Indian Brick Kiln Workers' Experience with Child Labor and Debt Bondage

Vinay Kumar
Assistnat Professor
Department of Sociology
D.A.V. Degree College Lucknow
Email: kumar08vinay@gmail.com

Abstract

Some of our research findings from an investigation of the Indian brick kiln sector are presented in this article. We have overseen a survey that is both qualitative and quantitative. Since child labor is a prevalent issue in the brick kiln business, we demonstrate how employers in the interconnected credit-labor market employ parents through a system that forces them to use their child as a means of increasing productivity—instead of hiring kids directly. To strengthen their negotiating position, parents in such a setting use child labor.

Keywords

Brick kiln workers; child labor; debt bondage; migration. the advanced system, poverty.

Reference to this paper should be made as follows:

Received: 17.05.2024
Approved: 20.06.2024

Vinay Kumar,

Indian Brick Kiln Workers' Experience with Child Labor and Debt Bondage

RJPSSs 2024, Vol. L, No. 1, pp.62-78
Article No.9
Similarity Check: 15%

Online available at:
https://anubooks.com/journal/research-journal-of-philosophy-amp-social-sciences
DOI: *https://doi.org/10.31995/rjpsss.2024v50i01.9*

https://doi.org/10.31995/rjpsss.2024v50i01.9

Introduction

Numerous articles have addressed the subject of child labor since the establishment of the International Programme for Eliminating Child Labour (IPEC). The fact that this phenomenon is linked to other factors including money, poverty, human capital, and exploitation justifies the growing interest in it among academics. The IPEC's primary goal was to end child labor in all of its manifestations. However, the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the IPEC quickly realized that this goal is extremely difficult to attain because the issue is multifaceted. Consequently, they changed their strategy to concentrate on ending the most severe type of child labor (Schlemmer, 1997). The International Labour Organization (ILO) makes a distinction between two types of activities: those that are detrimental to children's physical and mental development (child labor) and those that are not (child work).

Human Rights Watch (1996, 2003) details the horrific conditions that youngsters find themselves in the sportswear, carpet, brick kiln, and silk sectors. It is believed that young people working in these fields have a strong affinity with their employers. We discuss the motivations for children working in different fields in this article. We concentrate our investigation on bondage, one of the harshest types of child labor. Here are some of the results of our research on the brick kiln industry in north India, with a focus on Uttar Pradesh. We demonstrate how the employment of child labor increases productivity and negotiating strength in the connected credit-labor market. On debt bondage in the brick kiln business, surveys using both qualitative and quantitative data were conducted. In brick kilns and the workers' hometowns, we conducted interviews with owners, brokers, and laborers.

While brick kiln owners and brokers were the focus of the qualitative survey, the quantitative survey was directed at the workers on the sites. Surveying brick kiln workers was an extremely challenging task. Because the supervisors were present during the interview process, the employees were unable to speak freely. They answered our queries with much hesitation and embarrassment. Three main topics were covered in the questions posed to the workers: child labor, working conditions, and financial strain. It was necessary to comprehend how the brick kiln industry operates and how laborers are hired to demonstrate this relationship. The structure of this article is as follows. The economic literature on child labor is reviewed in the first section, and the exploitation of child labor in the labor market is examined by outlining the limitations of these methods.

Objective

While investigating child labor in brick kilns is the study's primary goal, the particular

1. To monitor the circumstances surrounding child labor in brick kilns.
2. Investigate the experiences of families employed by brick kiln operators.
3. Analise the reasons for and effects of child labor in brick kilns.
4. To assess the stakeholders' interventions about the child labor issue.

Literature of Review

Brick Kiln Industry

(Gupta, 2003; Ercelawn and Nauman, 2004) address the topic of bonded labor and brick kiln workers, specifically about their recruitment, working conditions, pay, and exploitation. As a result, the topic of child labor is not thoroughly explored. Ercelawn and Nauman (2004) claim that child labor occurs and is evident throughout the entire production process. We must first comprehend how this business operates to comprehend the existence of child labor within it.

Gupta (2003) estimates that there are roughly 50,000 brick kilns in India as a whole, and the Association of Brick Kiln and Tiles Entrepreneurs in Tamil Nadu claims that there are about 2000 brick kilns in that particular area. Given that the brick market satisfies certain PPC assumptions, it functions somewhat similarly to a pure and perfect competitive market (PPC): According to Gupta (2003), the brick kiln industry features a four-level pyramidal structure, The owners are at the top of the pyramid, followed by the managers (accountants) on the second rung. The brokers, who play a unique role in this sector, are in the third tier. Lastly, the workers at the base of the pyramid are divided into five primary categories: firemen, loaders, unloaders, bullock cart drivers, and molders. This type of hierarchical arrangement is found in huge brick kilns. A smaller brick kiln, however, requires fewer supervisors and intermediaries. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish between large and small businesses.

Varma & Kumar (2006) insisted that There is a division of labor in the Bhattas, with different communities from different regions more or less specializing in each type of work.

There is also a caste system that existed in the Bhatta works Pathaiwale or patera (molder): usually, chamars from up, Kumhar (shift of dried bricks to the kiln): usually potters, caste from u.p., Beldar (arrangers of the bricks inside the kiln) may be kumhars themselves, jaali-wale (Fireman): usually from Pratapgarh (u.p). Nikasiwale (those who remove fired bricks from the kiln and stack them

https://doi.org/10.31995/rjpsss.2024v50i01.9

according to grades): usually Bagris from Rajasthan or others from U.P. Loaders (those who load fired bricks onto trucks).

"The communities involved in this work include Neelgar and Teli,s among Muslims and jhimar, chamar and a few Valmikis among the Hindus. The majority are Chamars because they do not get any work in the village."

The presence of brokers in a hierarchical system suggests that there isn't a direct connection between the top and lowest levels, claims Gupta (2003). Workers are therefore unaware of the owner of the brick kiln. Since they only come to the location once or twice a season, some workers won't even get to see them. Because he is on-site, monitoring their work, and will step in to address any issues that arise in the brick kiln, the workers in this type of arrangement view the manager as the owner. The nature of the interaction between the workers and the manager greatly influences the working conditions at the site. The manager is the individual who handles accounting tasks on behalf of the enterprise.

The Brick Kiln and Labour Market

Bricks are only made in the summer. As a result, seasonal laborers are needed for this, and they are hired in the agriculture industry, where seasonal production is also necessary. Laborers move through brokers to work in brick kilns since there aren't enough jobs available in agriculture. Because of this, the brick kiln sector utilizes seasonal workers who are very erratic and subject to leave. They have the option to alter their pursuits and provide their labor to another business. The majority of the laborers are landless, impoverished peasants. Brokers bond them to prevent labor volatility. As a result, laborers work in the field for six to eight months and then spend the remainder of the year working in brick kilns and other unofficial jobs.

They go from their villages to the brick factory suburbs of large cities. Because the employment is seasonal, brick kiln operators have trouble finding seasonal employees. Employers find it challenging to locate staff throughout the entire season due to scheduling and weather constraints. Within the state of Tamil Nadu, there is seasonal migration. This finding is in contrast to that of Gupta (2003), who discovered that interstate movement happens in northern India. That isn't the case, though. Employers and owners use brokers as middlemen to find laborers, hence lowering laborers' compensation. Thus, pressure is applied through the advanced system, which ultimately results in lower salaries. The ultimate goal is to make laborers provide their labor under duress. Therefore, under this structure, brokers rather than owners directly provide advances to laborers. Brokers provide

the liquidities that laborers require. The owners benefit from the following features of this system:

1. Because of the hierarchical structure of the brick kiln, laborers must go via brokers to directly negotiate better compensation with the owners. In comparison to the owners, the latter is in charge of the laborers. In contrast, the managers file complaints to the brokers, who then determine whether or not to take legal action against the laborers, if they are dissatisfied with the workers' performance.
2. The advanced system is responsible for the second benefit. Because it is hazardous, owners never give laborers advances directly. Workers can flee with the money because they are seasonal migrants. However, because of the arduous nature of the task, laborers without advances will not show up to work in brick kilns. Their only means of subsistence in the village is advance money. The interactions that take place between laborers and brokers highlight the credit system's danger more strongly. Brokers have a significant amount of power over employees since they provide them with money. Gupta, 2003).
3. Employers use brokers, according to Breman (1978), to both attract and lower the risk associated with lending money to seasonal workers. On behalf of the owners, the brokers' job is to find seasonal laborers and provide them with advances.

The Economics of Exploitative Child Labour

In general, there are two primary perspectives in the literature on child labor. In the first, the phenomena are examined in light of poverty. Basu and Van (1998) devised this method. They propose the luxury axiom, a crucial theory, in their paper. This hypothesis states that a family sends a child to work when the family income is less than what it needs to survive, even without the child's labor contribution. Therefore, the primary factor influencing child labor is poverty.

Bhalotra (2000) asserts that while girls are forced to drop out of school to take up household duties, women enter the workforce when incomes rise. As a result, mothers and daughters divide their time and activities differently. Girls who receive higher salaries tend to drop out of school, and kids who participate in paid activities spend less time working and more time relaxing. Even though they are not mutually exclusive, child labor and education are incompatible (Grootaert and Kanbur, 1995).

Ruma Ghosh (2004) argued that all family members of the workers are made to work by the jamadar and the children (even below 14) who are slightly

https://doi.org/10.31995/rjpsss.2024v50i01.9

grown up are also encouraged to work. the jamadars and the employers justify the work done by the children as a help being rendered by the children to their parents, which is better than loitering around without doing anything. The parents also find it convenient as they come to the kilns to earn sufficient money to repay their debt as well as to earn some extra money to carry back with them. the help provided by the children makes them produce a larger output, which would otherwise not be possible only with the works of the adults.

According to Baland and Robinson (2000), children are not permitted by society to enter into a financial agreement with their parents, promising to repay them for their educational investments. Children suffer the most as a result of this circumstance, which makes child labor unnecessarily high. According to Ranjan (2001), parents who are concerned about their children's well-being will invest in their education if capital markets perform well. The primary goal of all these strategies is the welfare of the children. They are all constrained, though, in that they don't examine the fundamental issue - the exploitation of child labor. Two recent studies on the exploitation of child labor have examined why parents choose to send their children into the worst kind of child labor (Rogers&Swinnerton,2002).

The worst forms of child labor are defined by the ILO (1999) convention C182, which includes all acts that are comparable to or similar to slavery, such as the trafficking and sale of children, debt bondage (which includes the forced or compulsory recruitment of minors for use in armed conflict), and the use of minors for prostitution, pornographic performances, and other illegal activities. This convention makes a distinction between two types of activities: (1) light work that is not deemed hazardous for children (child work); and (2) activity that puts children's physical and mental development at risk (child labor).

According to Rogers and Swinnerton (2002), When parents send their children to the labor market, where there are two types of firms: those that are exploitative and those that are not, parents must deal with the issue of asymmetric knowledge. They are oblivious to which of them is being exploitative. Therefore, parents who are unlucky enough can find themselves sending their children to a company that engages in child exploitation. Children cannot leave the exploitative market once they are involved in it.

According to Dessy and Pallage, parents living in extreme poverty choose the worst form of child labor because of the more attractive rewards, that is, wages are higher. Thus, children contribute to enhancing household income. Parents choose these firms as long as the higher wages compensate for the pain of being involved in

these activities. They further added that child labor can be beneficial to children if, and only if, it improves their human capital. Hence, there are two kinds of firms: 'bad firms' and 'good firms. The bad firms adopt a dangerous technology that is detrimental to children. Good firms enhance children's human capital through the technology of learning by doing. The choice of these two kinds of firms eventually depends on the parents' human capital.

Bonded Labour in Brick Kilns

These days, it is uncommon to find articles about young children working in brick kilns in daily newspapers or other news sources. The purpose of this article is to shed light on the practices of child labor in India's brick kiln sector. Bonded labor is how Human Rights Watch characterizes labor in brick kilns. This view of laborers engaged in brick kiln operations is a result of the close relationship between the labor market and the finance system. Workers in brick kilns indeed accept advances before starting work. The ILO Convention C182 prohibits minors from engaging in hazardous labor. Activities involving brick kilns are regarded as dangerous due to the difficulty of the work itself. The labor is more difficult in the summer since employees must put in longer hours intolerable heat.

The 1956 United Nations Convention defines debt bondage as follows: the state or circumstances resulting from a debtor's pledge of his services or those of an individual under his supervision as security for a debt provided that the reasonably assessed value of those services is not applied to the debt's settlement or that the duration and type of those services are not restricted and defined. In line with this definition, laborers engaged in brick kiln operations are considered bonded in that they are all required to take advance payments and work toward repaying those advances. The UN defines bondage in terms of two primary concerns.

The first is the use of workers for financial gain. To achieve their goal—paying off their debt—workers must be compensated at their marginal productivity. Workers become enslaved when wages are insufficient to cover their debt and fall below the marginal productivity of labor. The promise of one's services to the debtor is the second problem. This means that the debtor cannot use the employment of any member of his family or that of his children as collateral. According to our survey, there is a strong correlation between the brick kiln industry and child labor and debt bondage. Whether the kids are participating in orderly behavior is still a major issue in repaying their parents' debts.

This term of debt bondage particularly addresses the circumstance in which contract laborers steal credit from landlords to survive during the slow season. These

https://doi.org/10.31995/rjpsss.2024v50i01.9

days, mechanization and climate change force landlords to reduce the number of laborers they hire. Because farming is now only a marginal source of income (Deliège, 1989), workers must find other sources of revenue to live. As a result, if they start working in brick kilns, it becomes their primary source of revenue, and they start accepting payments in advance for their services. The working circumstances of children are described in papers on child labor in brick kilns. None of them, nevertheless, analyze the motivation for children's involvement in such activities.

Gupta (2003) demonstrates in a recent study conducted in northern India that children are not listed as employees on the master roster maintained by supervisors. The author so suggests that this business makes an effort to conceal the fact that child labor exists. Since child labor is a visible issue and a well-known truth, we reject this theory in our study. Still unanswered is: why do they function? We demonstrate how the relationship between the financial system and the labor market is the root cause of child labor. It is the parents who play a crucial role in the spread of child labor.

Research Methodology

Adult male employees whose children were also employed in brick kilns were chosen for in-depth interviews using purposive sampling. The analysis section includes a description of the demographic characteristics of the participants. The researcher employed non-participant observation and in-depth interviews as a means of gathering primary data. In-depth interviews were carried out with brick kiln laborers and their families, with a specific emphasis on the youngsters employed in these kilns. The initial phase was reminding participants of the study's objectives, methodology, their right to participate in the study or to withdraw at any time, and the confidentiality of the data being collected. Researchers elucidate the subject to workers to build rapport with them.

Data Analysis

This study's main goals were to comprehend the living conditions of child laborers in brick kilns and thoroughly investigate the experiences of male family members about their own and their children's work. The other goal is to identify the root causes of child labor by recording the actions taken by relevant parties to address this issue.

Socio-economic and Demographic Information of the Participants

The employees of the brick kilns in this qualitative study were interviewed for the study's findings of Bundelkhand regions. Every participant gave their permission to be included in this study. Two stakeholders were involved in the

program to end child labor and bonded labor and to promote decent work for vulnerable workers in this region. One was from a private organization or non-governmental organization (NGO), and the other was from a government agency. To gather socio-economic data about male employees at brick kilns, each participant gave basic information about themselves, including their age, education, number of family members, work hours, type of work, type of family, monthly income, and number of children employed there.

Table 1: Socio-economic and demographic information of participants

Participants	Age	Education	Work hours in a day	Work Type	Family Member	No. of Children at Brick Kilns	Monthly Family Income
1	35	1to3	6-8 hour	Panthera	4	3	7000
2	52	1to 3	8 >	plethora	6	5	12000
3	28	1to3	8>	plethora	4	5	10000
4	35	1to3	8>	plethora	7	4	11000
5	30	1to3	8>	Bharaiwala	8	7	15000
6	47	3to5	4to6	Jalaiwala	10	4	14000
7	56	1to3	8>	plethora	8	3	11000
8	21	1to3	8>	plethora	4	4	8000
9	30	Illiterate	6to8	plethora	4	3	7000
10	24	Illiterate	6to8	loader	10	5	15000
11	39	1to3	6to8	loader	4	2	7000
12	37	1to3	6to8	loader	10	4	13000
13	25	1to3	6to8	loader	4	2	7000
14	24	Illiterate	6to8	plethora	10	3	13000
15	46	Illiterate	6to8	plethora	10	2	12000
16	26	illiterate	6to8	pathers	7	5	15000
17	40	3to5	8>	Dharamsala	7	6	18000
18	26	3to5	8>	Dharamsala	13	1	15000
19	27	1to3	8>	Dharamsala	6	2	10000
20	38	1to3	8>	jalaiwala	6	1	10000

Source: primary data

The study's participants are patheras or people who built bricks out of mud, and their offspring follow in their footsteps. On the other hand, the offspring of participants in other labor types, such as jalaiwalas, or people who bake bricks in brick kilns, also work as patheras and loaders. The work hours of the aforementioned participants are listed in Table No. 1 and are based on the number of hours they worked in a day during the interviews; if not, they increased to twelve hours per day, which varies with seasonal fluctuations.

Due to the wage structure in the brick kilns, which pays workers every week for their labor and fluctuates based on several factors, none of the participants

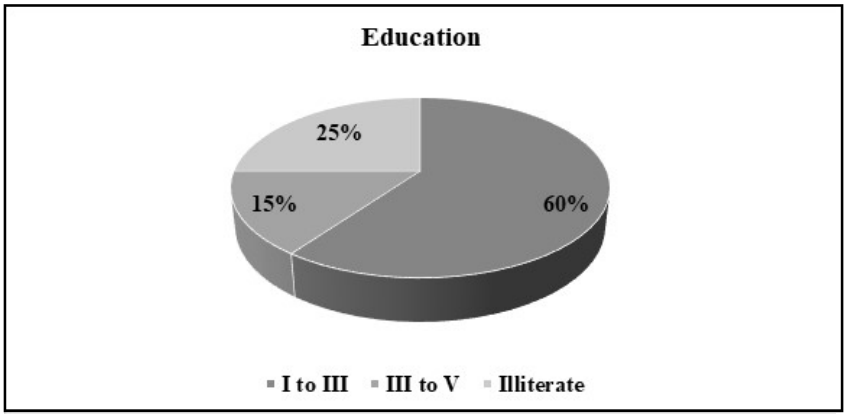
https://doi.org/10.31995/rjpsss.2024v50i01.9

knew their monthly income. The information in the table above is derived from their most recent pay period before deducting debt, and it also represents the income of the entire family. Because the majority of the workers were migrants from various rural regions and resided in the quarters of Bundelkhand's brick kilns. To control their expenses, they only brought along the members who assisted in working in brick kilns, and the majority of the older members had either passed away or were housed.

Analysis of the Data

Table 1: Education of the participants working in brick Klink.

Education	Frequency	Per cent
I to III	12	**60.0%**
III to V	3	**15.0%**
Illiterate	5	**25.0%**
Total	**20**	**100.0%**

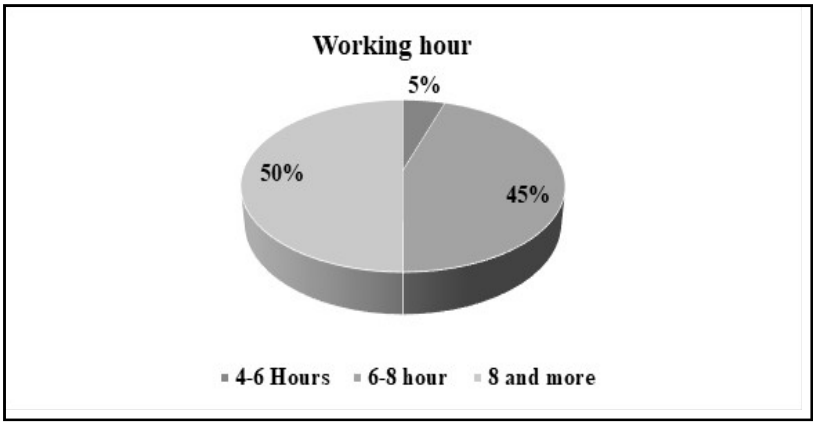


Interpretation

The participants working in brick kilns exhibit a varied spectrum of educational backgrounds, as indicated by the data provided. The majority, constituting 60.0% of the total, have completed education up to grades I to III. Following this, 15.0% of participants have attained education levels ranging from grades III to V. Notably, a significant portion, comprising 25.0% of the sample, are classified as illiterate. This breakdown underscores the diversity in educational attainment among individuals employed in brick kilns, with a substantial proportion having limited formal education or none at all. Such insights shed light on the workforce composition and educational challenges within this particular industry sector.

Table 2: Working hours of the participants working in brick Klink.

Working hours	Frequency	Per cent
4-6 Hours	1	**5.0%**
6-8 hour	9	**45.0%**
8 and more	10	**50.0%**
Total	**20**	**100.0%**



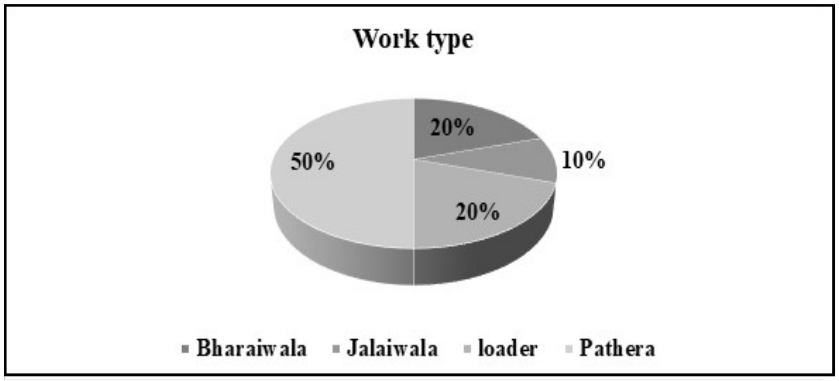
Interpretation

The table outlines the distribution of working hours among individuals employed in brick kilns, offering valuable insights into their labor dynamics. Notably, a significant majority, comprising 50.0% of participants, work extended shifts of 8 hours or more. This indicates a prevalent trend towards longer working hours within the industry. Additionally, 45.0% of participants devote between 6 to 8 hours to their work, further underscoring the prevalence of substantial workloads. Conversely, a smaller proportion, representing 5.0% of participants, engage in shorter shifts lasting 4 to 6 hours. Understanding these patterns of work duration is crucial for comprehending the labor practices and potential implications for worker well-being and productivity within the brick kiln sector.

Table 3: Work type of the participants working in brick Klink.

Work type	Frequency	Per cent
Bharaiwala	4	**20.0%**
Jalaiwala	2	**10.0%**
loader	4	**20.0%**
Panthera	10	**50.0%**
Total	**20**	**100.0%**

https://doi.org/10.31995/rjpsss.2024v50i01.9

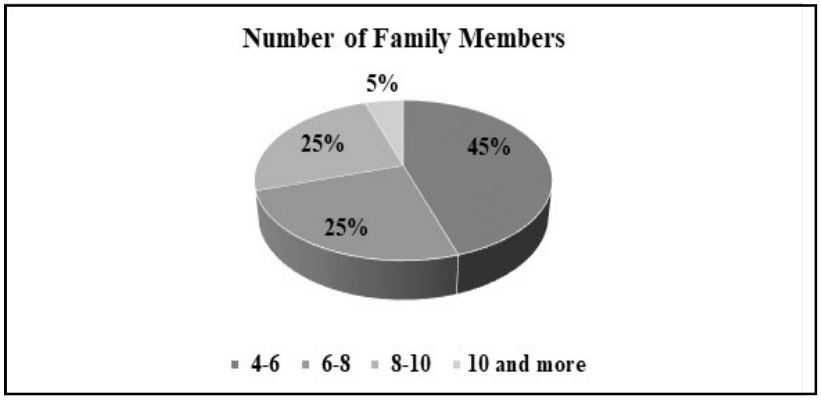


Interpretation

The table provides a comprehensive overview of the different work types undertaken by participants within the brick kiln industry. This breakdown highlights the diversity of tasks performed within brick kilns, with Pathera roles being the most prevalent. Such insights into the distribution of work types are crucial for understanding the labor dynamics and skill requirements within the industry. It also provides valuable information for policymakers and stakeholders aiming to address workforce needs and enhance labor conditions in brick kilns.

Table 4: Family members of the participants working in brick Klink.

Number of Family Members	Frequency	Per cent
4-6	9	**45.0%**
6-8	5	**25.0%**
8-10	5	**25.0%**
10 and more	1	**5.0%**
Total	**20**	**100.0%**

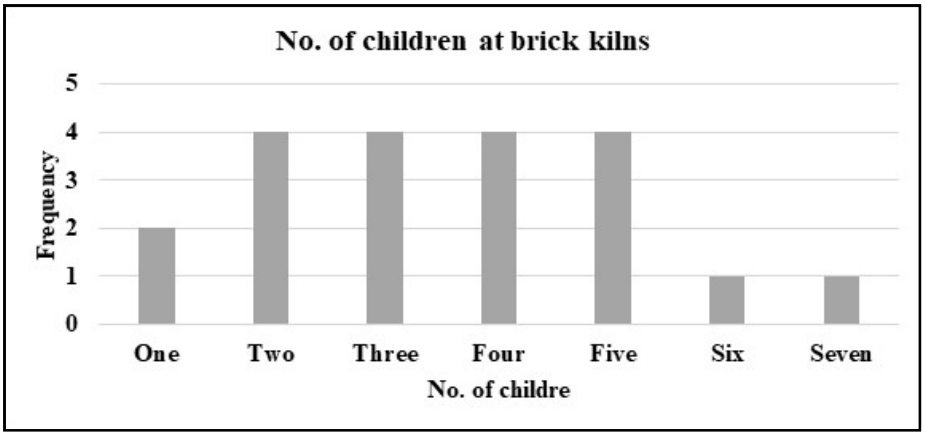


Interpretation

Table 4 presents data on the number of family members of participants working in brick kilns, with frequencies and percentages for each category. The majority of participants, comprising 45.0%, have 4-6 family members. Additionally, 25.0% each have families consisting of 6-8 members and 8-10 members. Only a small proportion, 5.0%, have 10 or more family members. This distribution underscores the varying sizes of families among participants in the brick kiln industry. It suggests that a significant portion of workers have relatively smaller families, while a smaller but notable percentage have larger families. Understanding the composition of participants' families is crucial for comprehending their socio-economic dynamics and potential implications for labor conditions within the brick kiln sector.Top of Form

Table 5: No of children working in brick Klink.

No. of Children at Brick Kilns	Frequency	Per cent
1	2	**10.0%**
2	4	**20.0%**
3	4	**20.0%**
4	4	**20.0%**
5	4	**20.0%**
6	1	**5.0%**
7	1	**5.0%**
Total	**20**	**100.0**



Interpretations

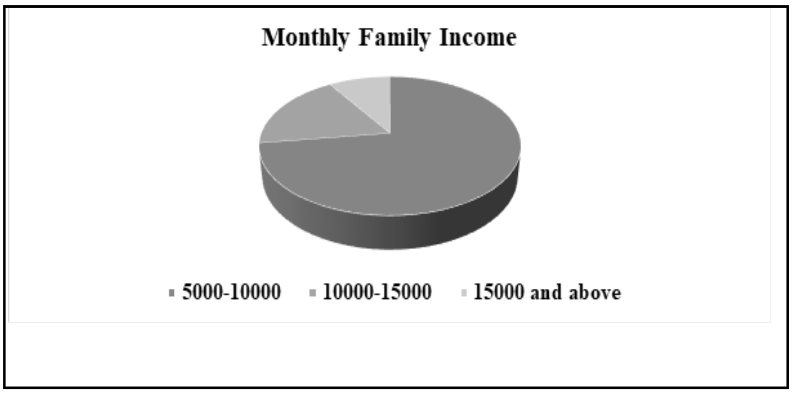
Table 5 outlines the number of children working in brick kilns, providing frequencies and percentages for each category. The data reveals a diverse distribution

https://doi.org/10.31995/rjpsss.2024v50i01.9

of several children engaged in labor within the brick kiln industry. Notably, 10.0% of participants have one child working at brick kilns, while the majority, comprising 20.0% each, have two, three, four, or five children involved in such work. Additionally, 5.0% of participants have six or seven children working in brick kilns. This distribution underscores the prevalence of child labor within families associated with the brick kiln sector. It indicates that a significant proportion of families rely on multiple children to contribute to their income through labor in brick kilns. Understanding the extent of child labor in this context is essential for addressing associated socio-economic challenges and ensuring the welfare of affected children.

Table 6: Monthly Family Income of the participants working in Brick Klink.

Monthly Family Income	Frequency	Per cent
5000-10000	8	**45.0%**
10000-15000	2	**55.0%**
15000 and above	1	**5.0%**
Total	**20**	**100.0%**



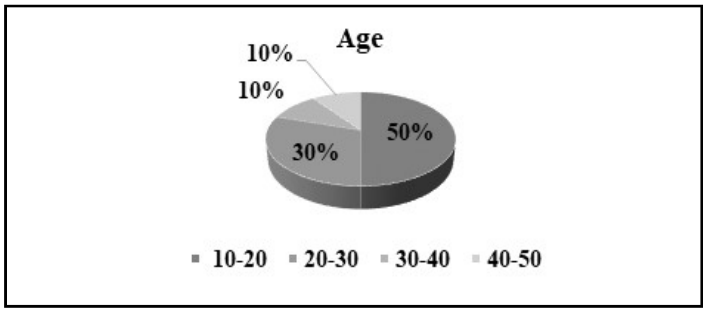
Interpretation

Table 6 presents data on the monthly family income of participants working in brick kilns, with frequencies and percentages for each income range. The majority of participants, accounting for 45.0%, report a monthly family income ranging from 5000 to 10000 units. Additionally, 55.0% of participants indicate an income between 10000 and 15000 units, while only 5.0% report a monthly income of 15000 units and above. This distribution highlights the varied income levels among families associated with the brick kiln industry, with a significant portion falling within lower income brackets. The data underscores the financial challenges faced by many

families reliant on income from brick kiln work and emphasizes the importance of addressing economic disparities within the sector. Understanding the income dynamics of participants is crucial for developing targeted interventions aimed at improving their socio-economic well-being and livelihood opportunities.

Table 7: Age of the participants working in brick Klink.

Age	Frequency	Per cent
20-30	10	**50.0%**
30-40	6	**30.0%**
40-50	2	**10.0%**
50-60	2	**10.0%**
Total	20	**100.0%**



Interpretations

Table 7 outlines the age distribution of participants working in brick kilns, presenting frequencies and percentages for each age range. The data reveals a varied demographic profile among individuals engaged in brick kiln work. Half of the participants, constituting 50.0%, fall within the age range of 20-30 years, indicating a significant presence of younger individuals in this sector. Additionally, 30.0% of participants are aged between 30 and 40 years, while 10.0% each belong to the age groups of 40-50 years and 50-60 years. The data indicates that a concentration of younger individuals in the brick kiln workforce. This distribution underscores the diverse age demographics within the industry, with a notable presence of both majority younger and minority older workers. Understanding the age composition of participants is essential for addressing various socio-economic challenges and implementing targeted interventions to improve labor conditions and livelihood opportunities within the brick kiln sector.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the comprehensive analysis of the various tables detailing aspects of the brick kiln industry sheds light on several critical dimensions of labor

https://doi.org/10.31995/rjpsss.2024v50i01.9

dynamics within this sector. These dimensions include educational backgrounds, working hours, types of work, family demographics, child labor prevalence, income levels, and age distribution among participants. The findings highlight the significant prevalence of lower educational attainment among workers, with a notable proportion being illiterate or having minimal schooling. Moreover, the data illustrates a prevalent trend towards longer working hours, particularly with 50.0% of participants working shifts of 8 hours or more.

Additionally, the diverse distribution of work types underscores the varied tasks undertaken within brick kilns, with the majority engaged in "Pathera" roles. Family demographics reveal varying household sizes, with a significant proportion having 4-6 family members. The prevalence of child labor is evident, with many families relying on multiple children to contribute to their income. Income levels vary, with a substantial portion falling within lower income brackets, emphasizing the economic challenges faced by brick kiln workers. The age distribution indicates a significant presence of younger individuals, particularly those aged 10-20 years, alongside older workers aged 50-60 years. These insights provide a comprehensive understanding of the socio-economic dynamics and labor conditions within the brick kiln industry, highlighting areas for potential intervention to improve worker welfare and address socio-economic challenges within the sector.

References

1. Baland, J.M., Robinson, J.A. (2000). Is Child Labour Inefficient? *Journal of Political Economy.* 108(4). Pg. **663–79.**
2. Basu, K., Van, P.H. (1998). The Economics of Child Labour. *American Economic Review.* 88(3). Pg. **412–27.**
3. Bhalotra, S. (2000). Is Child Labour Necessary?. working paper, University of Cambridge: UK.
4. Breman, J. (1978). Seasonal Migration and Co-operative Capitalism. Crushing of Cane and Labour by Sugar Factories of Bardoli. *Economic and Political Weekly*. August. Special Issue. Pg. **1317–60.**
5. Deliège, R. (1989). Mobility Among the Brick Makers of South India. Man and India. 69(1).
6. Dessy, S., Pallage, S. (2005). A Theory of Worst Forms of Child Labour. *The Economic Journal.* 115(500). Pg. **68–87.**
7. Ercelawn, A., Nauman, M. (2004). Unfree Labour in South Asia. Debt Bondage at Brick Kilns in Pakistan. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 29 May. Pg. **2235–42.**

8. Gupta, J. (2003). Informal Labour in Brick Kilns: Need for Regulation. Economic and Political Weekly. 2 August.
9. Grootaert, C., Kanbur, R. (1995). Child Labour: A Review. working paper 1454. *Development Economic*. World Bank.
10. Human Rights Watch. (1996). The Small Hands of Slavery: Bonded Child Labor in India. HRW Children's Right Project. Available at: http:// www.hrw.org/reports/1996/ India3.html Human Rights Watch (2003) 'Small Change: Bonded Child Labour in India's Silk Industry', HRW 15(2c).
11. ILO. (1999). C182 Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention. Geneva. Jacquemin, M. (2002). Travail domestique et travail des enfants: le cas d'Abidjan (Côte-D'Ivoire). Domestic Work and Child Labour: The Case of Abidjan (Ivory Coast). *Revue Tiers Monde* 63(170).
12. Rogers, C.A., Swinnerton, K. (2002). A Theory of Exploitative Child Labor. working paper, US Department of Labor. Bureau of International Labor Affairs.
13. Ghosh, Ruma. (2004). Brick kiln workers: A Study of Migration. Labour process and Employment. V.V. Giri National Labour Institute: Noida.
14. Varma, Subodh., Kumar, Mahesh. (2006). From Leather Artisans to Brick-kiln Workers Narratives of Weary Travellers. V.V. Giri National Labour Institute: Noida.
15. Schlemmer, B. (1997). Proposition de recherche sur l'exploitation des enfants au travail, faites aux sciences sociales, qui, en France, ignore encore la question. ('Suggestion of Research on Exploitation of Child Labour to Social Sciences, who, in France, Ignore this Question'). *Recherches Internationales.* 50. Pg. **67–88.**
16. UNICEF. (2000). Les enfants domestiques. ('The Domestic Children'). Innocenti Digest. Florence: UNICEF.