therefore primarily the responsibility of women and girls (*Unpaid Care...*, 2016: 7). This is particularly perplexing, considering that in many low-income households, the breadwinner is the woman who works from home. As this is mostly a cottage industry or operates on a small scale, it is rarely considered by statistical methods, government officials, or other administrators.

FEMALE CHILD LABOUR

Women who work in the informal sector work with minimum pay and hence the girl child is an easy prey to assist the mother in supplementing the income and helping in the household chores so that more time is left to pursue the trade for an income. Female child is undergoing the gruesome exploitation and neglect in our society. Women labour, in general and female child labour, in particular is subjected to bear disproportionate work burden. Due to gender discrimination female children and women gets less of food, health care and education, poverty, lack of proper socio-cultural in milieu, assisting the mothers, and illiteracy are the main causes for female child labour. Girl child is a daughter of denial in traditional cultures like that of India. In India, the existing social and cultural milieu is heavily loaded against girl child. She is usually discriminated right from the childhood. In all spheres, however, society with sex discriminated initiates against its own progress and the adult female struggles to secure the equality of status. Although the achievement of egalitarian doctrine with equal rights of males and females is desirable goal, it has been a distant dream. A large number of girls assist the mother in the old city of Hyderabad.

CHILD LABOUR

Though child labour is prohibited all over the world, it continues to flourish and every year the number of children being added to the labour market in India is ever on the increase. The continuation of child labour is unacceptable both morally and ethically. Several studies have shown that in the long run the economics of employing children is cost effective and it leaves a majority of the work force unskilled in a technically advancing world. According to data from (Census, 2011), the number of child labourers in India is 10.1 million of which 5.6 million are boys and 4.5 million are girls. However, non-governmental sources estimate the number of child labourers at levels ranging from 40 to 100 million and this number is also increasing day by day. It is very difficult to get exact statistics on the number of child labourers because this is illegal and no statistics as such are available, and one can only make a rough guess.

Poverty and illiteracy have combined to make many families engage their children in work, with a view to augment the economic resources of the family. Most of these children are based in home based and household occupations, where it is difficult to identify or document their labour. Even when children are working in Factories, *Karkhanas* (small work sheds) or Workshops the information is not forthcoming because it is generally known that employing child labour is illegal. Therefore it becomes very difficult to document child labour and focus policies and measures for getting them relieved. Many children are employed in carpet, match, and fireworks, glass bangles, and *agarbatti* (incense sticks) and *beedi* (indigenous cigarette) industries. Many children work in the urban areas as vendors, shoeshine boys, newspaper hawkers, in auto shops and plastic recycling. Children can be found in construction sites, in transport sector and stone and quarry works. Majority of these children are employed in rural areas and in the unorganised sector rather than organised sector.

In India, the biggest hub of child labour is Uttar Pradesh, and it accounts for almost 20% of India's child labourers. In Telangana a large number of children working are found in the old city of Hyderabad, the city of the Nawabs. Hyderabad is more than 400 years old and it was established by the Qutub Shahi dynasty kings to relieve the fort of Golconda and its nearby environs from the increasing pressure of population. A large number of artisans came and settled here and soon Charminar became the centre for trades and crafts like pearls, bangles, agarbatti etc. Today increasing population and urbanisation has taken its toll and the old city remains an overpopulated slum area employing a large number of children in various crafts.

In 2003, the government of India, by resolution, adopted a National Charter for Children that includes a clause concerning protection of children from economic exploitation and from performing tasks hazardous to their wellbeing. In 2005, India enacted the Commissions for Protection of Child Rights Act. Law and policy have begun to veer toward formal abolition of child labor since the "right to education" was declared a fundamental right by the supreme court in 1993 (Ramnathan, 2009: 4). Yet in spite of this child labour continues to flourish under the guise of assisting the family. A study from Pakistan also speaks of the dismal conditions under which the child labour in the Bangle industry survives, The Baseline Survey conducted during the Time Bound Program in 2003 reported deplorable and hazardous working conditions for children working in the glass bangle manufacturing industry in Hyderabad district.

These include low wages (found to average Rs. 1,300 per month), long working hours, a high risk of injury, lack of access to medical facilities, lack of access to financial resources and alternate employment opportunities (Naseem, 2010: 4).

The present paper attempts to see the women and child worker in the old city of Hyderabad in the Bangle industry. We attempted to study the women and child's status by way of an area profile and a look at the industry employing the child worker, the socio-economic background of the child, working conditions, economic status, conditions at work and payment, health status, educational attainments, recreation and entertainment, ambition and future prospects as an adult. The objective of the present study is, to create a database, which will help Government and NGO's to focus policies and measures to relieve child labour and benefit them from various developmental actions. The study also attempted to suggest remedial measures, in the context of specific local, social and cultural factors. We define child labour as one aged 5 to 15 years.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Our sample includes 100 women respondents and 150 girls. We got information on the household from the mother/father of the respondent. We also got information on the household from the owner of the Karkhana who often happened to be a uncle, or a father. Our study was confined to circle I and circle II of the old city. Circle I is divided into 5 wards. The various areas covered by us under our study included, Phool Bagh, Dabirpura, Chadarghat, Amannagar, Bhawaninagar Syed Ali Chabutra, Chinnaiah Khet, Purani Haveli, Imalibund, Lal Darwaja, Moghulpura and Walta Hotel Area. In Circle II, also there are five wards. The various areas under these wards where we did out study included Kalapathar, Fateh Darwaza, Fatima Nagar, Vatta Palli, Chandulal Baradari, Sattar Bagh, Jahanuma, New Jahanuma, Dood Bowli and Amjad-ud-Dowla Bagh, Misiri Gunj, Shah-Ali Banda, Talab Katha, and Hussain Alam and Puranapul.

There were the following four steps in our data collection.

- We tried to get some kind of rough estimate on the total number of industries located in the Old city of Hyderabad and see how many children are employed here.

- Then we went and surveyed all the areas in the old city and selected Bangle making industry. We then restricted our area to Circle I and II though bangle making is scattered all over.
- We then visited the various areas and through random sampling, selected our respondents keeping a variety of ages in mind. This helped us in getting a fairly representative sample.
- We also saw to it that we covered the child worker both in the home environment and in the *karkhana* (Workshop).

As far as our Methodology is concerned, we can identify the following six stages in our data collection.

- First through our frequent visits to the study area we got a lot of information on the bangle industry.
- We went and spent a considerable time with the women and children and saw all the technical details in the production of the item.
- We also visited the Municipal Office at Charminar to get as much information as possible on the old city.
- A detailed questionnaire seeking information on all the aspects of the life of the women and child worker was administered to the child worker and the mother/father or employer as the case may be.
- Recognising the limitations of a formal questionnaire, interviews and field observations were also employed. Spending considerable time in seeing the women and child work, enriched our knowledge of the craft and the labour involved.
- The data thus collected from this trade was analysed to arrive at general and specific findings and suggestions for follow up actions.

The variables of the study are:

- Background variables (family description, etc.)
- Personal variables (salary, education, etc.)
- Academic variables
- Socio-cultural variables
- Self-concept (Perception of self)
- Quality of work life perception (attitude of management, etc.)

- Work psychology variable (motivation, expectation, satisfaction, evaluation, etc.)

PROBLEMS IN DATA COLLECTION

We faced a large number of problems in data collection. We first started by looking for women entrepreneurs in the bangle trade but could not locate a single entrepreneur (a woman who runs her own trade and employs other women). We then started collecting data on women and child workers in the bangle industry and this involved redesigning our whole questionnaire. When we went to collect data, we were barging into the homes of the bangle workers who were doing their house hold chores and their trade. These women were hard-pressed for time and often could not speak to us. Initially we had lot of difficulty in meeting these women and interviewing them but after few weeks and through the help of few NGO's working in this area, we could collect our data of both the mother and the child.

THE OLD CITY OF HYDERABAD

The city of Hyderabad now referred to as the old city was planned by the Qutub Shahis' nearly 400 years ago, when Golconda fort, the then headquarters was not able to contain the growing population. The city was planned on the road running from Golconda towards east, as far as Masaulipatnam the famous Andhra seaport on the East Coast. This road was made to intersect a new road running from north to south crossing at a point, where the famous Charminar now stands. About 80 yards north of Charminar was the square known as Jilukhanah (now referred to as Charkaman) flanked by four large arches 50 ft in height and each arch separated from the centre by about 110 yards. There were four broad roads jutting out from the four portals of these arches. The city of Hyderabad was constructed out of brick and lime masonry with a thick coat of plaster different from the monuments of North India build primarily with stones. Besides nearly 14,000 shops, there were mosques, hammams (public baths) Ashoor khanas, Langarkhanas (to distribute food to the poor), sarais (traveller's bungalows), Dar-ul-Shifa (public hospital) sarais (guest-houses). A number of gardens adorned these buildings.

The city of Hyderabad was then divided into four quarters by its intersecting main highways. The north-western quarter was reserved for the royal place, whereas the eastern side was allotted to the nobility. The rest of the city was divided into 12 *mohallas* (divisions) spreading over an area of 10 sq. miles which was inhabited by the common people. The city also had a number of suburbs such as Karwan, Khairatabad, Bagh-e-Lingampally and Naubat Pahad. Soon Hyderabad grew into an important trade centre. The major exports from here included diamonds, textiles, sugar, iron and spices. The major imports included Arabian horses, pearls, porcelain and carpets. This became the home of Dakhani (the language of the deccan) and many important writers like Nishati and Khuda rose to prominence.

The decline of Hyderabad started after the capture of Golconda fort by Aurangzeb in 1687. The Mughals had named Hyderabad as Darul Jahad (Battleground). They also made Aurangabad as the capital of six *subah* (provinces) of Deccan. Naturally now all the nobility shifted to Aurangabad and this became the centre for all political and commercial activity. Golconda and Hyderabad were placed under the control of a Qiledar - Rustum Dil Khan. The Asaf Jahi's once again tried to restore Hyderabad to its old glory and Hyderabad once again became the scene of activity.

Today the Old City is densely populated and divided into three circles, Circle I, II, and III. Majority of the population is Muslim. There has been some communal strife between the Muslim majority and the Hindu minority, with instances occurring, for example, in the 1980s. The city of Hyderabad was hit by twin explosions on the 25th of August, 2007 due to sectarian violence. A bomb went off in Lumbini Amusement Park, and then another went off in the Old City of Hyderabad, only five minutes apart. Fifty-four persons were injured and at least forty-two were killed in the two attacks. Nineteen further unexploded explosives, most with timers and placed in plastic bags, were found the next day by police all throughout Hyderabad, including at bus stops, by movie theatres, traffic intersections, pedestrian bridges, and even a public water fountain (Johnson, 2007). As a result of the political turmoil, people in Hyderabad are on the go more often. An increasing number of locals have relocated to Gulf countries for work in the first decade of the 21st century, yet the vast majority of the income they have earned there has not returned home. Most of the returnees settle in the relatively new areas of Towli Chowki and Mehedipatnam, as well as in the outskirts of Hyderabad.

In fact, moving to one of these more modern communities has become a mark of success. When asked about family members who have since left the Old City, many of the residents we met with in the area recited names. Because of this, the infrastructure amenities of Old City of Hyderabad are still in disrepair. Overpopulation and increased urbanization have resulted in today's slums, where many women, frequently with the help of children, are engaged in a variety of economic activities. Slum is used in this article in accordance with the functional definition supplied by the UN-HABITAT expert committee. According to this group, a slum is a place where there is not enough clean water, not enough sanitary facilities, not enough decent housing, too many people living in too little space, and no guarantees for the residents' safety. Residents' low socioeconomic level could be added to this list. More than half of the households in a certain area exhibit the features of slum households, and this area is therefore referred to as a slum community (*The challenge of slums...*, 2003).

What is interesting to note is that though a large number of people are getting jobs in the gulf countries, but whatever money is being remitted is not being brought back into the old city. There are instances of people migrating and building their houses in the new city of Hyderabad or in new areas around Towli Chowki, Mehdipatnam etc. As a result the old city continues to deteriorate in terms of the infrastructure facilities. Some of the important trades in these areas include bangle making, zari works, agarbatti making, wooden and carpentry works, welding, auto repairs, pandan and brass industry and leather and raxine works. We got most of our information about the old city from the Municipal Corporation of old city of Hyderabad. Many families are generally poor and so each and every child of the family goes to work to contribute to the family income. Yet, the family income remains below poverty line. Due to the poverty of families many children are deprived of the opportunity of either attending the school or continuing the studies. As a result there are many illiterates and drop outs than those who are attending school. In old city Muslim community is in majority when compared to Hindus, Christians and others. There are around 700 schools, both Government and private in Old City. And there are about 4 to 5 colleges in Old City There are about 6 Governmental hostel for children in Old City. There are nearly 100 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) working for the welfare of weaker sections of population in Old City.

BANGLE INDUSTRY IN THE OLD CITY OF HYDERABAD

Bangle Industry is that industry which gave Old City of Hyderabad a worldwide recognition and today Hyderabad is famous for its stone bangles. The stunning bangles for which Hyderabad is known are, unfortunately, the result of the exploited labour of women and children. More than 800 stores now line both sides of the historic and tourist-attractive Charminar. The Lad Bazaar, one of the city's oldest retail centres, is a perfect example of how seamlessly the city's historic and modern pasts coexist. Laad Bazaar is said to have been founded by Ladi Begum, the wife of Mir Mehboob Khan, the sixth Nizam of Hyderabad. In those days, it used to be a street where the concubines of the *Nizam* lived. In the labyrinthine streets, families live in adjacent white-washed houses. Some have lived here ever since they left their homes in rural Andhra Pradesh decades ago and they still carry on their various craft traditions, including the making of bangles. The lac bangles are made at home and supplied to the shop so each shop has its own supply chain. All the family members make bangles, both men and women. The peak season for bangle sales is during the festivals Id, Diwali and so on (Nasir and Swalehin, 2011: 108).

The ladies of South Asia, particularly India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka, are known for their widespread use of bangles as a traditional form of jewellery. Bangles also have significant cultural significance in Hinduism, where it is viewed as unlucky for a married woman to go without them. This is evidence of *Saubhagya* (a married status). Hinduism's influence has spread to other religions, and now bangles are worn by married women in Islam and Christianity as well. Archaeologists in India have uncovered bangles made of seashell, copper, bronze, gold, and agate at a variety of sites. Excavations in Mohen Jodaro (2300–1750 BCE) have revealed a figurine of a dancing female. This statue is 10.5 centimeters (4.1 inches) in height and represents a young woman or girl in her nakedness, wearing stylized accessories while striking an assured, naturalistic attitude. Both of her arms are abnormally extended, and she has 24–25 bangles on her left and only 4 on her right. Her left hand is resting on her thigh, and it appears to be holding an object (Singh, 2008: 162). Copper bangles were discovered during excavations at Mahurjhari, and they were followed by elaborately painted bangles from the Mauryan Empire (322–185 BCE) and gold bangles from the ancient city of Taxila (6th century BCE). Multiple Mauryan sites have yielded decorative shell bangles. Gold-leaf inlay and copper rivets were also featured.

Glass is used to create bangles, and the cities of Hyderabad and Firozabad are the world's leading manufacturers of authentic bangles. The raw glass used to make bangles is the same as that used to make other types of glassware, and it is extracted from the furnace via the pipes. The pipes remain in place when the molten glass is hammered to uniformly reduce its size. The pipe and glass are then transferred to a second furnace equipped with a roller that operates automatically. When the molten glass comes into contact with the roller, it stretches like a thread and wraps around it.

Making bangles is something that is done both at home and at the *Karkhana* (workshop). It has been passed down through generations in several families in Old City. *Karkhanas* for males tend to be located in commercial areas like shopping malls, whereas those for girls are typically run out of private residences. Houses in the Old City are often very modest, with just one or sometimes two rooms and no kitchen at all. There are no bathrooms or they are quite small. Many of these homes are transformed into tiny *karkhanas* in the evenings after the daily duties and meals have been prepared. Making bangles is a dirty, hot, and dusty business since a furnace must be kept burning throughout the process. Although the rooms are adequately illuminated, a burning chemical odour permeates them.

Bangle making with special stones involves 4 steps. They are

1. Preparing organic mould from the trees (glue) and colouring it according to the requirement.
2. After colouring the glue, giving it the shape of a bangle with the help of metal moulds, or brass bangles.
3. Giving the bangle a perfect hard shape with the help of the small furnaces.
4. Finally, putting coloured stones in to the bangle after which to the creative designing of stones on them after heating the stones on the furnace.

For putting stones in the bangles, the children are often used and are paid anywhere around Rs. 15 to 25 per day. There are incidences of burning hands in the furnace while giving them shape and putting stones in to them. Many children complained that they need to sit at one place all the day which gives them backache, neck pain, and further they need to concentrate their eye sight on the furnaces and stones which also causes eye

problem or eye pain. Once the bangle is in laid with all the shiny materials and stones it becomes very beautiful and it can be sold at a price anywhere between Rs. 1000 to 4000 per set. Thus, the workers are paid less for their work and there is also a lot of exploitation of the workers by the licensed middlemen. The greater the level of detail in the design, the more expensive the bangle will be. Muslim brides receive bangles from both sides of the family at the time of their wedding, therefore there is a surge in demand for bracelets around wedding time. Bangles are made with stones that are not local, but instead come from countries like Austria, Germany, and France.

Women can put in nine to ten hours of effort each day (including housework) making elaborate bangles, but they can only finish two or three pairs. A small wage at the end of the day keeps them in a cycle of overwork and poverty. Due to their low income, the ladies must rely on outside vendors for the supply of raw materials. And because they cannot sell their wares or negotiate fair prices on their own, licensed businessmen end up reaping all the financial rewards from the women's labour. Since there are no unions to speak for workers' rights in this industry, women have little choice but to accept the terms set forth by the contractors who are employed by the regulated businesses. Many other women are ready and able to take on this role if they want to decline. Although the women only make a pittance, it is essential that they have some means of subsistence. As a result, the rivalry to land this job is fierce.

Being in the unregulated, home-based informal sector has made it challenging to organize the employees, leaving the bulk of bangle-makers in precarious positions both at work and at home. The increasing number of children, especially girls, who are taking part in the production of bangles is also a cause for alarm. It would appear that the piece rate method of payment and the fact that the work may be done from home encourage the participation of family members, including children, in the labour force. Many women are compelled to stay in this line of work due to economic factors such as poverty, debt, homelessness, a lack of transferable skills, and little or no access to credit and other sources of income.

Most working women in the bangle industry are from low-income backgrounds or social classes. Class, caste, and gender are intertwined with human rights and health, and one affects the other. Human rights must be viewed in the perspective of the exploitative socioeconomic system in which the bangle worker operates. Better health care should focus on enhancing people's quality of life. A better place to work is re-

quired. As an added disadvantage, the women who make bangles tend to be financially unstable and social outcasts who lack formal education. Furthermore, they are subjected to sexism or subjection at home, as well as general cultural norms that limit their freedom of movement and their range of options. Of course, altering a setting like this will take some time. At first, it is difficult to get women to regularly attend sessions outside of their homes. For our study of the bangle makers, we had a total of 100 samples of women workers and 150 girl child workers. The source of our information is the data collected from the mother and the girl child and all the results of the Tables are calculated from the data collected by us through the questionnaires (Appendix 1).

THE WOMEN BANGLE MAKERS

In our sample of 100 women (see Appendix 2), majority of women were in the age of 31-40 years, followed by 21-30 years (Table 1). To determine the marital status of working women, we attempted to find out the number of those who were unmarried, married, widowed. A girl child was one who was less than 15 years old and we included the girls though unmarried but above 15 under the category of women. It is found that more than two-third of the working women are married, 26% of the working women are unmarried, 9% were widows and 1% was Divorced (Table 2).

Table 1: Age of the women respondent

S.No.	Age in years	Respondent
1.	16-20	17
2.	21-30	25
3.	31-40	40
4.	above 41	18
Total		100

Source: own calculation.

Table 2: Marital status of the bangle makers

S.No.	Status	Respondent
1.	unmarried	26
2.	married	64
3.	widow	9
4.	divorced	1
Total		100

Source: own calculation.

Our society still approves most strongly of the mother who supervises and cares for her children. It is not recognized that many families do not fit the "ideal" pattern: Fathers are absent or unable to support the family adequately; women work to feed and clothe their children in addition to providing traditional mothering. Although they have dual role women are encouraged to feel guilty about not remaining home as full-time mothers. This attitude appears in social polity. The main reason for married women to work was poverty. They did not have a regular income their husbands were not able to earn enough to meet the expenses of the family. Those who are selling fruits and vegetables were some time incurring losses due to the wastage involved in the work. Those who were doing petty business were earning low income, which was not enough for the family's needs. The auto drivers were earning daily about 200 to 500 rupees but those who rented auto for their work had to pay the rent to the owner. Those who had their own auto also had many expenses like maintenance, petrol, charges of mechanic. Most of the auto drivers were illiterate, and non-skilled. Our study shows that the burden of poverty falls more heavily on women than on men. In our sample we had 30% of the women who were the Head of the family and in 70% it was the men who were the Head of the family. Of these, around 30% households are supported totally by women's income. In other words, they are 'female headed household's i.e. the house holds supported totally by either widows, single unmarried women, deserted or divorced women. These happen to be the poorest of the poor households. The woman holds inferior position in family than her man. Man is considered as main bread earner and women responsible for housekeeping. The women may enter labour market if:

- There was no male to earn in the family;
- The men were not able to earn an income could fulfil family requirements;
- The male was not ready to share this whole income with other family member, rationally leaving women and children to all this income for their day-to-day needs.

Majority of the respondents' father/husbands worked as waged laborers or petty business. In our study majority of the respondents 22.85% were having a petty business, 7% were self-employed having a small unit or kirana shop. None of our respondent's husband/father had a salaried job. They were working as an Auto driver, Zari worker, Rickshaw Puller, Carpenter, Cook, Watch man and Working in cycle taxi (Table 3).

Table 3: Fathers/husband's occupation

S.No.	Occupation	Frequency	Percentage [%]
1	petty business	16	25.00
2	cook	2	3.13
3	Kirana Shop	5	7.81
4	auto driver	7	10.94
5	labor	5	7.81
6	Zari work	3	4.69
7	rickshaw puller	6	9.38
8	bangle selling	4	6.25
9	carpenter	4	6.25
10	watchman	4	6.25
12	unemployed	8	12.50
Total		64	100.00

Source: own calculation.

Naturally the income of the respondents to their profession and majority of our respondent's father/husband had an income of Rs. 1000–2000 per month. In our study majority of the respondents 42.18% had an income of Rs. 3001 to 4000, followed by 18.75% having an income of Rs. 2000 to 3000. We found 19 (29.68%) people were unemployed (Table 4). These were men who did not have a regular job but worked on and off when they would get some job temporarily or worked for a short period of time. There are a lot of people and buildings jammed together in the Old City. Our research revealed that the vast majority of households occupy just one room. Among the many families we examined, we discovered that 90% had only immediate family members living under the same roof. Women we talked to overwhelmingly favoured the stability and simplicity of a nuclear family. We found that only 10% of people actually grew up in a nuclear household. Of these 69% of the respondents lived in a rented house and only 31% had their own houses to live in.

Table 4: Husband's income

S.No.	Income	Respondents	Percentage [%]
1	unemployed	19	29.68
2	2000–3000	12	18.75
3	3001–4000	27	42.18
4	4001–5000	4	6.25
5	5001 and above	2	3.12
	Total	64	100.00

Source: own calculation.

Urbanization has weakened the influence of joint families and the rigidity of social norms affecting women's role perpetuated by the system and higher cost of living in cities offered strong motivation for increased female work participation to supplement family income. The old city is highly populated area and there are five to six family members living in a single room. Majority of these workers were living in rented house. Poverty has been transferred from generation to generation as some workers said that their mother was also making bangles. These women were very poor the income of their husband was very low. Moreover, this they

had to pay the house rent which was 2000 to 3000 for a single room. If they delayed payment of the rent, the house owner forced them to vacate the house. We found 30 percent of women had their own house. But the condition of the house was very poor. There were four to five rooms in a 'bada' (enclosed entrance), where four or five brothers living in a single room with their families. These houses were built by their parents. For members of four families there was a common bathroom, toilet, common tap and well.

In our study we found 58% of women in bangle Making were illiterate, 32% studied up to primary level and 10% had studied till high school (Table 5). We asked the reason of their low education. We were informed that their parents were not interested in educating them. They were trained in domestics work, like cooking, stitching, to take care of their sibling. Majority of the women had not gone to school; they read only Quran taught the mullah in the mosque. This was only an oral education and none of them knew how to write. When they reached sixteen or seventeen years of age they were married. All the women said that their parents did not take their consent about their marriage.

Table 5: Literacy level of working women

S.No.	Educational status	Respondents
1	illiterate	58
2	primary	32
3	high school	10
	Total	100

Source: own calculation.

In our study majority of the respondents 28% had an income of Rs. 31 to 35.23% of respondent had an income Rs. 36-40. 14% respondent had an income of Rs. 20, 10% respondents had an income Rs. 30, and only one percent of women had an income Rs. 91 to 200 daily (Table 6).

Table 6: Daily income of the women

S.No.	Daily income	Women
1	15 rupees	4
2	20 rupees	14
3	25 rupees	2
4	30 rupees	10
5	31-35 rupees	28
6	36-40 rupees	23
7	41-50 rupees	5
8	51-70 rupees	5
9	71-90 rupees	8
10	91-200 rupees	1
	Total	100

Source: own calculation.

However, this work did not come to them on a daily basis. Many times there was no work as the stones were not available or the contractor could not get the moulded bangles. On these days the women did not do any work or receive any payment. In most cases women receive wages that fall below the base line poverty wage. Hence the women were exploited but there was nothing they could do about this and did not know how to fight against this exploitation. This is due to ignorance combined with poverty induced dependency on factory owners or the middleman who is the contractor. Women expressed the fear that they would lose the few work opportunities available to them if they made complaints against the contractor. The places where such exploitation can be seen is spread out across the Hyderabad city. None of these women had maternity benefit, such as paid maternity leave or any other form of maternity allowance. We had seen the women workers are getting different wages according to the quality of the bangle. For the ordinary bangle which was sold on the cart along the roadside the women were paid Rs. 10 for two dozen. This was small in size. A woman can make only four dozens per day and

can earn forty rupees a day. To make two dozen bangle two hours were required. If a woman works continuously for four hours she could earn forty rupees. But in the market this is sold for 60–100 rupees per dozen. There are one more type of bangle which consist of two five lined stones, four three lined stoned and four one lined stones called “Family Joda”. In the market the rate of this set is approximately three thousand to four thousand, but the worker gets for each set only 100 rupees. It is time consuming work and the designs would be made by the workers themselves. Women took up these bangles only once in a while because it would require a full day work of nine hours to make a pair.

With regard to economic independence and their contribution to the family, we put several questions to the sample working women and wanted to know to what extent they are economically independent and what contribution they have made for the development of their families. The question we put to the sample working women was that “what financial contribution you make to your family per month?” In reply to our question the reply we got was that, 30% contribute about Rs. 1500 to their families. 51% contribute between Rs. 2500 to 3000 and 19% contribute between Rs. 3500 to 4500 a month.

When we asked our respondents how they spent the money, majority of them 72% stated that they spend it on household expenses (Table 7). Personal expenditure is still not very high. The bangle worker is more concerned about the welfare of her family members rather than spending more money on herself. However, from the forgoing analysis it can be said that sense of economic independence had developed among the working women. They are aware of their family responsibilities and future apprehension of a rainy day. This is reflected from the fact that either they contribute to their family income, or they try to give better education to their children or save something for the future.

Table 7: How is the women’s income spent

S.No.	Purpose	Frequency
1	hand it over to husband	6
2	hand it over to parents	6
3	on household	72
4	on self	11

S.No.	Purpose	Frequency
5	save	5
	Total	100

Source: own calculation.

Only the 11% of respondents stated that they spend their earning on themselves and very few 5% saved this. Majority of the workers spend their earning on household expenditure like ration, on clothing and on the daily expenditure. They stated that they could not send their children to school because the fees in the private school is very high and in the Government schools the standard of education is poor. They stated that if their wages will be increased then they can send their children to the school. These women had worked in this trade for a long duration as seen in the next table.

Table 8: Number of years the women has worked

S.No.	No. of years	Frequency
1	under 5 years	32
2	from 5 to 9 years	23
3	from 10 to 14 years	15
4	from 15 to 19 years	10
5	from 20 to 24 years	11
6	25 and above 25	9
	Total	100

Source: own calculation.

Our data shows women working for more than five years and about which clearly indicates that working women have less mobility. Bangle making was a skilled job and unless the women were involved in it for more than 4 to 5 years the contractors would not approach them (Table 8). Majority of the women worked generally work five to seven hours per day. This they did seated in a particular position and did not really move about

much. It is evident from the data that 43% of the total respondents are getting help from their children/other family members in day to day domestic work (Table 9). This shows that the family members' attitude is also of co-operation. Few women said their family members are not in a position to help them because they are below the age group of 2 to 5 years. 57% admitted that their children/husband want them to do all work, they are not at all cooperative. Such working women are found it difficult to balance household chores and their worked and this has an impact on their earning. Nearly 64% of our respondents suffered from health problems and only 36% said they had no major health issues (Table 10). Occupational health hazards have never been the focus in either legislation or implementation and are generally ignored in India (Durvasula, 1992).

Table 9: Hours of work

S.No.	Hours of working	Frequency
1	2 hours	2
2	3 hours	3
3	4-5 hours	8
4	5-6 hours	27
5	6-7 hours	30
6	7-8 hours	12
7	8-10 hours	12
8	10-12 hours	6
	Total	100

Source: own calculation.

Table 10: Nature of health problems

S.No.	Problems	Frequency
1	back pain and neck pain	12
2	back pain	9
3	joint pain	18

S.No.	Problems	Frequency
4	body pain	8
5	eye sight problem	17
6	no problem	36
	Total	100

Source: own calculation.

Therefore, majority of the women about 36% of the women felt that they had no health problems. But the understanding of these women about health was being laid in bed and they did not consider backache, eyesight as a sign of ill health but attributed this to their age. Only 8% complained of body pain and another 9% complained of backache. 12% of women said that they are suffering with both back pain and neck pain. In bangle making the women had to sit for hours in one posture without much movement and keep their eyes fixed at a small portion of the bangle to fix stones. About 53% of these women went to the Government hospital to seek a relief and 43% went to a private Doctor. About 4% said they did self-medication. They went to Government doctors for this was cheap but it meant spending a lot of time and private doctors were chosen only when they had a severe problem.

GIRL CHILD WORKER IN THE BANGLE INDUSTRY

We had a sample of 150 girls who were involve in bangle making (see Appendix 3). These were girls who were less than 15 and often helped their mothers in doing some part of the work of bangle making and it was only girls above 15 who could make a bangle making independently. We included gilrs above 15 under the category of women.

We could see a cycle of deprivation. The women in bangle making were illiterate and their girl children were also illiterate and a majority of them had dropped out. About 41.33% of girl children had dropped from the school and 26.67% were illiterate (Table 11). The drop out level at different stages was as follows.

Table 11: Educational status of the girl children

S.No.	Educational status	Number of girls	Percentage [%]
1	illiterate	40	26.67
2	drop out	62	41.33
3	school going children	42	28.00
4	under four years children	6	4.00
	Total	150	100.00

Source: own calculation.

In our study 44% of children had dropped in primary level, 23% of girl children dropped from the school in upper primary level, 34% of children had dropped in high school (Table 12) Today education has become a key to opening many opportunities for socio-economic development in a society. However, the high value placed on this human capital is revealed when one analyses the different levels of access to an enjoyment of the right to education across the Indian society. For a marginalized community such as the Muslims, the picture remains depressing: low literacy rates, high dropouts among children at all levels of schooling and an overall lack of representation at all level of education; all these factors being prominent especially among Muslim girl children. However, working women, in some cases their children, identified several key factors which inhibit children’s right to education. The most important of these were, poverty, which forces children from about the age of 10 to 12 years of drop out of school and help in earning a living. The other factor was, irregular teaching attendance at school due to corporal punishments and lastly, sibling care on helping in household chores as the mother had to spend time in making bangles. When we asked the women the reason why their children were not attending school, we got an almost a similar response from most of them that the reason the child was illiterate was because the parents were too poor to afford education or the child had to supplement family income. We explained to them that primary education was free but were not convinced. Some parents were happy with the mid-day meals scheme and sent the girls to school for this.

Table 12: Stages of drop out classes

S.No.	Drop out class	Number of girls	Percentage [%]
1	after primary	27	43.55
2	after upper primary	14	22.58
3	after high school	21	33.87
	Total	62	100.00

Source: own calculation.

In these poor households the earnings of the girl made a lot of difference. About 26.66% of the girls earned Rs. 10 per day and 25.33% of them earned Rs, 15 per day which was a substantial sum for these households and hence contributed to the family expenditure (Table 13). Many of these girls were very efficient in their work since a large number of them had been involved in this trade from 4 to eight years. Bangle making is given to only those families that are involved in this trade for some time and are experts in doing the inlay work (Table 14). Majority of these girls worked from 4 to 5 hours to 6 to 7 hours. These were mostly girls who were not going to school or had dropped out. The girls who were going to school could only spend 2 to 3 hours maximum in bangle making (Table 15).

Table 13: Daily income of the girls

S.No.	Daily Income	Girls	Percentage%
1	5 Rupees	25	16.67
2	10 Rupees	40	26.67
3	15 Rupees	38	25.33
4	20 Rupees	28	18.67
5	25 Rupees	10	6.67
6	above 25 Rupees	9	6.00
	Total	150	100.00

Source: own calculation.

Table 14: Number of years the girls have been in bangle making

S.No.	No. of Years	Frequency	Percentage [%]
1	one year	15	10.00
2	two years	8	5.33
3	three years	6	4.00
4	four years	12	8.00
5	five years	10	6.67
6	six years	10	6.67
7	seven years	15	10.00
8	eight years	20	13.33
9	ten years	12	8.00
10	twelve years	42	28.00
	Total	150	100.00

Source: own calculation.

Table 15: Hours of work

S.No.	Hours of Working	Frequency	Percentage [%]
1	2 hours	15	10.00
2	3 hours	19	12.67
3	4-5 hours	28	18.67
4	5-6 hours	27	18.00
5	6-7 hours	30	20.00
6	7-8 hours	13	8.67
7	8-10 hours	12	8.00
8	10-12 hours	6	4.00
	Total	150	100.00

Source: own calculation.

Table 16: Nature of health problems of the children

S.No.	Problems	Frequency	Percentage [%]
1	neck pain	22	14.67
2	back pain	19	12.67
3	joint Pain	28	18.67
4	body pain	28	18.67
5	eye sight problem	27	18.00
6	no problem	26	17.33
	Total	150	100.00

Source: own calculation.

Though many girl's did say that they had no problem with bangle making and it did not have an impact on their health. However, 19% of girls in our sample complained of joint pain and body pains. 18% of the girls even complained of eyesight problem as they have to continuously look at the bangle and the stone which is being inlaid and they cannot afford to divert their attention (Table 16). Besides this, one has to be seated for long hours in front of the stove and the whole environment gets hot and stuffy. Many girls showed us the burnt mark on their legs and other parts of the body when the burning coal falls on them.

CONCLUSIONS

The Bangle Industry has given Old City of Hyderabad worldwide recognition, due to its stone bangles. Bangle making is done both at *karkhana* (workshop) as well as in household. It has been a hereditary occupation of many families in Old City. Generally boys are found in *karkhanas* which are situated in centres or at shops and girls workers are found in home based *karkhana*.

1) Women Workers

We had a sample of 100 women. In our study majority of the respondents had an income of Rs. 31 to 40 daily. In most cases women receive

wages that fall below the base line poverty wage. Hence the women were exploited but there was nothing they could do about this. None of these women had maternity benefit. They worked 7 to 8 hours of a day to make ends meet. Bangle making was a skilled job and unless the women were involved in it for more than 4 to 5 years, they could not excel. We found some health problems the women involved in this trade. In bangle making the women had to sit for hours in one posture without much movement. This causes back ache, body pain, and neck pain. Whenever women had some issues with their health, 43% women went to private doctors and 53% to Government. They went to Govt. Doctors for this was cheap and private doctors were chosen only when they had severe problems. And the women worked generally six to eight hours per day and they also rope in their girl children

2) Girl Children

We had a sample of 150 girl children. These were girls who were 15 years and under. We could see a cycle of deprivation. The women in bangle making were illiterate and their girl children were also illiterate and a majority of them had dropped out. About 41.33% of girl children had dropped from the school and 26.67% were illiterate. In our study 44% of children had dropped in primary level, 23% of girl children dropped from the school in upper primary level, 34% of children had dropped in high school. In these poor households the earnings of the girl made a lot of difference. About 26.66% of the girls earned Rs. 10 per day and 25.33% of them earned Rs, 15 per day which was a substantial sum for these households and hence contributed to the family expenditure. Many of these girls were very efficient in their work since a large number of them had been involved in this trade from 4 to eight years. Majority of these girls worked from 4 to 5 hours to 6 to 7 hours. These were mostly girls who were not going to school or had dropped out. The girls who were going to school could only spend 2 to 3 hours maximum in bangle making.

Due to the existing difference between women and men's access to knowledge, skills, responsibilities and concerns and control over resources women are affected widely by the global process. Women in the informal sector have none of the securities of the formal sector and they continue to bear the brunt of gender and class inequalities, experience increasing marginalization and pauperization. Globalisation has increased the distress level and many of these women get an unfair deal. Although the bangle industry has provided economic opportunities to

thousands of families for decades, adults and boys and girls involved in this work face numerous social, economic, and health problems. The government is participating in an ILO-IPEC Time Bound Program designed to remove and rehabilitate child workers in six identified sectors over the next 5 to 10 years.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The issues faced by the bangle industry must be discussed, and social discourse must be encouraged. In turn, this could aid in the formation of self-help groups, community organizations, or membership-based groups among the unorganized women who make bangles from home. Efforts should be made to educate and teach workers in the bangle industry about their rights as employees under the law, as well as on social, legal, and gender issues. Women are exploited and harmed by the putting out system in the bangle industry. The owner and the contractor should compensate the women for their labour. We need to take the necessary measures to guarantee that bangle workers, particularly women, are paid what they are owed. The need for entrepreneurial development programs and participatory fast appraisal exercises at the local level to increase women's awareness of work opportunities and broaden their vocational choices. Microloans to women without strict collateral requirements are something that both state policy and banks should be actively encouraging. Even if the bangle worker is taught how to create the product, that does not mean they can sell it. Women in the bangle industry need to have easier access to government aid, employment, and anti-poverty programs. In addition, women in the workforce require access to inexpensive, contributory social insurance with a focus on promoting the education of female children. The workforce has to be educated on health issues, and health camps are a great way to do that.

Our study clearly shows that most of the children who are working as child labourers in the Bangle industry in the Old City are primarily there because their work is necessary for survival. This trade is dominated by Muslim families from low income groups and living well below the poverty line. The social and cultural constructions of the existing power relations in the society along with the disadvantages of the putting out system in the informal manufacturing system all combine to give these women and children a very subordinate position. Since this work was essential

for their survival, in the absence of any other means of livelihood, under the existing conditions there was a need to rehabilitate these children in non-hazardous industries, or till that is achieved to improve their working conditions.

One can talk in terms of elimination of child labour only after forming a national commitment for designing effective poverty alleviation and other policy measures to reduce the children living below the poverty line. It is a well-known fact that child labour is the result of ever growing poverty. However this leads us to a vicious circle. We cannot wait for a prior economic development and stability as being a precondition for the abolition of child labour. Because, the more and more one neglects the dangers of perpetrating child labour the more the economic system gets destabilised. Therefore we have to find alternatives within the existing socio-economic milieu.

However, we would start with the goal of abolition of all forms of child labour, in the long run, no matter what the consequences. We would also attempt to protect the rights of the children and see to it that they are practised and protected both by the civilian and government authorities. We would also emphasise on the removal of all forms of child labour as a necessary precondition for any attempt to give compulsory, minimum education to children in school attending age. Keeping these aims and objectives in mind and looking at the scenario in the Old City, we strongly feel that some kind of a centre should come up which would start with imparting certain skills to the children. A small stipend could be kept aside (similar to what the child is earning), so that the family also does not suffer and slowly with the passage of time, there would definitely be felt a need for education and this can be taken up. We strongly feel that the centre should start with skill importation and then take a direction whatever it sees best. The children in the Old City get a pittance for working for eight hours or more, but they and the parents strongly feel that the child is not wasting time but learning a skill, which would be useful in future.

The formal school with its teaching being dogmatic and learning by rote will not serve the purpose in the Old City. We need the establishment of a residential-cum-non-formal centre for providing education. This school should be given a total autonomy of changing its working hours and timings to suit the local economy's requirement. We would strongly suggest the lessening of centralisation and increased control of school administration and finances by a local committee of residents and other interested groups. We cannot say with full conviction that child labour exists in

spite of various legislation banning it. We need a stricter implementation of the law. Labour inspectors must be periodically trained and informed to the changes and amendments in legislation. They must maintain regular progress reports of the activity for elimination of child labour in their area, along with details of child rehabilitation cases and their progress.

There is a need to identify an N.G.O. to formulate and implement the various welfare programmes at the grass root level. There are a large number of girls in the bangle industry, who are illiterate or have dropped out of school at a very early age. Some non-formal education centre should be established and designed to suit the needs of these girls and they must concentrate their efforts during the closure of the *karkhana* when the girls are relatively free.

We found a lot of disdain for governmental schemes and programmes, with the general opinion that it involved a lot of paper work and the benefits were cornered by only few influential people. So there should be an attempt to reduce paper work and initiative should be taken to promote more awareness about government legislation and schemes. We did not come across any rehabilitation programme for child labour in the Old City and we strongly recommend that some specific programme should be designed to take away the children from various trades. A stipend should be given to the working children as an incentive to join some training centre. The private sector, local entrepreneurs and trade associations should be called to share the cost of rehabilitation of child worker along with the Government. This will give the local personnel a sense of involvement besides sharing in the cost and participating in the training of an educated and skilled workforce.

There is a need to monitor any programme in order to achieve any success. A committee of eminent members should be composed in the Old City to look into the various rehabilitation and other programmes in connection with child labour. This committee could consist of doctors, lawyers, academicians and activists besides representatives of the Government. This committee should be given a free hand in tackling the issue of child labour and monitoring it.

Health cannot be viewed independently of the socio-economic system in operation. Improvement in health conditions deal primarily with the improvement in the quality of life. Hence health programmes in the Old City have to have direct linkages with programmes for protected water supply, environmental sanitation and hygiene, nutrition and education, family planning, maternity and child welfare.

Last but not least there is a need to create public awareness on the issue of child labour. Public awareness has to be created at two levels one for the people working in the various trades and the general public. Children and employers working in the bangle industry have to be made aware of the health hazards in some of these trades. Television should be utilised fully for creating an awareness on the issue of child labour. There is a need to investigate through critical research seminars, workshops, and informal meetings with the target groups, their parents and other relative groups and build in pressure and a general public awareness, which would lead to a positive action in the elimination of child labour.

Bangle industry is one of the health hazardous industries. Most of the women working come from poor households and low castes. Nor is anything being done to withdraw children, especially girls, from the hazardous occupations associated with the industry. Human Rights and Health cannot be isolated from class, caste and gender. Human Rights has to be understood in the context of the socio-economic system which is exploitative in the case of the bangle worker. Improvement in health conditions should deal primarily with improvement in quality of life and better work environment.

APPENDIX 1. CASE STUDIES: WOMEN WORKERS

1. Zaheda Begum: Zaheda Begum is 30 years old married woman making bangles from last 10 years. Her father was a lorry driver. She lost her mother during her early childhood. She has two brothers and two sisters. She is the eldest of all. She got married at the age of 20. Her husband is illiterate. He is 12 years older to her. At the time of her marriage he was working in a bangle shop. Zaheda's married life was normal in the beginning. Within a span of four years, she gave birth to two children, a daughter and a son. Although her husband was not earning much yet they were able to meet their basic needs. Now she has five children three sons and two daughters. Her husband gives her a small amount for house hold expenses. Her children were growing and their needs were also increasing, hence she complained to her husband about her financial difficulties but failed to get a positive response. So she decided to work. Her neighbours helped her and she started making bangles. She could make three to four

dozen of bangles per day and earning about 20 rupees daily. She spends this amount on her children's education since they all are going to school. She does her household work in the morning when the children go to the school. Her husband also work in the bangle shop, he gets the work for her and also bring the raw material for her. She said that she is helping her husband for the bright future of their children.

2. Tanveer Begum: Tanveer is 19 years old Bangle maker. She stopped her studies after passing her 10th standard. She lives along with her family in Makka mosque, area of Old City. Her father is selling wool, without a fixed income and the families expenses are hard to meet with the low income like Rs. 1000 to 1500. She has five sisters; they all are going to school. She respects education very much because it improves one social status very much. She says each and every girl should be educated to the maximum realize her full potentials in her life. She is making bangles for the last six years. Tanveer and her mother are the principal contributors to the family income. She earns Rs. 700 per month through her work and she also complains that she gets eye pain due to the nature of her work. This work involves sitting for hours together in front of burning coals and fixing stones to the bangles. She feels bad for her poor family condition and pleads for Government financial condition and pleads for Government financial help to her family. So that she can leave working and continue her studies.

3. Mumtaz Begum: Mumtaz Begum is 30 years old woman. She has four children, two daughter and two sons. Her two daughters dropped out and studied up to 5th standard. Her husband is working in a cloth shop. The family is very poor and due to the poverty, her daughters were forced to leave the studies to supplement his family income by joining Bangle making Industry. Her family is a nuclear family with a very low income i.e. 6 members are living together by an earning of Rs. 3500 per month. She earns Rs. 1500 per month by her work. He pleads for financial help from Government to continue her children education. She says that she also does good amount of domestic work apart from working to make bangles. She complains that she is getting tired by all the domestic work as well as the bangle making work and says that she gets backache and eye pain many times which she works. She is making bangles from 20 years.

4. Noor Unnisa Begum: Noor unissa is 40 year old woman. She is illiterate. Her father had a small *kirana* shop. She was married to a shopkeeper. After the six years of her marriage, her husband died in a road accident. She became a widow and came to stay with her in-laws with her five children. Her in-laws did not extend any support. She started working in a bungalow. Later she started making bangle. The workday began between 7.00 and 8.00 a.m. and ended between 5 and 6 p.m. On average, she works 9 hours, earning 45 rupees daily. Moreover, she is poor, illiterate, with little or no skills, socially disadvantaged, with debts and low assets base. She is suffering from eyes burning and back pain. She married her children and is now living with her children. She complained that a middle man is exploiting them by giving low wages. She is working in this trade from last 20 years. She said that she has to prepare at least 24 bangles every day in order to get Rs. 45. If she does not prepare the order will go to some one else. And she will not get the job for some days again she herself go the shop to get the raw material, then the process continues she said that everyone here is getting less amount for their work they are doing. If any one struggles or object they may not get the job. So, we cannot fight against this less wage.

APPENDIX 2. CASE STUDIES: GIRL CHILD WORKERS

1. Sameena is a 14 years old unmarried girl. Her mother is a 40 years widow, a residence of Jagdish Hut and has two sons and one daughter. Sameena is eldest among them. She studied up to VII standard, and then was drafted into the trade to help feed the family. She said "we start work at nine in the morning and work till one, when we break for lunch, then we start again at four and work till ten." She takes an hour off to watch the serials on the Star Plus television channel. "We have cable at home," she says with pride. She said she is not allowed to go out and her brothers do not let her. She said the work is fine, although she get tired after sitting in one position for too long, but it is the heat that makes her dizzy. It burns her eyes, pointing to burn marker on her fingers, she said "For this I put the cream and that eases the pain." She works on the floor of a back room in a small, two room house. She decorates six dozen bangles a day, which fetches her about 30 rupees. The income is not sufficient for running

the family in these trying economic times. As a result, they could not go to school. It was a middleman who threatened to take away the contract, and as a result she believes that workers do not have a choice but to work in same condition for their survival. Despite their hard work, most of the workers are living below the poverty line.

2. Malika Jahan is a 5 year old girl. She has been making bangles for the last two years. She is not going to school though her mother tells us that she will be going to school once she becomes six years of age. She has still not excelled in this work and hence her mother gives her some rudimentary bangles to put stones to. Both her parents are in this industry. Her father works in a *karkhana* where they make the moulds for the bangles and her mother makes bangles at home. She has a younger brother who is three years old and a sister who is one year old. Malika is still not very articulate about her work but she feels happy to sit with her mother and put stones in the bangle's under her guidance. She is not clear if she earns anything out of this for it is the mother that deals with the money.

3. Afreen Sadia, is a 8 years old girl who works in bangle making from 2 years. She never went to school. She is illiterate. She lives along with her family in road no. 2 in Bhavani Nagar. She is forced to enter in this work to supplement his family income. Her contribution to his family income is very significant in the up keep of the family. The number of children in the family is 6 and all of them are drop outs due to poor family conditions. Afreen is illiterate and she feels bad that she had to supplement to the family income which other children of her age are studying. She loves being educated and wants to become a teacher when she grows up. She works more than 8 hours a day and receives around Rs. 300 per month depending on the amount of work done by her. She gives her income to parents to feed their and her sisters and brothers. She complains that she gets body pains and back ache due to continue work.

4. Qamar: Qamar is a 12 year old girl. Her father is an auto driver and her mother also makes bangles. Qamar also has a ten year old brother who works in a Zari shop and a three year old sister who is also being trained in bangle making. Qamar has studied only till third class and then was withdrawn from school to do the household wok as her mother was very busy making the bangles. Qamar spend the whole day making bangles and also assist in doing the house hold chores. She also does the cooking for she

tells us that if she spares this time for her mother they will be able to earn much more. Her father is an auto driver but he does not contribute money for the household on a regular basis. He also spends a large part of his income on liquor and they often have fights in the house with regards to his drinking but Qamar's father does not pay any heed. Qamar tells us that she was very interested in studies but does not know how she can continue for she is needed to make bangles. She wanted to be a teacher and she thinks this is a more respectful job than making bangles.

APPENDIX 3. QUESTIONNAIRE

Women and Girl Children in Bangle Making

Section-I House hold profile

Interviewed by: ----- Place----- Date-----

0. Name -----
1. Age -----
2. Education: -----
3. Head of the family: -----
4. Colony/Mohilla-----
5. Ownership of the house: -----
 - a) Rented-----b) Owned -----
6. Size of the house: -----
 - a) Small -----b) Large -----c) Medium-----
7. Kitchen: -----
 - a) Separate-----b) Inside the house-----
8. Source of lighting -----
 - a) Electricity-----b) Kerosene lamp-----
9. Fuel for cooking-----
 - a) Fire wood-----b) Electric heater-----c) Gas
10. Availability of water-----
 - a) inside the house -----b) collected from outside

11. Details of the family members

Name	Age	Sex	Marital Status	Relationship with the respondent	Education	Occupation	Monthly Income

Section II
Income Profile

12. How much is your income daily?
13. Is this amount sufficient to you?
14. What do you do with you pay?
- a) I hand over it to my husband or mother in law;
 - b) Spend on house hold;
 - c) On self;
 - d) Save.
15. Do you spend your money as you wish?
- a) Yes;
 - b) No.
16. If no, do you get a feeling of utilizing this money?
17. How many people work in your family?
- a) You;
 - b) Husband;
 - c) Children;
 - d) Others.
18. What work does your husband/father do?
19. What is his earning?
20. As a woman did you face any special problems?

Section III
Trade Profile of the Women Worker

21. What is the work that you do?
22. What work do you do exactly in Banle making?
23. How is this done?
24. What is your involvement in this work?
25. When did you start working?
- a) Before marriage;
 - b) After marriage;
 - c) After children.
26. Who helps you in your work?
- a) Self;
 - b) Husband;
 - c) children.
27. What is the kind of help do they provide?

28. When did you start this particular work / How many years are you working in this?
29. What were you doing before this work?
30. Where does the end product go?
31. How many hours do you spend with your family?
32. Is your family/husband cooperative?
33. Who manages the financial aspects?: a) Myself; b) Husband; c) Both.
34. Do you enjoy all freedom to use money as you desire?
35. Are you satisfied with this type of work?
36. What are the difficulties you are facing in your work?
37. Is your family economic status improved with your work?
38. How will you manage both household work and your work?
39. How many hours do you spend on your work?
40. What are the basic reasons for doing you this job?
 - a) This is not time consuming;
 - b) I easily manage it along with my other responsibilities of families;
 - c) This is not a risky one;
 - d) I got more benefits with this job;
 - e) Other income.
41. Do you have medical benefits in your trade?
42. When was last you visited to a doctor?
43. Who will take care of your health?
44. Do you have any other health problems after joining this job?
45. When you are sick whom do you go to?
 - a) Govt.;
 - b) Private;
 - c) Self medication;
 - d) Don't go.
46. Given an opportunity would you like to change your trade? Yes; No.
47. If yes what would you like to do?

Section IV

Trade Profile of the Girl Child Worker

48. How old are you?
49. How much have you studied?
50. When did you start making the bangles?

51. What is the work that you doing in bangle making?
52. How is this done?
53. How many hours do you do this work daily?
54. Do you get any help in your work or do it yourself?
55. What is the kind of help you get?
56. What were you doing before this work?
57. How many hours do you spend with your family?
58. What is your favourite pass time?
59. Do you get the money in your hand for making bangles?
60. Who takes this money and how much do you get for yourself?
61. Do you enjoy the freedom to use this money as you desire?
62. Are you satisfied with this type of work?
63. What are the difficulties you are facing in your work?
64. Is your family economic status improved with your work?
65. How well do you manage both household work and your work?
66. How many hours do you spend on your work?
67. What are the basic reasons for doing you this job?
 - a) This is not time consuming;
 - b) I easily manage it along with my other responsibilities of families;
 - c) This is not a risky one;
 - d) I got more benefits with this job;
 - e) Other income.
68. When was last you visited to a doctor?
69. Who takes care of your health?
70. Do you have any other health problems relatd to this work?
71. When you are sick whom do you go to?
 - a) Govt.;
 - b) Private;
 - c) self medication;
 - d) don't go.
72. Given an opportunity would you like to change your trade: Yes; No.
73. If yes what would you like to do?
74. What are your ambitions?
75. Do you see your self continuing to do this work?

Rekha Pande is a Professor of History and Women's Studies. She is currently a Professor Emeritus at the Henry Martin Institute, an International Centre for Research, Interfaith Relations and Reconciliation, Hyderabad. She is also the Director of Society for Empowerment through Environment Development (SEED). She was earlier the Head of the Department of History and Head, Centre for Women's Studies at the University of Hyderabad. She was also the Director of Women's Studies at the Maulana Azad National Urdu University (MANUU). She has been the founding member of two Centres for Women's Studies, one at Maulana Azad National Urdu University and the other at the University of Hyderabad. *She was the Chair of the Women's World Congress in 2014* organized for the first time in India. She has to her credit 24 books and more than 200 articles in National and International Journals, book chapters and proceedings. She has been the Editor of, *International Feminist Journal of Politics (IFJP)*, Routledge Taylor and Francis group, U.K. She also edited *Foreign Policy Analysis*, which is published by Blackwell, USA. She has received the *Visiting Fellowship, Birkbeck Institute of Humanities, University of London, International Visiting Fellowship* in the School of Policy Studies, in the University of Bristol, U.K. *Academic Fellow, University of Buffalo, USA and International Visiting Scholar, at Maison De Research, Paris and Visiting Professorship* at the University of Artois, Arras, France. She has been the Project Director of forty-two Projects. She has guided 24 Ph.D. and 46 M.Phil. students in both History and Gender Studies. She has widely traveled in India and abroad to deliver Key note addresses and lectures and present papers in National and International Conferences. She has been recently invited by the National Commission for Women, Government of India, to be its Resource person for Gender Sensitization and Gender development Programmes in India.

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