

CHAPTER V

DON BOSCO TECH: A CASE STUDY

Section I : The organisation:

History of Don Bosco Tech:

Don Bosco Tech (DBT) started its activities in Hospet, Bellary District, Karnataka in 1987. Initially, it started providing technical education in the Tungabhadra dam area. Later on, a stretch of 10 acres of barren land was purchased at a cheap price where the present centre is located. In 1989, the Technical School was started on the premises for the drop-outs of the formal school system and for those who wanted to continue with their schooling. This evolved out of a consideration that those who could not continue with the present system of education should have an alternative system available which could equip them with essential skills. Almost an off-shoot of this, at a later stage, it was thought to begin work for the elimination of child labour with a similar pattern of education model. Presence of child labour in the automobile industry, a majority of whom were school drop-outs and the motivation to reach out to them as they were not catered to by any organisation, lead to the idea of initiating a project for working children. However, almost 8 to 10 years were spent in resolving the differences at the Provinciate level where members wanted to have projects on formal education as against work with child labourers. Finally, with a great deal of perseverance, the Child Labour Project (CLP) was initiated. Don Bosco Tech also runs a number of other programmes along with the CLP. There is a Centre for Social Action which includes work in the villages, mainly on literacy; Child Labour Mission, Karnataka; Technical School for the children; Leprosy Project and the Street Educators' training programme through action. The organisation has recently opened five centres for working children in Davangere district of Karnataka. This region was chosen as the DBT found that the drop-out rate and the incidence of child labour was high and the organisation also

had human resources to initiate activity in this region. As the work in these centres was still to take shape, the researcher did not include it in her study.

Context of work:

The automobile industry virtually thrives in Hospet. Since the mining operations are carried out in the adjacent areas the heavy vehicles used for transportation of the iron ore feed the auto repair industry. There are all kinds of repair shops, some undertaking all kinds of work under the same roof and others which undertake only a specific part on the entire job. The researcher was informed by the unit owners that the mushrooming of the repair units in the area has been due to the system of sub-contracting. Very often, specific jobs are contracted and sub-contracted in order to cope with the increasing demand as well as to deliver the goods as early as possible. Employment of children in this activity further satisfies the needs of the employers as the children can be made to play a 'helpers' role increasing the productivity of the adults and the excessive demands can be met by making the children work for very long hours and at times even overnight.

Ideology of Don Bosco Tech:

The DBT is still evolving its ideas on the process of eliminating child labour. Much of this is influenced by their earlier experiences of working with street children and destitute children¹. The DBT believes that the problem of child labour is very complex and that there are no ready made solutions to tackle it adequately. It holds the position that child labour is fundamentally in violation of the childhood as it robs the child of his/her opportunity to education, play and develop. Therefore the problem has to be eradicated. However, there are several socio-economic factors in the child's environment which compel the child to take up employment presently. Hence the goal of eradicating child labour can be achieved only in a long run. It believes in concentrating on the children who are already

labourers and providing them with some opportunities so that their childhood can be restored as much as possible. In order to bring this in practice, it defines the restoration of childhood as comprising of two main aspects viz. education and recreation. However, since the last two years, the DBT has also looked at preventive measures in order to achieve their long-term goal of eliminating child labour.

Approach to work:

The Child Labour Project of the Don Bosco Tech is presently dealing with the issue of child labour with the twin approaches of preventive and ameliorative:

Preventive approach consists of three pronged activities.

a. Conscientisation and Campaign Against Child Labour: Programmes such as street plays, cultural programmes, and rallies are arranged in the villages and the township areas for generating awareness with an active participation of the children and child labourers. Besides this, the Children's Day is celebrated each year as the Child Labour Free Day in Hospet. Employers in the town are persuaded to give the day off for the child labourers and the DBT organises several programmes for them on the day. The Labour Inspector and the Assistant Commissioner of Labour as well as the local MLA are also involved in the programme.

b. Prevention of School Drop-outs: The DBT has found that a number of children drop out of the school as they are unable to cope with the studies and due to the lack of support from their homes as they are first generation learners. These children eventually drop out and join the ranks of the working children. In order to stop the entry of the children in the labour force from this channel, the DBT firstly identifies these children and organises evening classes for school going children who are the potential drop-outs where they are helped with their daily lessons. The status of these children is also followed up on.

c. School Enrollment: By providing supportive services for the children who are potential drop-outs, the focus is restricted to the children who are already in the school. A large number of the child population is never enrolled in the schools and they directly form a group of potential child labourers. This was found to be especially a strong trend in the villages that were covered under the Centre for Social Action project of the DBT since the last three years. Recently, a survey of families in two municipal wards was done before the schools re-opened. Children above six years, who were not going to school were identified and their parents were motivated to send them to school.

The preventive approach has not been rigorously pursued by the DBT in comparison to the ameliorative approach. The ameliorative approach consists of providing opportunities to the children so as to restore at least a part of their lost childhood. The intervention in this area is as follows:

a. Non Formal Education (NFE): This action has been initiated in order to restore the child's right to education. The DBT believes that the working children have missed out on their opportunity to get education, and that it can be substituted as much as possible by way of NFE. They first started with the National Literacy Mission and the material available with them which stressed on environmental teaching methods. They found that this method was not very effective with the children and they therefore decided to fall back on the usual material of the formal schools which also helped in the integration of children in the formal schools in future. The only modification that is made is with respect to the teaching methodologies used which are more child-centred. Innovative games, songs, etc. are evolved to make learning more interesting.

When DBT planned to start NFE classes for the children engaged in the automobile industry, they found that it was difficult to get the children relieved from their place of work. Therefore they thought of tapping the official channel and sought the permission of the Labour Inspector to hold the NFE classes for children working in the automobile industry of that

area. The permission letter granted by the Inspector stated that the children were to be relieved for at least two hours every day so that they could attend the classes run by DBT. The letter indicated an indifferent attitude on the part of the official as the intention was to allow the children to work (though it is prohibited under the law) but an interest in seeing that the children get to experience some amount of their childhood while continuing to lead adult-like lives. However, it could also be interpreted as a creative use of the position power of the official in order to begin helping the children in the first place instead of seeking a purely legal solution which may have left them out of their employment or in a situation which may have not been any better.

Though the activists have not had to use the permission letter issued by the Office of the Labour Inspector, the activists are in a position to demand that the employers co-operate with the non-formal education project of the DBT. Most employers do not mind sending the children to the classes for a couple of hours. So far the letter has never been shown to the employers in order to get the children to the classes, but in a couple of occasions the activists had to tell the employers about such a permission letter from the Labour Inspector. During the data collection the researcher also got an opportunity to observe how the activists initiated contacts for starting a new centre on the T. B. Dam Road. It was observed that the employers readily agreed to send the children in one case when the activists explained about the work of the NGO to them, while in the other case, the activist had to visit more than once and use peer pressure of the other employers on the employer who was being brought around.

The programmes are run at the employers' workplaces or under a tree or a school playground. In one case the centre runs at a saw mill and the activist-teacher and the pupils sit on the large trunks of trees that are strewn all over. At present the classes are being run at eight centres. The social workers and the volunteers go to the areas, meet the employers and get the children to come to these centres. There are over 200 working

children attending the centres. Besides literacy, classes on health and hygiene are also conducted. Children are educated on their rights and the exploitation involved in their employment.

b. Mainstreaming children's education: The DBT views that the non-formal education provided to the children should be at par with the regular schooling system so that their integration is facilitated. Therefore, child labourers are prepared for the 7th standard government examination as private candidates. In the year 1994-95, 22 child labourers wrote the 7th standard examination of which 15 children passed. Two of these children are doing their S.S.L.C. this year and they are provided with special tuition for the same. Certain children who are also encouraged by their families are mainstreamed in the formal schools. The percentage of these children is low as the DBT has been largely concentrating on the child at the workplace and not on the families or the communities from where the children come. It has been in close touch with the migrant communities who are engaged in the loading and unloading of the iron ore in the railway wagons. The children who have been integrated in the formal schools largely come from this community.

c. Recreation: The DBT believes that recreation is a must for every child and child labourers are no exceptions. Activity in all the eight centres begins and ends with half an hour of games, quite often improvised, depending on the availability of space. Picnics are organised for the children periodically. Most of the working children get a half day off on Saturdays. On these days Weekend Orientation Programme is organised at the DBT campus for the working children. This comprises of various recreation, personality development and critical awareness modules.

Strategy of Partnership:

One of the essential features of all the above mentioned activities of the DBT is the partnership that it has sought to achieve with various elements

of the action system. These partnerships are found to have been developed as a conscious effort to improve the impact of their work in the area of child labour. These partnerships are evident in the case of three main actors in the change process. Firstly, the employers of the children. The DBT has not viewed the employers in an adversarial role but as partners in providing the children with an experience of childhood. This is seen in the fact that the point of reaching out to the child is the workplace and the significant adults in the child's environment who are made to motivate the child to study and play are the employers. The service delivery does not happen in the context of the family or the community but in the context of the workplace as DBT does not believe in creating big infrastructure. The support of the employers as observed by the researcher came to the fore with the employers providing a place to the children to study, keeping their note-books, pens and other paraphernalia after the class hours, paying an occasional visit at the 'school area' to see whether the children are attentive and reprimanding them if they are not paying attention to what is being taught. In her interviews with the employers, the researcher found that in a few cases the parents were not willing to send the children to the classes, but the employer motivated the parents using his position power. This fact was later confirmed by the activists also. The DBT has found that at times the employers are not convinced about the child's need to play and though they do not mind sending the child labourers to the centres to study, some of them certainly mind if the child 'wastes' time playing at the centre.

The second dimension of partnership is found with the labour officials. Instead of playing a cynical role of criticising the labour officials, their offices have been used creatively to support the functioning of the programme. By institutionalising the partnership with the labour officials by way of a permission letter, the DBT has tried to tackle the problem of non-cooperation that is likely to arise with the periodical transfers of the officials.

The third dimension of partnership is found with the volunteers who have been able to carry out the functioning of the project in a committed manner. The researcher does not know whether this may have been possible with the paid staff. However, the volunteers are capable of taking the project to only a certain level, beyond which trained expertise would be called for.

Funding:

The organisation functions on a shoe string budget of less than a lakh per year. The CLP is partially supported by the Provinciate and partly from the voluntary donations that are mobilised by the activists as well as the Project In-Charge. A majority of the staff members are volunteers some of whom receive partial stipend. The others are themselves recipients of the services of DBT such as training in the vocational institute or support for formal education. There are no expenses for running the day to day activities of DBT. Whenever there is a special programme planned, funds are raised from the community at large. The researcher was informed that the DBT had not had any problems in carrying out any activity for want of funds. The 'cost-effectiveness' of the CLP is an important element of their functioning. The researcher did not find any uncalled for expenses incurred for the purposes of helping the children. With practically no infrastructure and a staff comprising of mainly volunteers, the DBT has been able to deliver the services even with a very low budget. This is an important point to be noted as it is very often believed that the paucity of funds is a major obstacle in running any sound programme.

Staffing:

The DBT has an active Youth Group, members from which are actively involved in the Child Labour Project. These volunteers far outnumber the paid staff. The organisation has a total staff of 15 with only four as paid staff. The rest are volunteers who are either doing their studies and are part of the youth group. The researcher found that these volunteers willingly spend four to five hours daily conducting classes for the working

children. This motivation springs up from the fact that they have also been working children in their past or have struggled to get themselves educated. Having received the help from the priests of DBT, because of which they find their own situations improving, they would like to extend the same help to others who can come up like them in future. The paid staff had also started as volunteers. The DBT started paying them salaries when it perceived some financial difficulty experienced by the volunteers such as higher education, death of bread earner, starting up with a business after being trained at the training institute, etc. The organisation is of the view that there should be a mix of voluntary and paid staff so that some amount of commitment is definitely reflected in the service delivery.

Section II Profiles of the child beneficiaries:

The researcher took a purposive sample of forty children from the following centres run by the DBT: Depot Road, Vasavi School, Centre near Vasavi school, Hampi Road Saw Mill centre, Bellary road centre, railway station centre, village centre. The following findings were gathered from the data that was obtained from the child beneficiaries:

Personal Profiles of the Children:

Age: Three-fourth of the total number of children that were studied belonged to the age group of 11 to 13. The youngest child was 7 years while the oldest child was 16 years old. The average age for the respondents was 11.75 years.

Sex: A majority of the respondents were boys and only 3 respondents interviewed were girls. This reflected a strong focus on boys as beneficiaries than girls which was also confirmed with interviews with the representatives of the organisation.

Religion: Seventy percent of the respondents were Muslims by religion whereas 30% were Hindus.

Ordinal position: With respect to the ordinal position of the children in the family, it was found that 38% percent of the respondents were the eldest in the family where as the remaining majority were not the eldest among siblings or were the only children of their families.

Education: Among all the respondents studied, 75% of the children had been enrolled in the school while only 25% had never been to the school. From those who had been to the school, almost half of them had dropped out after their 2nd Std while about 37% had dropped out after completing their primary education i.e. up to Std 4th. The remaining 14% of the children had continued their schooling up to Std. 7th after which they had dropped out. The mean number of years for being drop-outs was three years. The children gave multiple reasons for dropping out of school. A maximum number of children (60%) had discontinued their education because their parents had not wanted to send the children to school any more. This was followed by 23% of the respondents stating that they had dropped out because they had not liked the school or matters related to the school, namely, the teacher, studies, etc.; while poverty was the reason stated by only 17% of the respondents. The other reasons stated were due to their own illness and due to failure in the examinations each accounting for 10% of the responses and the necessity to help the parents with their work, lack of money for education and death of the bread earner each accounting for 7% of the responses provided by the children. It is thus evident that the reasons such as poverty, lack of monetary support for education or death of the bread earner do not figure as the main factors for the discontinuation of education. The factors related to the school and the attitudes of the children's parents towards school education seem to have played a major role in the children's dropping out of school.

Migration Status: Among the children studied, 20% had migrated from other parts of the district to the present location, a majority of them being children engaged in the loading and unloading of the iron ore at railway

station. Among those who had migrated, half of the children had done so for economic reasons while the other half had migrated along with their parents for reasons that they were not aware of.

Family Profiles:

Family size: The majority of the children (almost 58%) came from families with 6 to 10 members while the remaining came from families with 2 to 6 members.

Parental education: With respect to the education of the fathers of the respondent it was found that a majority of the fathers (75%) were illiterate. Among the remaining, 7% were educated up to Std. 4th and about 18% till Std. 8th. With respect to the education of the mothers of the respondents, the researcher found that almost 88% of the mothers were illiterate. Out of the remaining, three mothers had studied till the primary level while the remaining two had studied till SSLC level.

Employment Profiles:

Age at starting work: Almost half (45%) of the respondents had started work while they were in the age group of 9 to 11 while 30% had started work while they were between the ages of 7 to 9 years. As many as 18% of the children had started work at a tender age of 5 to 7 years, while about 8% had started work when they were between 11 to 13 years of age. The duration of work was 6 to 8 years for 7 % of the respondents while 20% had worked for 4 to 6 years. Almost 38% of the respondents interviewed had been working from 2 to 4 years while the remaining 35% had been working for less than 2 years.

Hours of work: Most children work for more than 10 hours every day. All the children who worked for less than 10 hours were in the age group of 11 to 13 years. Children in the eldest age category did not work for the highest number of hours. The children in the age group of 15 to 17 years

worked for the maximum of 12 to 14 hours. It was found that there were less number of Hindu children working for long hours compared to the Muslim children. Presently, the proportion of children working for lesser hours is higher in the group of family size of 2 to 6 than of those in the category of 6 to 10 members. Presently, the minimum hours of work put in by children who are the eldest sibling are higher than the maximum hours put in by the non-eldest children. Children of illiterate parents were found to work for longer hours presently than children of literate parents.

Mode of recruitment: Over half the number of respondents (57%) were recruited through their parents while 20% were recruited through their friends, relatives or neighbours. However as many as 23% of the children had gone to the employers for seeking employment themselves.

Indebtedness: A majority of the children (93%) did not receive any loans from the employers ever during the course of their employment whereas the remaining respondents had received loans up to Rs. 100 from the employer. There are no trends visible of the number of hours of children's work as determined by the child's indebtedness. However, those with loans spent lesser hours on development than those without and were found to avail of only the NFE services. None of the children with loans felt positive about their employment.

Nature of work done: As many as 75% of the children studied were engaged in the automobile industry involving various jobs such as mechanical, welding, electrical and lathe work. The remaining were engaged in loading and unloading of the iron ore (8%), shops/hotels and brick-kilns each with 5% and one respondent each from domestic work, construction work and street child. Besides the job for which the respondents were engaged, the employers in many cases asked them to carry out certain other odd jobs at the workplace. Only 28% did not have to engage in these odd jobs. As many as 68% of the children had to run errands for the employer, while two children had to do the employer's domestic work as well as cleaning their workplace for which they were not

paid any extra income. The researcher found out that the children who did not do odd jobs for the employer worked for longer hours in the household but also spent the longest hours on the developmental activities at present.

Training component in the job: Due to the nature of work engaged in by the respondents, a majority of them (68%) had received some training as part of their orientation to their employment. Among these, 81% received on-the-job training for less than a year from the employers and the co-workers while the others received it for more than one year. The respondents however informed the researcher that as the process of training happened on the job they would require many more years of experience till they acquire all the skills involved in the job.

Change in the occupation and employer: Almost 23% of the children interviewed had changed their occupation at least once. The reasons for these were: 33% had changed on account of low wages and as the employer had stopped employing children for fear of prosecution; 23% had changed their occupation as their parents had wanted them to do so and 23% had changed as they did not like the job. The remaining children did not give any particular reason. The trend of changing the employers was found to be stronger than the trend of changing the occupation altogether as 40% of the respondents had worked with different employers in the past. A majority of them (62.5%) had changed from one employer to the other only once while the remaining had changed between two to four times. The reasons for changing the employer were mainly related to the working conditions such as payment of low wages, lack of interest in the given work and abuses and punishments from the employers and the adult co-workers accounting for 94%. The other reasons were the long distance from the place of residence, and peer pressure.

Reasons for working: The children gave multiple reasons for working: almost half of the total number of respondents (47.5%) reportedly were

working as their parents wanted them to work. More than half of the children (85%) stated reasons that were economic in nature such as indebtedness of the family (25%), to supplement family income on account of large families (22.5%), acute poverty (20%), death of the principal bread earner (12.5%), and acute financial loss to the family (5%). A sizable number of children also gave other reasons for taking up employment such as the respondent was idling away time and had nothing else to do and due to peer pressure (23%) while 12.5% of the respondents had taken up employment in order to learn the skills involved in the job.

Attitudes towards employment: The percentage of children who had negative feelings about being a working child was 50%. Only, 18% of the respondents felt positively and liked to be engaged in employment while 30% of the children liked certain aspects of the work as well as also disliked being put to work and thus had mixed feelings. The feelings towards work are found to be negative in the younger age group, i.e. 7 to 9 years; whereas it is positive or mixed in the eldest age group, i.e. 15 to 17 years. Children from the income group of Rs. 900 and below have negative feelings towards their employment whereas, children coming from higher income groups (Rs. 1000 and above) have positive or mixed feelings. In cases where the children have started work at a very early age, i.e. between 5 to 7 years, a majority of the children feel negatively about their employment except one child who has mixed feelings.

Services received from the organisation:

Almost half of the respondents (43%) have been beneficiaries of the organisation since 2 to 8 months whereas 38% of them have been beneficiaries of DBT for 8 to 14 months. The remaining respondents have been with DBT for 14 to 26 months. The duration of being a beneficiary has nothing to do with the child's status in the formal education. The new

beneficiaries are found to be spending more number of hours on the development programmes.

The respondents stated of having availed the following services from those provided by the DBT. Almost all the children (95%) are getting benefited from the non-formal education classes whereas 82% availed the recreation facilities provided at the centres. Only two children stated of having received education material while only one child was being benefited by the training centre being run by the DBT.

The researcher found that from the point of view of the children themselves, the primary impact that the services have had on their lives as working children has been that they had started acquiring reading and writing skills. This was stated by a majority of the respondents (88%). The next important benefit perceived by the children (65%) was that the classes conducted by the NGO gave them a chance to be free and enjoy their childhood albeit for a little while. Almost 45% of the children stated that the recreation provided by the activists during the class hours as well as those planned for the weekends benefited them tremendously as they did not get a chance to play while at work. Around twenty percent of the respondents thought that the classes had lead to a reduction in the hours of work while 10% had been mainstreamed into the formal school by DBT. Three children felt that by being the beneficiaries of DBT, they had received opportunities for personality development.

Section III Impact of the intervention on children

The situation of children after the intervention is understood with the help of three dependent variables which are a) the present status of the children who are the beneficiaries of the DBT, b) the differences in the hours spent by the beneficiaries on work, household work and developmental activities, and; c) the protection/violation of the rights of the child Let us examine each of these variables in detail:

Present Status of the Children:

As observed earlier, though the DBT has the main focus on providing non-formal education and recreation to the child labourers, it has also released children from their work settings by strategies such as mainstreaming in formal school and placement in training centres. The present status of the children has been categorised on the basis of the activities pursued by the children presently as a result of the DBT intervention. Among the forty respondents, a majority (35 children) of the respondents were engaged in full time employment and were also attending the classes run by DBT during their working hours. Five children were removed from full time employment, one of whom was placed in formal school and one in the training centre run by the DBT. One child was also engaged in household work besides attending the formal school whereas two children were engaged in their employment on a part time basis although they were placed in the formal school. Thus, three of the five children who were removed from full time employment continued to be employed on a part time basis. This follows the organisation's policy of immediate regulation of child labour (with a majority of its beneficiaries still continuing to work while getting opportunities to restore their childhood) and long term eradication of child labour (with a few children who were removed from full time employment). The following table presents the distribution of the beneficiaries according to their present status.

Table 1. DBT - Distribution of children according to their present status

Status of the child	No. of children	% of the total
Formal school only	1	2.5
Formal school + work	2	5
Formal school + household work	1	2.5
Training	1	2.5
Work and NFE	35	87.5
Total	40	100

However, the present status alone does not give a comprehensive picture of the situation of the child labourers. In order to understand how far the rights of the working children are protected or violated as per their present status, the following data is revealing.

Data about children who are presently combining formal school and work indicates the following scores. The mean score on survival before as well as after intervention was 3 out of total 8 points, that on protection was 9 out of 14 both before and after intervention, and that on participation had also not changed after the intervention and was at 3 points out of 3 points. The only score to have changed was the development score which reduced from 5 out of 5 points before intervention to 2 out of 5 points after intervention. Thus the average total score reduced from 21 to 17 points out of 30 points after the intervention of the DBT indicating a decrease in the violation of the rights of the child by 4 points. This is predictably due to the opportunity for schooling and recreation which are available for the children.

For the child who is combining formal school and domestic work, the scores on the development vector have strongly improved by having reduced from 5 out of 5 points before intervention to 1 out of 5 points after intervention. The scores on survival have also marginally improved as they have gone down from 4 out of 8 before intervention to 3 out of 8 points after intervention. The scores on protection as well as participation have not changed in spite of the intervention and have remained at 8 out of 14 and 3 out of 3 points respectively. The average total score of the children reduced from 20 to 15 points out of a total of 30 points indicating a decrease of 5 points in the violation of the rights of the child. The change in the development scores is once again due to the mainstreaming of the child in a formal school and the marginal reduction in the survival scores could be due to the removal of the child from employment outside the home and the engagement of the child in the housework after school hours which is less threatening than the former.

However the pressures of the work still continue to be present even in the household sector which is reflected in the same protection scores both before and after intervention.

The change in the scores of the children engaged in full time employment and undergoing non-formal education are once again not very drastic. The survival scores before and after the intervention have not undergone any change and are 3.97 out of 8 points; and nor have the participation scores of 2.97 out of 3 points both before and after intervention. The development scores have improved with a reduction of the scores from 4.22 out of 5 points before intervention to 1.23 out of 5 points after intervention. The protection scores have marginally improved from 8.6 out of 14 points to 7.74 out of 14 points. Thus the average total score reduced from 19.76 to 15.91 points after the intervention. The improvement in the development scores can once again be attributed to the DBT 's NFE programme. The marginal reduction in the violation of the protection rights may be due to the reduction in a few hours of work of the children, once again on account of the NFE classes.

Data on the past scores of children who have been removed from full time employment reveals the following: In case of the formal school going child the survival score was 4 out of 8 points, protection score was 10 out of 14 points, development score was 5 out of 5 points and participation score was 3 out of 3 points. Thus the average total score for children in this category was 22 points out of 30 points. The past scores of the child undergoing training are 4 out of 8 points on survival, 11 out of 14 on protection, 5 out of 5 on development and 3 out of 3 on participation. Thus the average total score was 23 out of 30 points for children who went to the formal school. Thus the child going to formal school had marginally better scores indicating a lower violation of the rights than the child currently undergoing training before the intervention of the DBT.

The multiple regression analysis to understand whether the children are in the NFE classes or otherwise as a dependent variable with the sex of the child, level of child's education, child's religion and migration status as independent variables is found to be statistically significant with the value of the F ratio being 7.42 which is significant at even 1% level of confidence. With respect to the magnitude of this estimation, the data indicates that 45% of the variance in the present status of the child can be accounted for by the child's sex, level of education, religion and migration status in combination (co-efficient of determination R square value being 0.45). With respect to the individual contributions of the independent variables, child's religion and the migration status contribute significantly to the regression (with t-ratio being 2.83 and 3.45 respectively) at 5% level of confidence assuming that the other variables are constant; while the variables of sex of the child and the education level do not significantly explain the dependent variable which in this case is the present status of the child.

Differences in the time spent on various activities:

The numbers of hours that the child labourers spent on work, housework and developmental activities before the DBT's intervention and after the intervention were recorded. The activities of the children have been divided into work or employment, household work, and developmental activities.

With respect to employment: The researcher found that the mean number of hours spent on work by the children in the past was 11.4 hours; while the number of hours spent currently on work had a mean of 9.2 hours. Thus, the average number of hours spent on work was lowered by 2.2 hours. This mean had a standard deviation of 2.274 where the maximum difference for some children was 12 hours and the minimum was one hour. This can be explained on account of the present status of the children. The following table depicts the differences in the time spent by

children on employment, both before and after the intervention of the organisation.

Table 2. DBT - Difference in the time spent on employment

Time spent on employment	Average Number of Hours
Prior to the intervention	11.4
After the intervention	9.2
Average Reduction	2.2

Children who were presently going to the formal school spent very little or no time doing the work carried out by them earlier. However, for a majority of the children who were currently pursuing the non-formal education offered by the organisation for two hours daily, the reduction in the number of hours spent on work has been a little over two hours. This can be explained by the fact that the children were relieved from their employment by their respective employers for two hours so that they could get an opportunity to attend the classes run by DBT. This reduction in the hours of work is real in the case of a majority of the children who are undergoing non-formal education at the workplace because the children are not made to compensate for the hours spent in the classes by putting in extra hours of work by the employer. If it were so only the number of hours spent on developmental activities would have increased and there would not have been any reduction in the hours spent on work.

Over half of the respondents spent 12 to 14 hours daily on work or employment prior to the intervention of DBT. About 35% of the children spent from 4 to 10 hours daily whereas about 13% spent from 14 to 16 hours daily on employment. However, after the intervention from DBT, none of the children spent 14 to 16 on employment and the minimum number of hours spent on work also reduced from 4 to 3. About 58% of

the respondents spent less than 10 hours on work whereas 35% spent 11 to 14 hours. The remaining children were removed from employment.

When a multiple regression analysis is done for the difference in the hours of work put in by the children before and after the intervention of the NGO as a dependent variable, with the child's age, sex, level of education, religion, migration status, ordinal position, family size, family income, parental education, age at starting work, duration of being in employment and duration of being a beneficiary as independent variables, the F ratio is 0.437 which is not significant at 5% level of confidence. Thus we can say that the above mentioned independent variables do not explain the differences in the children's hours of work in a statistically significant manner and there could be certain other variables which were not covered in the study which may explain the behaviour of the dependent variable.

With respect to household work: The difference in the time spent by children on household work, before and after the intervention is presented in the following table.

Table 3. DBT - Difference in the time spent on household work

Time spent on household work	Average number of hours
Prior to the intervention	0.85
After the intervention	0.9
Average reduction	-0.05

With respect to the number of hours spent on household work, it was found that the mean number of hours spent by the children on household work was 0.85 hours before and 0.9 hours after the intervention. The average difference was thus very marginal of -0.05 indicating that the number of hours spent on household tasks had slightly increased after the

intervention. All the girls fall in the category of the least spent hours on development, i.e. one hour daily. All the girls have to do the household work whereas almost half of the boys do not do any household work. The situation of girls involvement in household work is still as bad as what it was before the intervention of DBT as the highest number of hours that were spent on household work for the girls have gone up by one hour. The reasons for the non-reduction of the number of hours spent on household work by the children may have occurred since DBT does not work with the families of the children and has therefore not had any impact on the work life of children within their own homes and secondly most of the housework is carried out by girls and since female child labourers have not been in focus of attention for DBT, it is likely that this area of work has remained unattended. However, the increase in the number of hours is very marginal and is thus likely to have occurred by chance. About 45% of the children did not spend any time on household work before as well as after the intervention of DBT and another 45% spent around one hour daily on household work both before and after intervention of the organisation. The remaining 10% of the respondents did 2 to 6 hours of housework before the intervention from DBT and after the intervention the same percentage continued to spend 2 to 7 hours on housework.

With the difference in the hours of household work of children before and after the intervention of the NGO as a dependent variable and the child's age, sex, level of education, religion, migration status of the children, ordinal position, family size, family income, parental education, age at starting work, duration of being in employment and duration of being a beneficiary as independent variables, the F ratio is 4.2 which is significant even at 1% level of confidence. Thus the regression of the differences in the hours spent on housework as a dependent variable with the above mentioned dependent variables is statistically significant and the variance of the same can be accounted for up to 70% with the independent variables in the same combination. However, only sex of the child (with a

t-ratio of 5.9 which is significant at 1% level of confidence), is a statistically significant variable contributing to the dependent variable while the remaining variables are constant.

With respect to development: Before the intervention of the DBT, the child labourers spent a negligible time (0.05) on developmental activities such as education or recreation. However, after becoming the beneficiaries of DBT, the mean hours spent on developmental activities went up to 2.2 hours. Thus the mean increase in the number of hours spent on developmental activities after the intervention was 2.15. Children who were mainstreamed or placed under training by the DBT received up to 10 to 12 hours while a majority of others who were receiving non-formal education started spending approximately two hours per day. The difference in the time spent on development by the children, before and after the intervention is presented in the following table:

Table 4. DBT - Difference in the time spent on development

Time spent on development	Average number of hours
Prior to the intervention	0.05
After the intervention	2.2
Average Increase	2.15

It is important to note at this juncture that the activities conducted by DBT seem to have had only a limited impact and not had any 'snowball effect' i.e. the increase in the hours spent on developmental activities has been directly and only due to the attendance in the two hour classes held by DBT. The impact of this has not penetrated or influenced children's homes or the workplaces as they are not allowed to spend more time on education and recreation besides the time spent by them at the classes run by the NGO.

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Presently, the number of hours spent on development is higher for the boys than for girls. All the girls are presently pursuing NFE along with their regular work, whereas, the children availing the facilities of formal education or training are boys. The majority of the working children from the Hindu and Muslim communities are not in any formal school presently. The proportion of the Hindu working children in formal schools is more but the level of education reached presently is higher among the Muslim working children who are seeking formal education. The number of hours presently spent on development is slightly higher among the children who are not the eldest child in their family than in the case of those who are the eldest children. Presently, children spending more than three hours on development come from families with income of at least Rs. 800, whereas those from the category of Rs. 3000 or Rs. 5000 spend only one or two hours on development. Presently, the hours spent on developmental activities is the highest among children of illiterate parents. About 40% of children of illiterate fathers spend more than one hour on development while children of literate mothers spend an hour or two on developmental activities daily. The children who are currently taking formal education or training have illiterate mothers and children of literate mothers are undergoing NFE along with their work.

In cases where children have started work very early, they are only benefiting from the NFE services of DBT, whereas children who have started work from 7 to 9 years are availing of the formal education. Those children who have started work late are in higher standards in the schools than those who began early. The proportion of those spending highest number of hours on development at present is for children working since 0.5 to 2.5 years. The number of hours spent on development reduces with the increasing duration of work. Those children who have worked for longer years tend to stick only to the NFE, whereas others avail of the formal education system as well.

Except one child who spent one hour daily on recreation, none of the children spent any time on developmental activities in the past. However with the intervention of the organisation, 58% of the children spent at least one hour daily; 27 % spent at least two hours daily on developmental activities; and 15% spent 3 hours and above on various developmental activities. The highest number of hours spent on developmental activities was 12 hours by a child undergoing training whereas the lowest number of hours spent on developmental activities was one hour.

The difference in the hours spent on development activities by the children before and after the intervention of the NGO is the dependent variable tried to be understood with the independent variables of the child's sex, level of education, religion and family income. The regression is statistically significant even at 1% level of confidence with the F ratio being 5.9. The variance of the dependent variable is accounted for 47% by the independent variables in combination ($R^2=0.47$). Only migration status of the child is statistically significant variable with the t-ratio of 4.19 which is significant at 1% level of confidence. However the other independent variables have a low t-ratio and therefore do not contribute significantly to the dependent variable.

Protection/Violation of the Rights of the Child:

The scores of the children on vectors such as the survival, protection, development and participation indicate the extent to which the children's rights with regard to their employment are violated. In cases where the NGO strives to regulate the conditions of work of children as a step towards achieving total removal of children from their employment, the assumption is that the scores on each of the vectors would reduce indicating that the violation with the respective category of right has been reduced.

Survival Rights of the Children: The mean score of all the children² with respect to the survival rights before the intervention of the organisation was 3.925 from a total of 8 points. In order to understand the survival scores of the children prior to the DBT intervention, a multiple regression on the past survival scores as a dependent variable and the child's age, sex, religion, ordinal position, family size, family income, the age at which the child started work, and duration of work as the independent variables, indicate a significant relationship. The F-ratio is 4.5 which is significant at even 1% level of confidence indicating that the past scores of the children on survival could be significantly explained by the above mentioned independent variables in combination. A co-efficient of determination is 0.53 indicating that the dependent variable can be explained by the independent variables up to 53%. Among the independent variables, child's age, sex, religion, family income, the age at which the child started work, and duration of work are all significant at the 5% level of confidence indicating that if all other variables are constant, each of the variables can significantly explain the dependent variable.

The mean of the score on survival rights of the children after the intervention is 3.89 out of 8 points in total³. These present survival scores as a dependent variable was regressed against the child's age, religion, level of education, family size and income, age of starting work, and duration of work as the independent variables. The regression is statistically significant at even 1% level of confidence as the F ratio is 4.94. The co-efficient of determination is 0.57 and thus 57% of the variance in the dependent variable can be accounted by the independent variables combined. All the variables are also found to be statistically significant at 5% level of confidence except the family size and child's education.

Protection Rights of the Children: The mean score on protection of all the children⁴ before the intervention of the organisation was 8.7 out of a total of 14 points. In a multiple regression of the past scores on protection with independent variables of child's age, sex, religion, ordinal position, family

size, family income, the age at which the child started work, and duration of work the F ratio is 0.84 which is very insignificant indicating that the given independent variables cannot explain the protection scores of the children before the intervention of the NGO and that there are certain other factors outside the given explanation which determine the independent variable.

The present score of children with respect to protection rights after the intervention is 7.815 out of 14 points⁵. The present scores of the children on protection as the dependent variables and the child's sex, migration status, level of education and family income as the independent variables were regressed and the F ratio obtained was significant at 5% level of confidence making the regression statistically significant. The R square value of 0.31% indicates that the dependent variable can be explained by the given set of independent variables combined to only 31%. The independent variable of level of education is statistically significant at 5% level, while the remaining variables are insignificant.

Development Rights of the Children: The mean score on development rights for all the children⁶ before the intervention of the organisation was 4.325 out of a total of 5 points. The past scores of the children at the development level were regressed on the independent variables of child's age, sex, religion, ordinal position, family size, family income, the age at which the child started work, and duration of work. However, the F ratio (1.39) once again was insignificant at 5% level of confidence and therefore it could be concluded that the given set of independent variables do not determine the dependent variable, in this case, the past scores of children on development. After intervention the mean scores on development⁷ were found to 1.26 out of 5 points.

Participation Rights of the Children: With respect to participation rights of all the children⁸ the mean score before the intervention was 2.97 out of 3 points. The regression on the past scores on participation of the children

was also found to be insignificant with child's age, sex, religion, ordinal position, family size, family income, the age at which the child started work, and duration of work as the independent variables as the F ratio was 0.67 which is insignificant at 5% level of confidence. The present scores of the children on participation rights are 2.97 out of 3 points⁹.

Total Scores of the Children: The total scores indicate the overall position of the child with respect to the protection/violation of the rights. The mean of the total score before the intervention of all the children was 19.925 out of a total of 30 points¹⁰. These total scores of the children in the past as the dependent variable was found to have a significant regression with the child's age, religion, level of education, age of starting work, duration of work as independent variables as the F ratio being 2.66 is significant at the 5% level of confidence. However, only 32% of the variance in the total scores can be accounted for the independent variables acting in combination. With respect to the weightage of each variable individually while other variables are constant, the level of child's education is significant at 5% level of confidence (with t-ratio being 2.32) The other variables have an insignificant impact on the determination of the dependent variable.

After the intervention, the mean total score is 15.94 out of a total of 30 points¹¹. The multiple regression of the present total scores of the children as a dependent variable and the child's age, level of education, religion, age at starting work and duration of work is found to be statistically significant at 5% level of confidence with the F-ratio of 3.27 and the variance of the dependent variable can be explained by the given independent variables combined to the extent of 38%. The level of education is significant at 1% level with a t-ratio of 3.10. The other variables were found to have an insignificant impact on the determination of the dependent variable individually.

Findings:

The beneficiaries of Don Bosco Tech consists of primarily children working in the automobile industry. As the focus of work is occupation-based and not community based, the active partners in the process of addressing the issue of child labour are the employers and not the parents. This focus gets reflected in the impact of the organisation on the situation of children wherein the extent of the violation of the survival rights of children remains unchanged even after the intervention of the organisation. There is a marginal reduction in the violation of protection rights of the children as the workplace is the area of intervention and the employers are involved in the same. However, the greatest impact is found in the development rights with a reduction of about 4 points from a total of 5 points indicating a very high reduction in the extent to which the rights were violated in the past. In other words, the protection of the development rights of the children has significantly improved. The scores on participation have not improved as there are no specific projects addressing this aspect of children's rights. Thus, the basic survival and protection rights of the children are still violated. This situation has two main implications. Firstly, it reflects the skewed focus of DBT intervention on the development area while not paying attention to the basic survival and protection rights. Intervening for the protection of the survival and protection rights requires a focus on the family and the work environment of the child which is very complex and therefore not easy. Secondly, protection of only the development rights of the children would not result in elimination of child labour (which is a long term goal of DBT) as the fundamental issues that are perpetuating child labour in its present forms can be dealt with only if the survival and the protection rights are sought to be realised and intervention designed accordingly. With respect to the regression results we find that the variables of child's age, level of education, religion, age at starting work and duration of work have played an important role in improving the total score of the children at present. We also find that the variables of child's age, religion, level of education,

family size and income, age at starting work, and duration of work continue to influence the survival scores of the children even after intervention, therefore work could be directed towards handling those variables. The independent variables of the child's sex, level of education, religion and family income currently influence the differences in the number of the hours that are spent by working children on developmental activities. An increasing focus by DBT on these children can increase the number of hours that children spend in developmental activities in future.

Endnotes

¹ Their work with street children emphasises on ameliorative measures with a strong interaction between the child and the adults who are also the service providers. This is also reflected in their work with the working children in Hospet wherein there is a strong emphasis on ameliorative measures with a foundation of strong interpersonal relationships between children and adults and also between children and adolescent trainers.

² This survival score is an average of all the children who were interviewed. It includes those children who continue to work as well as those who were removed from employment.

³ The present survival scores indicated here are only with respect to 95% of the children as the remaining 5% of the children have been removed from employment and are no more working children. The past score on survival rights of the cohort of children who continue to work (95% of the total) was 3.92.

⁴ This protection score is an average of all the children who were interviewed. It includes those children who continue to work as well as those who were removed from employment.

⁵ The present protection scores indicated here are only with respect to 95% of the children as the remaining 5% of the children have been removed from employment and are no more working children. The past score on protection rights of the cohort of children who continue to work (95% of the total) was 8.6.

⁶ This development score is an average of all the children who were interviewed. It includes those children who continue to work as well as those who were removed from employment.

⁷ The present development scores indicated here are only with respect to 95% of the children as the remaining 5% of the children have been removed from employment and are no more working children. The past score on development rights of the cohort of children who continue to work (95% of the total) was 4.28.

⁸ This participation score is an average of all the children who were interviewed. It includes those children who continue to work as well as those who were removed from employment.

⁹ The present participation scores indicated here are only with respect to 95% of the children as the remaining 5% of the children have been removed from employment and are no more working children. The past score on participation rights of the cohort of children who continue to work (95% of the total) was 2.97.

¹⁰ This total score is an average of all the children who were interviewed. It includes those children who continue to work as well as those who were removed from employment.

¹¹ The present total scores indicated here are only with respect to 95% of the children as the remaining 5% of the children have been removed from employment and are no more working children. The past total score of the cohort of children who continue to work (95% of the total) was 19.78.