

STATE OF CHILD WORKERS IN INDIA

Mapping Trends



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Ellina Samantroy Helen R. Sekar Sanjib Pradhan

Preface

Child labour is a serious and challenging problem that has attracted the attention of several policymakers, planners and implementers in India. According to the International Labour Organisation's (ILO's) World Report on Child Labour 2015, around 168 million children are trapped in child labour, 75 million young persons aged 15–24 are unemployed, and many more are in jobs that fail to offer fair income, security in the workplace, social protection and other basic and decent work attributes. The magnitude and incidence of child labour varies across different states, with some states reporting higher incidence while in others it is comparatively lower. Poverty, migration from one place to another and low family income may be some of the reasons for the existence of child labour. Though many laws and policies have been implemented in India to prevent and eliminate child labour, the problem still persists. Many proactive policies, legislation and schemes, like the National Child Labour Policy, National Policy for Children, National Policy on Education, Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, Juvenile Justice Act, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan (SSA), and National Child Labour Project have contributed immensely to increasing the school enrolment ratio, mainly at the level of elementary education. However, the relationship between increasing school education of children and decreasing incidence of child labour needs to be carefully investigated, as the problem of child labour still persists despite developmental efforts in education.

Many studies in the past have focused on reducing child labour and increasing school enrolment. They have also examined the incidence and magnitude of child labour in selected states by using secondary data, and have explored the relationship between female work participation and child labour at the state and individual level, conditions of employment, rehabilitation, role of state-sponsored care facilities, government policies, etc. However, the present study aims to highlight the incidence and magnitude of child labour across the states and at the district-level, in both rural and urban areas of India. It aims to provide a systematic analysis of district-level information so that a micro-picture evolves for understanding the problem of child labour. The study also aims to identify the major hotspots of child labour in India; the main reasons for their existence and consequences thereof; and to create awareness about the problem. It focuses on girl children who are withdrawn from school and are contributing in household responsibilities through paid or unpaid work. Finally, the study tries to provide some policy recommendations for the elimination of child labour.

The present study will prove to be a valuable asset in guiding planners, policymakers, social scientists, researchers, trade unions, and civil society organisations in taking up initiatives for the elimination of child labour. It will contribute immensely in informing policymakers and helping them design targeted policies for the amelioration of this problem.

Manish Kumar Gupta
Director General

Foreword

India has made significant progress in reducing child labour in the last decade with data from Census 2011 showing the largest decline in child work among 10 to 14 year old children in rural areas. The elimination of child labour is one of the targets of the Sustainable Development Goals and India is taking relevant steps towards achieving this target.

The Right to Education Act 2009 has greatly bolstered efforts in enrolling children between the ages of six and 14 years in school. This has contributed to the reduction in child labour in the country. However, child labour is not a homogenous activity and no single strategy will be able to reduce all forms of child labour. Clear analyses of the complex issues that create an environment in which child labour flourishes and visionary strategies to address the problem in a holistic manner, at scale, at all levels of policy formulation and implementation are required for India to achieve a child labour free status.

In collaboration with V. V. Giri National Institute of Labour, UNICEF has analysed the 2011 Census data for child work which is presented in this report. The report analyses the magnitude of child work as well as its trends and movements in size and distribution across the country with the aim of informing action to reduce the number of working children. Data presents a national picture as well as state wise information in a manner that is easy to use by child labour practitioners.

We hope that this report will be a useful tool to enable all stakeholders implement the State Action Plans for the elimination of child labour.

Javier Aguilar
Chief, Child Protection

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Ellina Samantroy

Helen R. Sekar

Sanjib Pradhan

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CLPRA	Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act
CT	Census Town
DISE	District Information System for Education
ICLS	International Conference on Labour Statisticians
ICPS	Integrated Child Protection Scheme
ILO	International Labour Organisation
JJ Act	Juvenile Justice Act
LFPR	Labour Force Participation Rate
NCLP	National Child Labour Project
NFHS	National Family Health Survey
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NRHM	National Rural Health Mission
NSS	National Service Scheme
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organisation
OBCs	Other Backward Classes
OW	Other Workers
RTE	Right to Education
SC	Scheduled Caste
SNA	System of National Accounts Activities
SSA	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan
ST	Scheduled Tribe
UNCRC	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UTs	Union Territories
WFCL	Worst Forms of Child Labour

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



The recent World Report on Child Labour by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) reiterates the need for accelerated global action for elimination of child labour and the promotion of decent work opportunities for youth. There are 168 million children trapped in child labour and 75 million young people aged 15–24 who are unemployed and do not receive a fair income, job security, social protection, and other basic employment attributes. In countries where a high level of education is not required for the job opportunities available, many parents prefer not to spend on their children's education but send them directly to work. On the other hand, in countries with high requirements for skilled labour, parents prefer to invest in their children's education. In the context of the global commitment towards achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals for the year 2030, the problem of child labour and its amelioration remain important policy agendas of the country.

In this context, the present report begins with a background on child labour, with a discussion on different terms associated with 'child labour', followed by child labour policies and legislation implemented by the government. The second chapter discusses the study design and methodology in detail. It also provides a brief account of all the concepts, definitions and terms that are used in the study. The chapter also discusses the limitations of the study. The third chapter deals with mapping the incidence and magnitude of child labour in India. It discusses the distribution of child labour across major sectors and also analyses educational levels and trends in child labour. The next chapter maps the trends across the states and union territories of the country. Some states with higher incidence of child labour are discussed in detail and there is an attempt to understand the concentration of child labour in districts. The chapter also identifies hotspots of child labour and analyses the incidence and magnitude of child labour among social groups. The fifth chapter deals with the gender dimension of child labour, thereby analysing gender differentials in paid and unpaid work, especially of girl children. The report concludes with a set of policy recommendations for addressing the problem of child labour through a concerted approach and effective planning.

Background

Although the incidence of child labour has decreased in India it still persists, in spite of proactive legislations, policies and judicial pronouncements to decrease the number of child labour incidences. Child labour has different ramifications in both rural and urban India. It is largely seen amongst children who come from poor families, farmers, and landless households that form a part of excluded social groups. Child labour is not a homogenous group, as it includes children to be engaged in different types of work, such as, paid/unpaid; self-employed/wage-employed; domestic/industrial, migrant/non-migrant; and so on. Many activities may be hazardous in nature. However, some may be termed as 'learning experience' or, as claimed by some families/employers 'learning the family trades, skills and crafts'. In rural areas, children mainly help their parents in agricultural fields and domestic chores, either with schooling or without it.

The terms 'child labour' and 'child worker' have different connotations and in the year 1979, the Gurupadaswamy Committee distinguished the two terms from each other. Though there may be some difference at the conceptual level between 'child labour' and 'child worker,' given the limitations of the present database, both terms are used interchangeably for the purpose of analysis in this study.

Legislation and Policies on Child Labour

The Government of India has always had a firm approach towards the issue of child labour and has taken proactive steps towards prevention and elimination of child labour and rehabilitation of children withdrawn and rescued from work. The Constitution of India not only secures compulsory primary education to all children, but has, through its 86th Amendment, made the Right to Education a Fundamental Right for all children in the age group of 6-14 years. The 86th Amendment came into force on April 1, 2010, the same date as its enabling legislation 'The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009'. The commencement of the 86th Amendment made India one of the 135 countries to make education a fundamental right of every child.

The Government has also introduced various schemes for rehabilitation of children withdrawn from work. The National Child Labour Project (NCLP) was launched by the Government of India in the year 1988, as a part of a larger Plan of Action arising out of the National Child Labour Policy. Since then, it has been supported by several major initiatives at national, state and district levels in the country, aimed at progressive elimination of child labour. In the wake of the enactment of The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act, 2009, Special Training Centres have been established as a part of the National Child Labour Project, to provide children with education and vocational skills and prepare them to be mainstreamed into the formal education system in an age-appropriate class. The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) implementation framework, based on the Act, 2009, provides exceptional arrangements for education of children belonging to the most underprivileged groups such as child labour.

India signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with ILO for the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) in the year 1992, which concluded in the year 2013. India has also signed the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in the year 1992, recognising an earlier age of 14 years based on the relevant child labour laws in India. Various labour commissions and committees constituted in India from time to time have focused on the issue of child labour and have made extensive recommendations. The UN and ILO conventions, the provisions relating to child labour in various articles of the Indian Constitution, and other central and state laws provide comprehensive protection and grounds for elimination of all forms of child labour.

The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act (CLPR Act), 1986, was the culmination of efforts and ideas that emerged from the deliberations and recommendations of various committees on child labour. The Act aims to prohibit the entry of children into hazardous occupations and to regulate the services of children in non-hazardous occupations.

The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection) of Children Act (JJ Act), 2000, through its amendment in the year 2006, mentions, "any working child below the age of 18 years is a 'child in need of care and protection.'" Though the CLPR Act provides authority to its notified officers to take action against employers for employing children in prohibited employment, the JJ Act declares the Child Welfare Committee (CWC) as the appropriate authority to take action against violators.

Besides the legal enactments, there are various other schemes under the government specifically for rehabilitation of children withdrawn from work. The Integrated Child Protection Scheme (ICPS) of the Government of India, aims to provide a safe and secure environment for the overall development

of children in need of care and protection, and children in conflict with law. The objective is also to provide protection to trafficked children through an interface with various sectors, including labour, health, education, the judiciary, and police.

Most of the available literature on child labour examines its status in the country and has elaborated on the conditions of employment, rehabilitation, role of state-sponsored care facilities and government policies to address the situation. However, much more needs to be done. In the Indian context, there are wide regional variations with regard to the magnitude and incidence of child labour that need to be addressed with appropriate state-specific policy interventions. Moreover, there is also a need to revisit the definition of child labour from a gender perspective, as girl children continue to remain vulnerable. Since most of the statistical offices follow a standard definition of work in a purely 'economic' sense, the activities carried out within the domain of the households are unrecorded and remain largely invisible. Further, the socio-cultural set-up of the country prevents disadvantaged girl children from gaining access to education and confines them to undertake domestic and care responsibilities. Therefore, redesigning an appropriate methodology to capture children's extensive work within the household in order to understand the reasons for dropping out from school still remains a challenge in the country. In this context, it is reiterated that the problem of child labour is a multifaceted one and needs to be understood within the complex framework of socio-cultural, economic and regional specificities.

Aims and Objectives of the Study

The study has the following objectives:

- ▶ To analyse the situation of child labour in the country based on census data 2001 and 2011. This will be disaggregated by residence, level of literacy, education, and social groups.
- ▶ To map the shift across states and within districts in a state, and also by residence and social groups. This will identify the hotspots of child labour.
- ▶ Desk review and analysis of other secondary data sets (NSSO/AHS) on child labour at appropriate levels of aggregation.
- ▶ Identify districts that need concerted and special programming to address the issue of child labour.
- ▶ To derive appropriate recommendations for reduction/elimination of child labour.

Methodology

This study is primarily based on data collected from Census 2001 and 2011. Apart from analysing census data, the study also uses other sources such as data from the various survey rounds of the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO). Using the data for different rounds, labour estimates, cross-classified by key variables up to district level in different states, have been derived. In addition to these data sources, District Information System for Education (DISE) data is used to understand the relationship between education and child labour. In order to understand the correlation between participation in education and engagement as child workers, numbers of out-of-school students and

the expected number of school students at the district level are compared with child labour data. The study has analysed Census 2011 data for the national, state and district levels. It has also derived estimates from Census of India 2011 'Micro Sample Data: Population (Person Level)'. Based on the Census and other data sources, the report maps child labour and out-of-school children in India at the highest level of disaggregation.

Summary of the Findings

In Chapter 3, data from Census 2001 and 2011 reveal a decline in the magnitude of child labour; with the decline being more visible in rural areas. The number of child workers in urban areas has increased, indicating the growing demand for child workers in menial jobs in urban areas. Fewer employment opportunities in rural areas and low incomes continue to push families out of their rural homes. To note, there is a significant growth of marginal workers, with the difference between main and marginal workers being more prominent in rural areas. This implies that a proportionately higher percentage of children in rural areas are engaged in marginal activities, mainly agricultural activities that are seasonal in nature. According to Census 2011 estimates, agriculture has emerged as the largest category employing children. In rural areas, 40.1 per cent children are engaged as agricultural labourers, 31.5 per cent as cultivators, 4.6 per cent in the household industry and 23.8 per cent in other areas of work. In urban areas, children are mostly concentrated in occupations other than agriculture and household industry, with 83.4 per cent child labourers employed in this category. The other activities in which children are engaged in urban areas are 7.3 per cent in household industry, 4.8 per cent as agricultural labourers and 4.4 per cent as cultivators.

The introduction of proactive policies on education in India has had a significant impact on improving literacy rates and participation in diverse employment opportunities for the youth. The persistence of the problem of child labour, however, calls for an urgent need to examine the relationship between trends in education for children and their participation in the workforce. An analysis of the educational level of main child workers in the age group of 5–14 years across various states in India reveals striking trends and shows that the majority of child workers are literate. Kerala and Tamil Nadu have the highest proportion of literate child workers, with 82.2 per cent and 81.3 per cent respectively. The states that record more than 60 per cent of literate child workers include Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, West Bengal, Assam, Odisha, Punjab, Haryana, Chhattisgarh, and Telangana. One of the main reasons for this is the establishment of Early Childhood Centres and *Anganwadi* Centres by the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan (SSA).

A disaggregated analysis at the district level shows that the two top-ranking districts in terms of literate children as main workers are in Gujarat, namely, Surat and Ahmedabad, with 78.2 per cent and 78.1 per cent literate children respectively. Further, North 24 Parganas in West Bengal (76.0 per cent), Bangalore in Karnataka (75.6 per cent), Pune (75.2 per cent), Nashik (73.9 per cent), and Thane (71.3 per cent) in Maharashtra also stand out as districts with larger proportions of literate child workers. While Patna in Bihar accounts for 55.1 per cent of literate child main workers, Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh accounts for 54.0 per cent of child workers and Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh accounts for 49.4 per cent of literate child workers.

Some of the studies highlight migration as being a prominent reason for children working as labourers, in spite of receiving some amount of education in host states. Brick kilns located in West Bengal are the most preferred destinations for migrant families, as the working conditions are more honourable and remunerative (Sinha and Mishra, 2012). The analysis indicates that though effective implementation of education policies in these states has led to a rise in literate children, inadequate earnings of families still compel them to work and supplement household incomes.

In Chapter 4, the mapping of shifts in incidence and magnitude of child labour across states and union territories in the country reveals that Uttar Pradesh and Bihar account for the largest number of child workers. Both these states, which have 30.8 per cent of the child population in the country, account for 32.2 per cent of child workers. Seven states of the country, namely, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, West Bengal, and Gujarat, with 62.8 per cent of child population, account for 64.7 per cent of total child workers. Two other states, namely Nagaland and Himachal Pradesh, also show striking trends of increase in child labour. The rise in incidence of child workers in Nagaland took place despite the decline in child population by 1.1 per cent per annum between 2001 and 2011. Himachal Pradesh, too, showed a significant increase in child workers despite a fall in child population. A fall in the number of child workers locally available in the state has led to the engagement of migrant labour in the expanding construction and tourism industries. Similarly, in Kerala, while there has been a decline in the child population, higher wage rates and increasing demand for workers in manual jobs in tea and coffee plantations, construction, tourism, and hotel industry have attracted migrant workers and their children from other states.

An analysis of the incidence of child labour across districts in 2011, identified 32 hotspots in the country that reported more than 8.9 per cent child workers. Most of the hotspot districts are in the states of Himachal Pradesh (6 districts), Nagaland (5 districts), Rajasthan (4 districts) and Chhattisgarh (4 districts). Three districts in Nagaland, namely Peren (32.3 per cent), Longleng (32.2 per cent) and Mon (25.6 per cent) report the highest incidence of child labour in the country. Taking into account the magnitude of child labour, Hyderabad in Telangana and Jalor in Rajasthan, stand out as hotspots. In rural India, most of the hotspots are found in the states of Himachal Pradesh (6), Chhattisgarh (5), Nagaland (5), and Rajasthan (2). Two hotspots each were also identified in Manipur and Madhya Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir. Mizoram, Jharkhand, Odisha, and Karnataka also have a hotspot district each. In terms of magnitude, however, three districts reported alarming numbers of children engaged in paid employment. These are Jalor and Dhaulpur in Rajasthan and Janjgir-Champa in Chhattisgarh. Apart from these, four other districts rank higher among hotspots, namely Dhaulpur in Rajasthan, Jhabua and Alirajpur in Madhya Pradesh and Koraput in Odisha. In urban India, Peren district in Nagaland and Hyderabad in Telangana, stand out as the striking hotspots. Considering the magnitude of prevalence of child labour, Hyderabad ranks highest in urban India, followed by Agra and Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh.

Out of all social groups (*see table*), the incidence of child labour was highest among Scheduled Tribes (STs) in 2011 Census report. This is, however, a decline of around 3 per cent from figures recorded in 2001. The workforce participation of children belonging to the Scheduled Tribes is more pronounced in rural areas as compared to urban areas. This indicates the extreme economic distress of the Scheduled Tribe families in rural areas that force children to forgo education and take up jobs that are mostly low paid and involve hard labour. The incidence of child labour among the Scheduled Castes (SCs) was also higher as compared to other groups in 2011, even though it did witness a decline from 5.3 per cent in 2001 to 3.9 per cent in 2011. Like in the case of Scheduled Tribes, a greater proportion of children

from the Scheduled Caste families in rural areas as compared to urban areas are engaged as workers, indicating the poorer economic conditions of the Scheduled Caste households in rural India. However, on considering the magnitude of the prevalence of child labour, it is found that social groups apart from STs and SCs report larger numbers of children engaged in the workforce.

Child Workers by Social Group

Social Groups	Incidence 2001			Magnitude 2001 (in Million)		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
SC	6.00%	2.30%	5.30%	2.15	0.19	2.34
ST	10.60%	3.40%	10.10%	2.23	0.06	2.29
OTHERS	5.20%	2.00%	4.30%	6.97	1.07	8.04
Total	5.90%	2.10%	5.00%	11.3	1.32	12.7

Social Groups	Incidence 2001			Magnitude 2001 (in Million)		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
SC	4.10%	2.90%	3.90%	1.5	0.27	1.78
ST	7.00%	3.30%	6.70%	1.64	0.08	1.71
OTHERS	3.80%	2.90%	3.50%	4.96	1.68	6.64
Total	4.30%	2.90%	3.90%	8.1	2.03	10.1

Source: Census 2001 and 2011

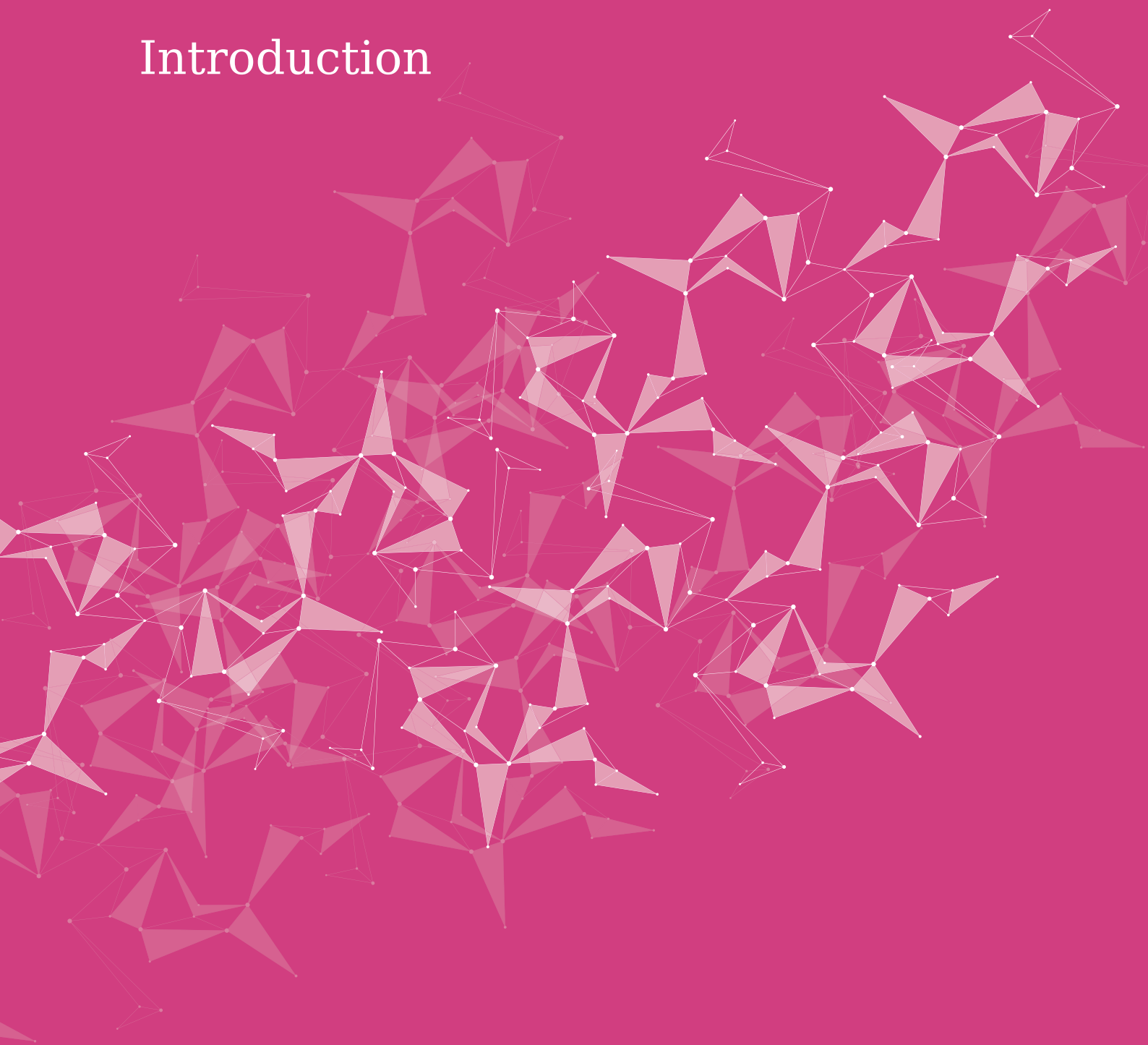
Chapter 5 discusses education and workforce participation of male and female children, focusing on the shifts between participation in education and employment for girl children and the implications of such shifts for the household as well as for the lives of girl children. The overall difference in main and marginal workers is more evident for girls, with 1.5 times more female children as compared to male children engaged as marginal workers. The difference in main and marginal is more prominent for girls in rural areas as compared to urban areas, pointing towards their engagement in agricultural activities that are seasonal in nature. Even as access to education has improved in the country due to strong policy measures, gender differentials remain. The analysis of the reports of the national sample survey office (NSSO) from 2004/05 to 2011/12 showed improvement in school attendance of children in the age group of 5–14 years, both in rural and urban areas. However, the gender differentials between boys and girls in school attendance are more pronounced in rural areas in comparison to urban areas. In addition, gender differentials in school attendance become more prominent among Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes (OBCs), with more girls as compared to boys not attending school among these social groups. The study calls for attention to the devaluation of unpaid domestic work of women and girl children, emphasising the need to broaden the definition of child labour beyond wage employment as there is little recognition of the economic contribution of girls to the economy and also fewer efforts to get girls out of work and into school. For ensuring gender

equality in access to education, skill training and better prospects for employment, there is a need to provide full visibility in official statistics to household division of labour by capturing the various activities carried out by girl children.

Chapter 6 discusses the policy recommendations on child labour. Though there is a need to implement programmes that aim to eliminate child labour and emphasise the rehabilitation of children, the economic rehabilitation of families is essential for elimination of the problem completely. As far as the enforcement of laws pertaining to the prohibition of employment of child labourers is concerned, though there has been an improvement in the efforts with regard to inspection, such efforts have not been significantly translated in terms of prosecution and finally conviction. In view of this, the gap between the conduct of raids, filing of cases and reaching a logical end should be minimised. Further, the children identified in the raids should immediately be restored to their families or admitted either to special schools or residential schools as the last resort, if it is not possible to restore them to their families. A raise in the minimum wages in states where the rates are low would result in controlling the processes of distress migration and debt bondage to some extent, preventing child labour and enabling children to continue with schooling in their native homes. If these children do not work along with their parents, they stay at the temporary settlements to look after their siblings. They thus, get completely excluded from the education system and fall prey to illiteracy. These children, who are unable to access the formal schooling system, need to be provided education through means such as mobile schools. There is a need to account for the activities of girl children in official statistics to capture the magnitude of domestic child labour and plan policy interventions for their education.

CHAPTER 01

Introduction



1.1 Background

According to the ILO World Report on Child Labour 2015, approximately 168 million children remain trapped in child labour, 75 million young people aged 15–24 years are unemployed, and many more are in jobs that fail to offer a fair income, security in the workplace, social protection, or other basic and decent work attributes.¹ The report makes the case that achieving decent work for all, one of the likely core Sustainable Development Goals for the post-2015 period, will not be possible without eliminating child labour and erasing the decent work deficit faced by youth (ILO 2015: 13).

Despite the introduction of significant legislations, policies and judicial pronouncements in India, the problem of child labour persists as a challenge to the country. The 2011 Census of India enumerates 10.1 million child workers, a decline of about 1 per cent from the 2001 Census, which estimated 12.7 million child workers. The reduction in child workers is more pronounced in rural areas than in urban areas. The issue of child labour in India is inextricably linked to the issue of social inclusion. Children belonging to poor and marginal farmers as well as landless households, who form part of the excluded social groups, are mainly exploited as child labour (George and Panda 2015: 17). This calls for a systematic examining of the incidence and magnitude of child labour; identifying states and districts where child labour is concentrated and the reasons for its prevalence. It is also important to highlight the consequences of the persistence of child labour and generate greater public awareness on the issue. This study maps the incidence and magnitude of child labour at the national, state and district levels in both urban and rural areas. On the basis of the available data, geographical belts are identified as hotspots for child labour. The report maps the shifts in the incidence of child labour across geographical regions and examines the reasons for the shifts that have occurred over the past decade. It is envisaged that this analysis will, in turn, direct the course of interventions and policy advocacy needed at various levels to strengthen the efforts of the state for prevention of child labour. It will also enable existing UNICEF programmes to target and plan their interventions and strategies accordingly. At the same time, there is an urgent need to strengthen the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 in states through evidence on magnitude and types of child labour, so that focused interventions can be made in a more strategic and effective way to achieve greater impact.

1.1.1 Definitions

The definition of the term ‘child’ depends on the definition of ‘age’, which has a historical time-frame and socio-cultural frame. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child defines a ‘child’ as “any person who has not reached the age of eighteen unless a different age of maturity is specified in any country’s law, applicable to the child”. The subject ‘minimum age for admission to employment’

¹ *Decent work sums up the aspirations for people in their working lives. It involves opportunities for work that is productive and delivers a fair income, security in the workplace and social protection for families, better prospects for personal development and social integration, freedom for people to express their concerns, organise and participate in the decisions that affect their lives and equality of opportunity and treatment for all women and men. The concept of decent work was formulated by the ILO’s constituents—governments and employers and workers—as a means to identify the organisations major priorities. Decent work has become a universal objective and has been included in major human rights declarations, UN Resolutions and outcome documents from major conferences including Article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the World Summit for Social Development (1995), World Summit Outcome Document (2005), the high level segment of ECOSOC (2006), the Second United Nations Decade for the Eradication of Poverty (2008-2017), Conference on Sustainable Development (2011) and in the UN’s 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (2015). For details see: <http://www.ilo.org/global/topics/decent-work/lang-en/index.htm>*

is discussed in different ILO Conventions. According to Article 2 of the ILO Convention No.182, the term 'child' shall apply to all persons under the age of 18. As per Article 24 of the Constitution of India, no child below the age of 14 years is to be employed in any factory, mine or hazardous work. In the context of free and compulsory education for children, the Constitution defines the age of a child as 14 years. The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Bill, passed by Parliament on 22 July 2016, prohibits employment of children below 14 years completely and prohibits employment of adolescents (14–18 years) in hazardous occupations/processes.

Child labour is not a homogenous group and children are engaged in a variety of activities: paid/unpaid, self-employed/wage-employed, domestic works/industrial works, migrant/non-migrant, etc. Many of these areas of work may be hazardous while others may be just a learning experience for children. In rural India, children work as an essential part of a farm household or assist parents in ancillary tasks, either along with their schooling or without. The estimates of child labour in India, as a result, have always been a bone of contention among scholars, policymakers, NGOs, and other stakeholders. In fact, the estimates differ quite significantly, depending upon the definition that is adopted.

'Child labour' refers to work that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children; interferes with their schooling by depriving them of the opportunity to attend school; obliges them to leave school prematurely; or requires them to attempt to combine school attendance with excessively long and heavy work.

In its most extreme forms, child labour involves children being enslaved, separated from their families, exposed to serious hazards and illnesses, and/or left to fend for themselves on the streets of large cities, often at a very early age. Whether or not particular forms of 'work' can be called 'child labour' depends on the child's age, the type and hours of work performed, the conditions under which it is performed, and the objectives pursued by individual countries. The answer varies from country to country, as well as among sectors within countries.²

According to ILO, 'children in employment' refers to 'children involved in economic activity' for at least 1 hour in the reference week of the survey. Economic activity is any activity that results in production of goods and services that add value to the national product. In some countries, if a child carries out work, whether or not the child receives payment or any other kind of reward, the child is considered to be employed. According to ILO Convention No. 182, the worst forms of child labour (WFCL) includes (a) all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; (b) use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances; (c) the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties; (d) work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

² For details, see International Labour Organisation (ILO) website: <http://www.ilo.org/ipec/facts/lang--en/index.htm>

In 1979, the Gurupadaswamy Committee emphasised the need to distinguish between ‘child labour’ and ‘child work’ for any kind of policy action. Such a distinction is crucial for making an accurate assessment of the magnitude of child labour in the country. According to Lieten (2000), ‘child work’ should be used as a generic term and should refer to any type of work being done in any mode of employment relationship. The concept of work should then serve as a description of the physical (or mental) involvement in a job. It is an activity that rather than being harmful, may be beneficial to the child in her/his formative socialisation. Child labour, on the other hand, is generally defined as work that deprives children of their childhood, potential and dignity, and which is harmful to their physical and mental development (Lieten 2006: 104).

For the purpose of this study, various concepts were drawn from the Census of India, 2001 and 2011, and different rounds of the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO). The Census defines a person as ‘main worker’ if she/he dispenses/spends 180 days or more in a year engaged in economic activities. All persons spending less than 180 days in a year engaged in economic activities are defined as ‘marginal workers’. These two, together, constitute all workers in a given year. However, none of these definitions would define a child engaged in household chores or sibling care as a worker. Similarly, many other jobs performed by children do not come under the definitional purview of work adopted by the NSSO and Census for their surveys. Given the limitations of other scientific and comprehensive data available on child labour, this study mainly uses data from the Census and NSSO.

Although there may be some difference at the conceptual level between ‘child labour’ and ‘child worker,’ given the limitation of the present database, both terms are used interchangeably for the purpose of analysis in this study.

1.2 Child Labour Policy and Legislation in India

The Government of India has always had a firm approach on the issue of child labour and has taken proactive steps towards eliminating child labour, preventing it and rehabilitating children previously engaged in the workforce. The Constitution of India not only secures compulsory primary education to all children, but has, through its 86th Amendment, made the Right to Education a fundamental right for all children in the age group of 6–14 years. The 86th Amendment came into force on April 1, 2010, the same date as its enabling legislation ‘The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009’. The commencement of the 86th Amendment made India one of the 135 countries to make education a fundamental right of every child.

The government has also introduced various schemes for rehabilitation of children withdrawn from work. The National Child Labour Project (NCLP) was launched by the Government of India in the year 1988, as a part of a larger Plan of Action arising out of the National Child Labour Policy. Since then, it has been supported by several major initiatives at national, state and district levels in the country, aimed at elimination of child labour. The NCLP includes the establishment of Special Training Centres, as specified in The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act (RTE Act), 2009, to provide children with education and vocational skills and prepare them to be mainstreamed into the formal education system under the NCLP scheme. The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) implementation

framework, based on The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009, provides exceptional arrangements for education of children belonging to the most underprivileged groups, such as child labour. Since 2001, the number of out-of-school children has decreased from 32 million to 2.2 million in 2012-13 (Gol, 2014). Even as efforts have been made by the government to prevent child labour and respond to the problem, a large number of children are still out of school and working as main or marginal workers.

India has signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with ILO for the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) in the year 1992, which concluded in the year 2013. India has also signed the United Nations Convention on the Right of Child (UNCRC) in the year 1992. Child labour elimination efforts in India actively strive to ratify ILO Conventions No. 138 on Minimum Age and No. 182 on the Worst Forms of Child Labour. India's judiciary, right up to the apex level, has demonstrated profoundly empathetic responses against the practice of child labour. Various labour commissions and committees constituted in India from time to time have focused on the issue of child labour and have made extensive recommendations. The UN and ILO Conventions, the provisions relating to child labour in various articles of the Indian Constitution and other central and state laws provide the most comprehensive protection and grounds for elimination of all forms of child labour.

Over the years the provisions of various UN Conventions and national labour laws have been modified concerning employment of children. ILO has played a significant role in protecting children across the globe from labour exploitation. ILO has adopted 18 Conventions and 16 Recommendations and the main thrust of its Conventions has been on (i) minimum age for employment of children; (ii) medical examination of children; (iii) prohibition of night work for children; and (iv) elimination of the worst forms of child labour. The Government of India has instituted various constitutional, statutory and developmental measures and institutional mechanisms to protect children in general and particularly from labour and exploitation in different settings.

Policies, legislation and the schemes and programmes addressing child labour are expected to play a leading role in changing those aspects of the socio-economic structure that allow the phenomenon of child labour to persist. Since the problem is extremely complex and deeply interwoven into the socio-economic fabric, such policies and laws have to be backed by an adequate social infrastructure that is receptive to interventions aimed at ending the evil practice of employment of children.

1.2.1 Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986

The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986, was the culmination of efforts and ideas that emerged from the deliberations and recommendations of various committees on child labour. Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Act, 2016, was passed by the Indian Parliament on 22 July 2016 which is a landmark step towards the prohibition of engagement of children in all occupations and to prohibit the engagement of adolescents in hazardous occupations and processes and the matters connected therewith or incidental thereto. While the pre-amended Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act of 1986 prohibited employment of children below the age of 14

in select hazardous occupations and processes, the Amendment Act, 2016 completely prohibits employment of children below 14 years in all occupations and processes. The age of the prohibition is linked to the age under RTE Act, 2009. A new definition of adolescent has been introduced in the CLPR Act and employment of adolescents (14–18 years of age) has been prohibited in hazardous occupations and processes. These provisions have significance for protecting adolescents from employment not suitable to their age. These provisions of the Act are in compliance with the International Labour Organization's Convention on Conditions of Work of Adolescents (George and Panda 2015: 8).

The Indian Cabinet has approved the amendments proposed in the Act in the form of Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Amendment Bill, 2012. The salient features of the proposed amendments are: i) complete prohibition of employment of children below 14 years, with the age of the prohibition linked to the age under RTE Act, 2009; ii) prohibition of employment of adolescents (14–18 years) in hazardous occupations/processes; iii) enhanced penalty for employing or permitting employment of children, that is, imprisonment for a minimum term of 6 months and maximum term of 2 years or with minimum fine of Rs. 20,000 extendable to Rs. 50,000, or both. A similar penalty is proposed for employing or permitting employment of adolescents in hazardous occupations/processes. The penalty proposed for repeat conviction for employing or permitting employment of a child is imprisonment for a minimum term of 6 months and maximum term of 2 years. Offences under the Act are made cognizable. The responsibility for the implementation of the Act is proposed to be vested with the district magistrate or any subordinate officer specified by her/him.

The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection) of Children Act (JJ Act), 2000, through its amendment in the year 2006, mentions, any working child below the age of 18 years is a child in need of care and protection. In one of its responses against the practice of child labour, the Court viewed that the JJ Act, 2000, would apply to children between the age of 14 and 18 years as well as those children employed below the age of 14 years in non-scheduled occupations and processes. Consequently, the said children would be governed by the JJ Act, 2000, as well as the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976, if applicable, and not by CLPR Act, 1986.³

Besides the legal enactments, there are various other schemes under the government specifically for rehabilitation of children withdrawn from work. The Integrated Child Protection Scheme (ICPS) of the Government of India aims to provide a safe and secure environment for overall development of children in need of care and protection, and children in conflict with law. The objective is also to provide protection to trafficked children through an interface with various sectors, including labour, health, education, the judiciary, and police. The ICPS contributes to the improvement in the well-being of children in difficult circumstances and reduces vulnerabilities to situations and actions that lead to abuse, neglect, exploitation, abandonment and separation.

³ *Court on its Own Motion vs. Government of NCT of Delhi on July 15, 2009*

1.3 Overview of Literature on Child Labour

Various studies in the international context have explored the relationship between reduction in child labour and school enrolment. Empirical studies carried out in Asian countries like Thailand have pointed out that for younger children (below 14 years) direct education costs deter school attendance. As the child gets older, income effects become more important determinants of child labour than the costs of education. Such studies have highlighted the factors that have motivated parents to keep children in school. These include public education, education subsidies and enforcement of regulation against exploitative forms of child labour, awareness campaigns and greater participation of local communities (Tzannatos, 1998). Some others have focused on the influence of market wages and parental history on child labour and schooling in countries like Egypt, and have indicated the importance of social norms in the inter-generational persistence of child labour. In addition, higher local regional income inequality increases the likelihood of child labour (Wahba, 2005).

Various studies in India have examined the magnitude and incidence of child labour using data from national accounting systems. Aggarwal (2004), on the basis of unit-level data of the 55th round of the NSSO survey, analysed the incidence of child labour and household characteristics in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, and Maharashtra (Aggarwal, 2004: 175). On comparing the 1991 Census data estimates and unit-level data with NSS 55th round, it was found that total child labour in the four states had dropped from 4.4 million to 3.3 million. Low and decelerating growth rate of population and high literacy rates in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu suggest a decelerating potential of child labour in the two states, while it continues to persist in Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. The analysis showed that the supply of child labour generally comes from households in rural areas that are landless, are average in size, belong to socially backward classes, and are headed by an employed male who is either self-employed or employed as a labourer. However, a large proportion of the child population is sent to the job market by those who have large-sized households and by those who are deep in debt (Aggarwal 2004: 184-5).

George and Panda (2015) analyse data from the 2011 Census to highlight certain facts about child labour in India. They point out that the total number of child labourers up to 18 years of age in India, including main and marginal workers, is as high as 23.8 million. Of this, 10.1 million are children in the age group of 5–14, while 13.7 million are children in the age group of 15–17 years. Children up to 18 years constitute 5 per cent of the total workforce, with those up to 14 years being 2.1 per cent and children between 15 and 18 years amounting to 2.83 per cent. The actual figures would be still higher as migrant children and children of migrant families are unlikely to be included in full measure in the Census (George and Panda 2015: 16).

MahendraDev (2004) studied the relationship between female work participation and child labour at the state and individual levels using occupational data from the National Family Health Survey (NFHS), and compared the NFHS data with the 2001 Census and NSS data. He found that schooling showed a negative relationship with work participation rates (WPRs) for females, while land size had a positive relationship with WPRs. As compared to the low standard of living category, females belonging to medium and high standard of living categories were less likely to participate in economic activities. The incidence of child labour in the late 1990s was in tune with NSS, at around 4 per cent.

Time-use surveys carried out in 1998–99 indicated that the incidence of child labour was around 20 per cent. The major activities in which children were engaged, were low-skilled unpaid or subsistence activities or activities on family enterprises like animal husbandry, including grazing and collection of fuel, fodder, water, fruits, etc., as well as crop farming and petty services. Male children were much more likely to work than female children. However, children, particularly girls, participated in extended system of national accounts (SNA) activities.⁴ If we combine SNA and extended SNA activities, the contribution of girls was greater than boys. The category of children who had never attended school and who were without work was about 10 percent of the total. Compared to children from households with low standards of living, children from households with medium and higher standards of living were significantly less likely to participate in child work. MahendraDev points out that socio-economic factors like female literacy, fertility rates, family size, adult wage rates, diversification of the rural economy and female work participation rates, etc., were also important determinants of child labour. Economic development is another variable that is supposed to reduce child labour with better opportunities for adult labour and increasing education for children. It is possible that economic development may, in fact, also increase child labour for the same reason of better opportunities. In other words, the demand for labour may increase with economic development (MahendraDev, 2004).

Neera Burra's study of the lock industry in Aligarh, carried out in the 1980s, highlighted the use of child labour in the hazardous process of lock manufacturing. Burra pointed out that children were employed in large numbers because they could be paid less and exploited more than adults, even as massive adult unemployment and underemployment prevailed (Burra 1987: 1117). Kothari (1983) documented the hazardous conditions under which children work in the match industry of Sivakasi, Tamil Nadu. The report called for urgent action to bring the law relating to employment of children into proper focus (Kothari 1983: 1201). Recent studies have examined the child labour situation in the context of globalisation and liberalisation (Bhattacharya, 2007). Ravi (2001) discusses the role of Rugmark – a labelling initiative in the carpet industry in combating child labour. The Rugmark labelling initiative was introduced in 1994 by humanitarian organisations in Germany and India with the support of carpet importers and the German government. Carpet manufacturers who register with Rugmark commit to not using child labour in production processes and allow the Rugmark Foundation to conduct unannounced inspections in their looms. The Rugmark foundation then attaches labels to their carpets, thereby selectively promoting the export of carpets made without the use of child labour. Ravi argues that Rugmark, through its direct and indirect impact, caused a decline in the incidence of child labour in the carpet belt. However, Rugmark has failed to change the basic structure of the carpet industry that comprises dispersed, small-scale and home-based units not covered by inspection. Also, it has failed to address the basic underlying causes of child labour – the poverty of weavers and loom owners and the lack of educational opportunities in the state. These changes, Ravi contends, need to be brought about by the government and the carpet industry (Ravi, 2001: 1147).

⁴ *The Classification of activities is followed from the Time Use Statistics (1998-99) conducted in India that classifies various activities as the following: System of National Accounts (SNA). Activities: I. Primary Production Activities include Crop farming, kitchen gardening, etc. Animal husbandry, Fishing, Forestry, Horticultural, Gardening Collection of fruit, water plants etc., storing and hunting. Processing & Storage, Mining, Quarrying, digging, cutting etc. II Secondary Activities, Construction Activities, Manufacturing Activities, III Trade, Business and Services.*

Extended SNA Activities include Household Maintenance, Management and Shopping for Own Household, Care for Children, the Sick, Elderly and Disabled for own household, Community Services and Help to other Households.

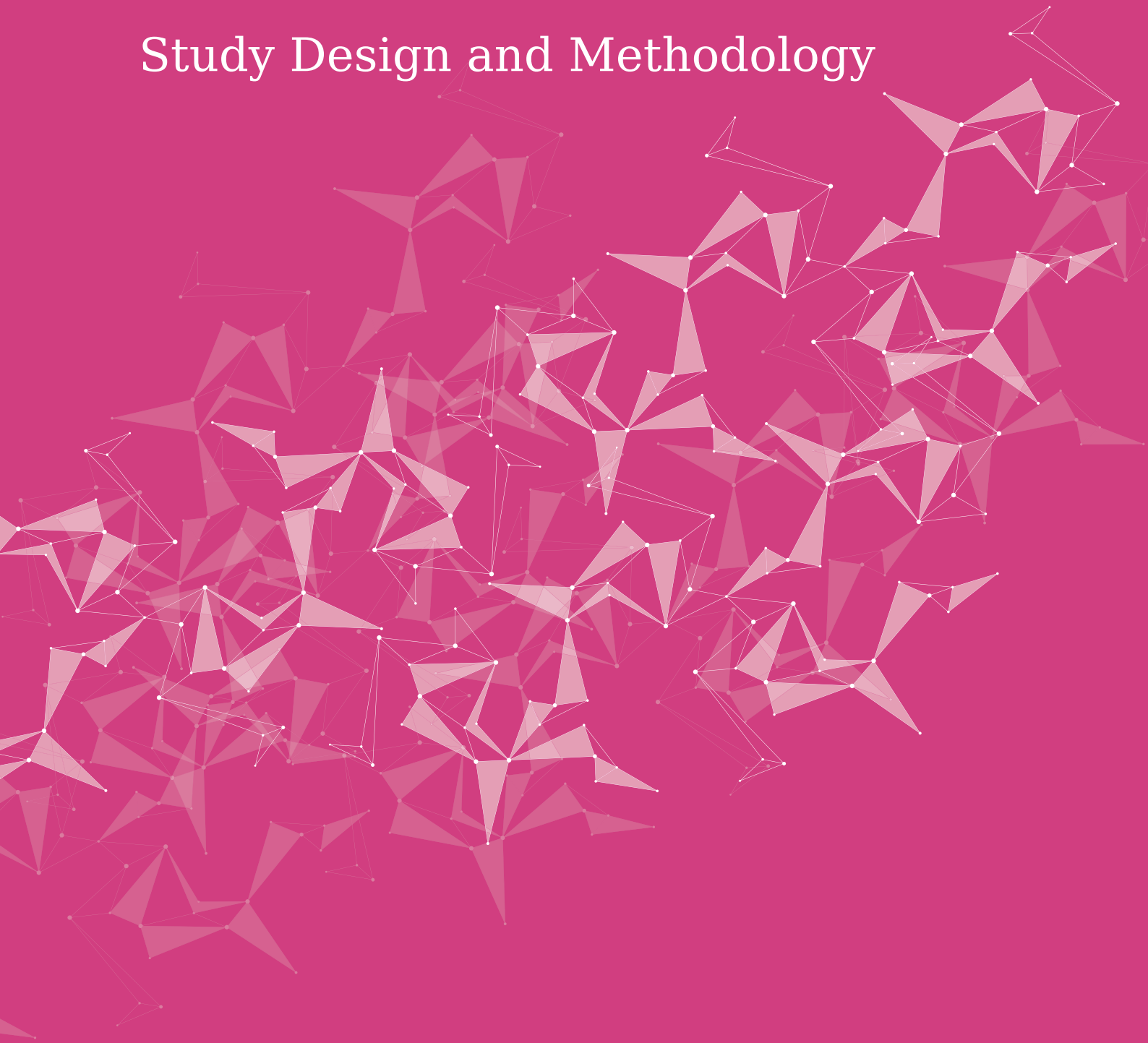
Non SNA Activities include Learning, Social and Cultural Activities, Mass Media, etc. personal care and self-maintenance (GOI 2001).

Biggeri et al. (2009) carried out a survey to examine the incidence of child labour, reasons why children are working, their working conditions, schooling, and gender issues. The survey was carried out in four household industries, namely, *beedi* making, making of incense sticks (*agarbathi*) and garments (specifically, *zardosi*) in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and Madhya Pradesh. A control group of households with no family member engaged in home-based work was included in each sample. The study revealed that children in home-based work households had a higher probability of working than children in control group households. The majority of children were in school. However, the pull factor of work and the push factor of unaffordable schooling combined to induce dropping-out from school. The researchers argued that policy measures could be directed at diminishing the exclusion of children and their dropping out from school by reducing the fixed costs of attending school and by increasing the returns from schooling. This could be achieved by improving the quality of schools and making schooling more suitable for the local economic system (Biggeri et al. 2009). Sarvanan (2002) in his study of *beedi* workers in rural Tamil Nadu observed that manufacturing of *beedi* was initially done largely at the factories/sheds with their concentration in urban areas, and male workers outnumbered female workers. Manufacturing of *beedi* as a household activity picked up in the 1980s and incorporated large numbers of women and children as workers in their households. Sarvanan found that the initiatives aimed at the empowerment of women in *beedi* industries has not helped reduce child labour. While the government enacted the *Beedi and Cigar Workers (Conditions of Employment) Rules, 1968*, which guaranteed the workers a number of welfare and protective measures, the *beedi* manufacturers who were not willing to take all these responsibilities opted for the agent/contract system. Under the contract system, they were not directly responsible for the *beedi* workers. Sarvanan concludes that the linkages between the empowerment of women and reduction of child labour in the *beedi* industry remain blocked due to the prevailing contract system and the ineffectiveness of social security measures in rural areas of Tamil Nadu.

Though most of these studies have examined the situation of child labour in the country and elaborated on the conditions of employment, rehabilitation, role of state-sponsored care facilities, and government policies to address the situation, much more needs to be done. In the Indian context, there are wide regional variations with regard to magnitude and incidence of child labour that need to be addressed with appropriate state-specific policy interventions. Moreover, there is also a need to revisit the definition of child labour from a gender perspective, as girl children continue to remain vulnerable. Since most of the statistical offices follow a standard definition of work in a purely 'economic' sense, the activities carried out within the domain of the household remain unrecorded and largely invisible. Historically, women in India were denied their right to education. Gender discrimination coupled with social discrimination further deprived educational opportunity to a substantial proportion of the women and girl children belonging to the lower rungs of the social hierarchy. This socio-cultural set up and socio-economic discriminative and exploitative structure has perpetuated the inaccessibility of education to girl children and continues to push them to labour exploitation and economic marginalisation, with a large number of children confined to domestic and care responsibilities. Therefore, redesigning an appropriate methodology to capture children's work within the household, in order to understand the reasons for their dropping-out from school, still remains a challenge in the country. In this context, it is reiterated that the problem of child labour is a multifaceted one and needs to be understood within the complex framework of socio-cultural, economic and regional specificities.

CHAPTER 02

Study Design and Methodology



The present chapter provides an overview of the various concepts and definitions used in the study. It discusses the broad aims and objectives of the study, and also outlines the study design and methodology.

2.1 Definition of Child Labour used in the Study

Child labour is defined in this study as children in the age group of 5–14 engaged in economic activity, which could be paid or unpaid. Accordingly, the definition includes jobs that are remunerative (paid both in kind or cash) or unpaid labour, work participation in farm households and enterprises, self-employed, casual and regular work.

Working children are classified into different categories such as ‘children at work’, ‘children in employment’, ‘children in economic activity’, ‘child labour’, ‘children in hazardous work’, and ‘children in worst forms of child labour’.

2.2 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The study has the following objectives:

- ▶ To analyse the situation of child labour in the country based on data from Census 2011 and 2001. This will be disaggregated by residence, level of literacy, education, and social groups.
- ▶ To map the shift across states and within districts in a state and also by residence and social groups. This will identify the hotspots of child labour.
- ▶ Desk review and analysis of other secondary data sets (NSSO/AHS) on child labour at appropriate levels of aggregation.
- ▶ Identify districts and blocks that needs concerted and special programming to address the issue of child labour.
- ▶ To derive appropriate recommendations for reduction/elimination of child labour.

2.3 Methodology

This study is primarily based on data collected from Census 2001 and 2011. Apart from analysing Census data, the study also uses other sources such as data from the various survey rounds of the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO). Using the data for different rounds, labour estimates cross-classified by key variables up to district level in different states are derived. In addition to these data sources, District Information System for Education (DISE) data is used to understand the relationship between education and child labour. In order to understand the correlation between participation in education and engagement as child workers, numbers of out-of-school students and the expected number of school students at the district level are compared with child labour data. The study has analysed Census 2011 data for the national, state and district levels. It has also derived estimates from Census of India 2011 ‘Micro Sample Data: Population (Person Level)’. Based on Census data and other

data sources, the report maps child labour and out-of-school children in India at the highest level of disaggregation. This is then compared with the data from the 2001 Census. The key areas analysed include the following:

- ▶ Shift in numbers of children across the states
- ▶ Shift in numbers of children within the state across districts
- ▶ Shifts across rural and urban areas within districts and states. Identified rural and urban districts with the highest rates of child labour and of out-of-school children
- ▶ Shifts based on type of occupation (types/sectors of child labour)
- ▶ Shifts across social groups
- ▶ Identification of the high concentration districts or hotspots and specific geographical belts that may exist, including pictorial representation and maps.

For the purpose of the study, various definitions based on census data that were used are discussed below.

2.3.1 Concepts and Definitions

Child workers, in this report, include main child workers or marginal child workers. Children seeking work are not part of child labour in this report. Since Census of India is restricted to collecting data on workers, child labour is considered to be a subset of child workers. However, both the terms are used interchangeably in this report. The following are some of the definitions used:

- ▶ **Main and Marginal Workers:** The Census classifies workers into two groups, namely, 'main workers' and 'marginal workers'. Main workers are those workers who had worked for the major part of the reference period, that is, 6 months or more. Marginal workers are those who had not worked for the major part of the reference period, that is, less than 6 months. However, Census 2011 has classified marginal workers into two groups, namely: marginal workers with 0–3 months of work and marginal workers who had 3–6 months of work. On the other hand, Census 2001 has classified marginal workers into one group, that is, marginal workers with 0–6 months of work.
- ▶ **Child Worker Magnitude:** Absolute number of child workers.
- ▶ **Child Worker Incidence:** The percentage of children working in the corresponding age group.
- ▶ **Child Work Participation Rate:** Work participation rate is defined as the percentage of total workers (main and marginal) in the 5–14 years age group to total children in that age group.

2.3.2 Activity classification as per NSSO

- ▶ **Usual Principal Status:** The usual activity status relates to the activity status of a person during the reference period of 365 days preceding the date of survey. The activity status on which a person spent relatively longer time (that is, major time criterion) during the 365 days preceding the date of survey is considered as the usual principal activity status of the person.
- ▶ **Usual Subsidiary Status:** If a person carries out some economic activity for a relatively minor period (not less than 30 days), in addition to economic or non-economic activity, then that economic activity is considered as subsidiary status.
- ▶ **Usual Status:** According to the usual status (PS+SS), workers are those who perform some work activity either in the principal status or in the subsidiary status. Thus, a person who is not a worker in the usual principal status is considered a worker according to the usual status (Ps+ss), if the person pursues some subsidiary economic activity for 30 days or more during 365 days preceding the date of survey.

2.3.3 Types of Workers (Census 2001 and 2011)

- ▶ **Cultivators**

For purposes of the Census, a person is classified as a cultivator if she/he is engaged in cultivation of land owned or held from the government or held from private persons or institutions for payment in money, kind or share. Cultivation includes effective supervision or direction in cultivation. A person who has given out her/his land to another person or persons or institution(s) for cultivation for money, kind or share of crop and who does not even supervise or direct cultivation of land, is not treated as a cultivator. Similarly, a person working on another person's land for wages in cash or kind, or a combination of both (agricultural labourer), is not treated as a cultivator.

Cultivation involves ploughing, sowing, harvesting and production of cereals and millet crops such as wheat, paddy, jowar, bajra, ragi, etc., and other crops such as sugarcane, tobacco, groundnuts, tapioca, etc., and pulses, raw jute and kindred fibre crops, cotton, cinchona and other medicinal plants, fruit growing, vegetable growing or keeping orchards or groves, etc. Cultivation does not include the following plantation crops – tea, coffee, rubber, coconut, and betel nuts (areca).

- ▶ **Agricultural Labourers**

As per Census, a person who works on another person's land for wages in money or kind or share is regarded as an agricultural labourer. She/he has no risk in the cultivation, but merely works on another person's land for wages. An agricultural labourer has no right of lease or contract on the land on which she/he works.

▶ **Household Industry Workers**

Household industry is defined as an industry conducted by one or more members of the household at home or within the village in rural areas, and only within the precincts of the house in urban areas. The larger proportion of workers in the household industry consists of members of the household. The industry is not run on the scale of a registered factory, which would qualify or has to be registered under the Indian Factories Act, 1948.

The main criterion of a household industry, even in urban areas, is the participation of one or more members of a household. Even if the industry is not actually located at home, in rural areas, there is a greater possibility of the members of the household participating even if it is located anywhere within the village limits. In urban areas, where organized industry has greater prominence, the household industry is confined to the precincts of the house where the participants live. In urban areas, even if the members of the household run an industry by themselves but at a place away from the precincts of their home, it is not considered as a household industry. It should be located within the precincts of the house where the members live, in the case of urban areas.

Household industry relates to production, processing, servicing, repairing or making and selling (but not merely selling) of goods. It does not include professions such as a pleader, doctor, musician, dancer, waterman, astrologer, dhobi, barber, etc., or merely trade or business, even if such professions, trade or services are run at home by members of the household. Some of the typical industries that can be conducted on a household industry basis are: foodstuffs, such as production of flour, milking or husking of paddy, grinding of herbs, production of pickles, preservation of meat, etc.; beverages, such as manufacture of country liquor, ice cream, soda water, etc.; tobacco products, such as *beedi*, cigars; textile cotton, jute, wool or silk; manufacture of wood and wood products; paper and paper products; leather and leather products; petroleum and coal products, such as, making footwear from torn tyres and other rubber footwear; chemical and chemical products, such as manufacture of toys, paints, colours, matches, fireworks, perfumes, ink, etc.; service and repairing of transport equipment, such as, cycle, rickshaw, boat or animal driven carts, etc.

▶ **Other Workers**

All workers, that is, those who have been engaged in some economic activity during the last one year but are not cultivators or agricultural labourers or in household industry, are 'other workers' (OW). The type of workers that come under this category of OW include all government servants, municipal employees, teachers, factory workers, plantation workers, priests, artists, those engaged in trade, commerce, business, transport, banking, mining, construction, political or social work, priests, entertainment artists, etc.

▶ **Non-Workers**

A person who did not work at all during the reference period is treated as a non-worker. Non-workers broadly constitute students who did not participate in any economic activity paid or unpaid, or in household duties like attending to daily household chores like cooking, cleaning utensils, looking after children, fetching water, etc., and not even as helpers in the unpaid work in the family like cultivation or mulching. Dependants, such as infants or very elderly people are not included in this category of workers, neither are pensioners drawing pension after retirement who are not engaged in any economic activity. Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes and persons having unidentified sources of income, with unspecified sources of subsistence and not engaged in any economically productive work during the reference period are also not included. Others in this category include all non-workers who may not come under the above categories, such as, rentiers, persons living on remittances, agricultural or non-agricultural royalty, convicts in jails or inmates of penal, mental or charitable institutions doing no paid or unpaid work, and persons who are seeking or are available for work.

2.3.4 State and District Level Data

- ▶ Due to non-availability of data on child workers for Telangana state in Census 2011, the study has used data for relevant districts from old Andhra Pradesh to calculate child workers for Telangana state.
- ▶ While Census 2001 had 593 districts across India, Census 2011 had 640 districts. As some of the new districts were formed by combining parts of multiple districts, these districts were strictly not comparable between 2001 and 2011. For the purpose of the study, 24 such districts were identified that were not comparable between 2001 and 2011.
- ▶ Hotspots were identified in districts and cities where child worker incidence was more than the upper-limit of 90 per cent confidence interval.

2.3.5 Others

Literacy Rate: Literacy rate of population is defined as the percentage of literates to the total population of those people who are 7 years and above.

Rural-Urban Areas: In the Census of India 2011, the definition of 'urban area' adopted is as follows: (a) all statutory places with a municipality, corporation, cantonment board or notified town area committee, etc. (b) a place satisfying the following three criteria simultaneously:

- i) a minimum population of 5,000
- ii) at least 75 per cent of male working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits
- iii) a density of population of at least 400 per sq. km. (1,000 per sq. mile)

A place that is not urban is defined as a rural area.

City: Towns with population of 1,00,000 and above are called cities.

2.4 Limitations of the Study

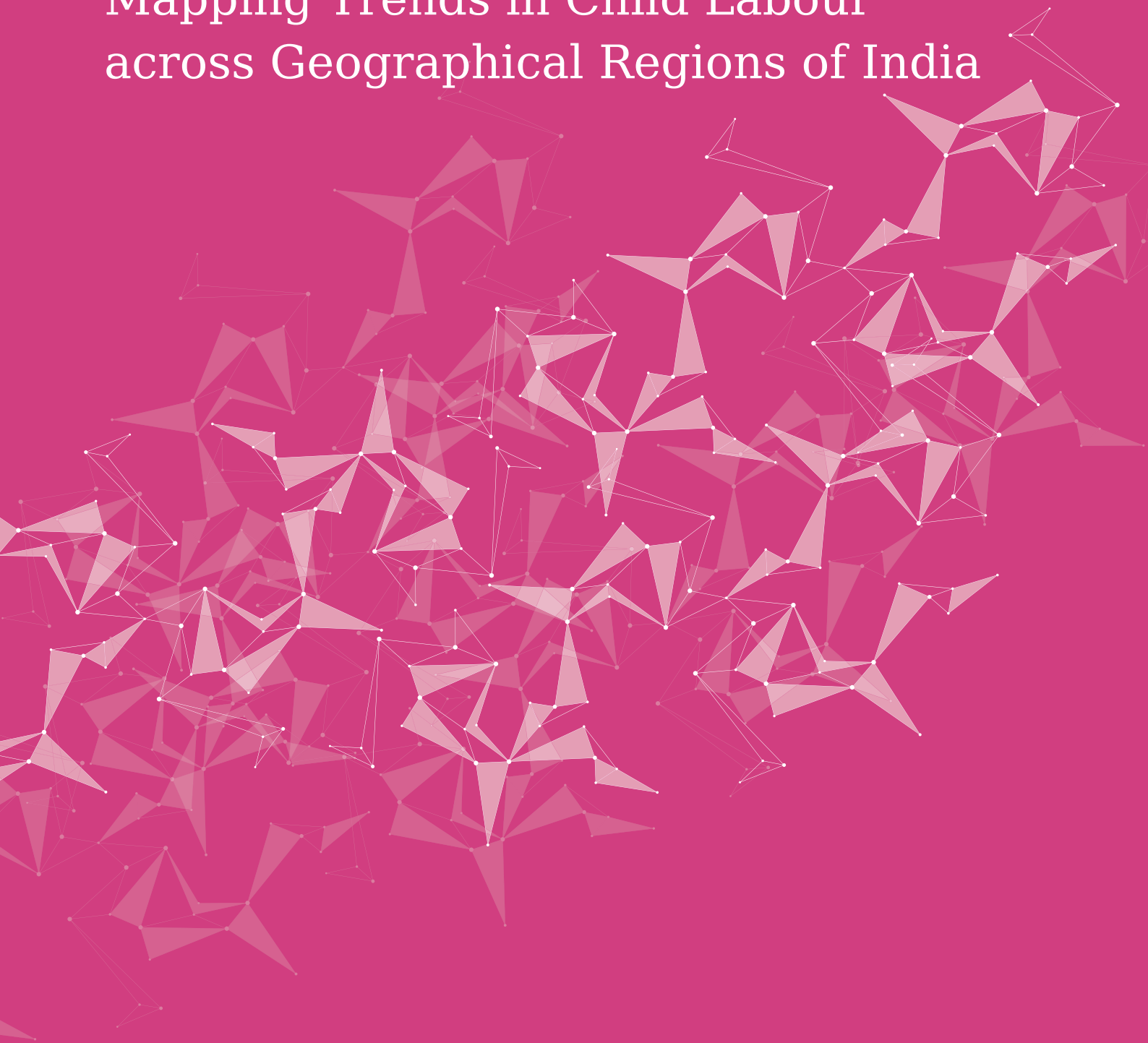
Since the study relies on available data from the Census, NSSO and DISE, the estimates are dependent on definitions and the size of the sample used by these official data sources. Although these sources capture a wide range of data such as nature of work, status and sector of employment, etc., at a highly disaggregated level, many of the work areas performed by children usually do not get captured under the definition of ‘work’ adopted by these sources.

2.5 Outline of the Report

The following chapter analyses the trends in the magnitude and incidence of child labour in India. It maps child labour across different geographical locations, presenting disaggregated data by residence, level of literacy, and education. Chapter 4 maps child labour across states and union territories of India. It also identifies hotspots where child labour is concentrated and examines the reasons for such a concentration, and also presents the data among different social groups. Chapter 5 provides a gender perspective on the situation of child labour. It tries to understand the differences in workforce participation of male and female children, thereby examining the reasons for getting engaged in paid employment. It also tries to explore the differences in participation in education for boys and girls, as well as the trends in dropping-out from school, in order to analyse the relationship between education and workforce participation. The chapter highlights the situation of girl children who are withdrawn from education or are unable to join school and end up supporting their households through their paid employment or unpaid responsibilities of sibling care and housework. Chapter 6 provides policy recommendations for dealing with the problem of child labour.

CHAPTER 03

Mapping Trends in Child Labour across Geographical Regions of India



3.1 Introduction

The most recent ILO global labour estimates for the year 2012 show that despite important progress, there are still 168 million children worldwide trapped in child labour, accounting for almost 11 per cent of the overall child population. Both child labour and the youth decent work deficit are symptomatic of the general lack of sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth in the global economy, and in developing economies in particular. Slow and jobless growth, a shift to informal modes of production and an increase in temporary workers are all trends that have made it increasingly difficult for working age members of households to generate subsistence, in turn leading to increased reliance on child labour in many contexts (ILO, 2015).

In the Indian context, child labour remains a complex problem and one of the serious challenges before policymakers that needs to be addressed appropriately. Despite proactive legislative measures and policies in India to combat the problem of child labour, the decline in its magnitude has been less progressive than expected, and, as a result, the problem persists as a challenge to the country. Recent initiatives to promote education have brought about positive outcomes; yet, large numbers of children still forgo their education to supplement household incomes. The move from education to the world of work is a crucial phase in the lives of young persons, with long-term implications for both their individual well-being and that of society as a whole (ILO, 2015). Therefore, it becomes important to understand these transitions in the context of locating child labour across different economic and social backgrounds. Insight into the situation of working children at the micro-level could be gained by understanding the reasons for concentration of child labour in some occupations and processes in certain geographical areas; the reasons for the shift of some traditional occupations from one geographical belt to another; and by the understanding of the trends in magnitude and incidence. Fulfilling the goals of inclusive growth and development will require further examination of the problem of child labour. New pathways will have to be planned to strengthen policy measures to prevent child labour and create opportunities for decent employment for the youth and the unemployed.

In this context, the present chapter maps the incidence and magnitude of child labour across national, state and district levels. It tries to establish linkages between education and child labour and tries to explore the relationship between school attendance and literacy level, as they have a significant impact on the problem of combating child labour. The next chapter maps the shifts in the incidence of child labour across geographical regions and examines the reasons for these shifts that have occurred over the past decade. Geographical belts are identified in both rural and urban areas that emerge as hotspots for child labour. Such observations are crucial to direct the course of state intervention and policy advocacy needed for the prevention of child labour. The following section discusses the magnitude and incidence of child labour across the country. The next section deals with distribution of child workers across sectors, followed by a section on educational levels and trends in child labour.

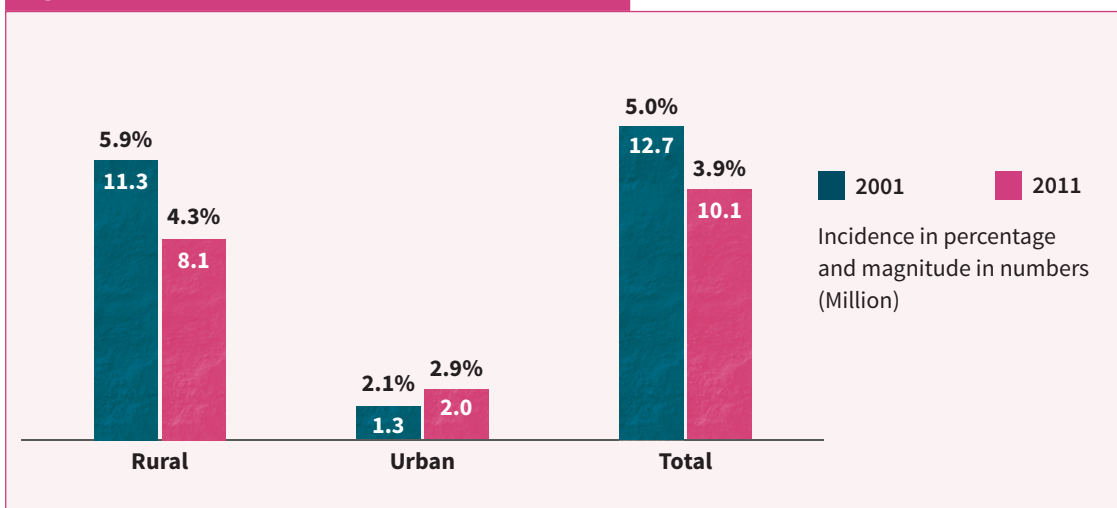
3.2 Magnitude and Incidence of Child Labour

Child labour decreased both in terms of magnitude and incidence between 2001 and 2011. The number of child workers (magnitude) in the age group of 5–14 years declined from 12.7 million in 2001 to 10.1 million in 2011. Similarly, child workers as a percentage of total children (incidence) in that age

group also decreased between the two periods, from 5.0 per cent in 2001 to 3.9 per cent in 2011. However, the decline was not uniform across rural and urban areas. While the incidence of child labour decreased significantly in rural India from 5.9 per cent in 2001 to 4.3 per cent in 2011, urban India showed a marginal increase in child labour, from 2.1 per cent in 2001 to 2.9 per cent in 2011.⁵ This increased incidence of child labour in urban areas needs further investigation, as the increase can be attributed to the growth of new census towns (CT).⁶ Figure 3.1 provides details on the number of child workers in rural and urban India. The declining incidence in child workers in rural areas is, to some extent, a reflection of growing and substantial rise in enrolment of children in rural schools. At the same time, it is disturbing to reveal that the increase in the number of child workers in urban areas is indicative of their higher demand in different types of low paid or unpaid menial work that are unskilled and monotonous. Such work does not contribute to the intellectual development of children.

Factors like agricultural land not giving adequate returns, landlessness, and few opportunities for non-agricultural employment continue to push large numbers of families out of their rural homes. Migration of families with children to urban centres makes the lives of children all the more vulnerable. With low paying jobs, lack of adequate income, poor housing, etc., urban living is a challenge for the workers. In the absence of livelihood opportunities in their native villages, children migrate to urban areas searching for sources of survival. Some children migrate with their families and many are single migrants. Uncertainty of income and employment coupled with non-permanent places of residence at the destination, continuing school education poses a serious challenge for these distressed migrant children. Some of the micro–studies conducted on access to school education have clearly substantiated these reasons. Moreover, the migrant poor take their children along when they go to work in the place of destination, as very often, they feel insecure leaving their children behind when they are away at work, because of concerns of safety, more so in the case of girl children. There is also a demand for children in urban areas to work along with their families. In her work on the brick kiln

Figure 3.1 : Child Workers in India, 2001-2011



Source: Census 2001 and 2011

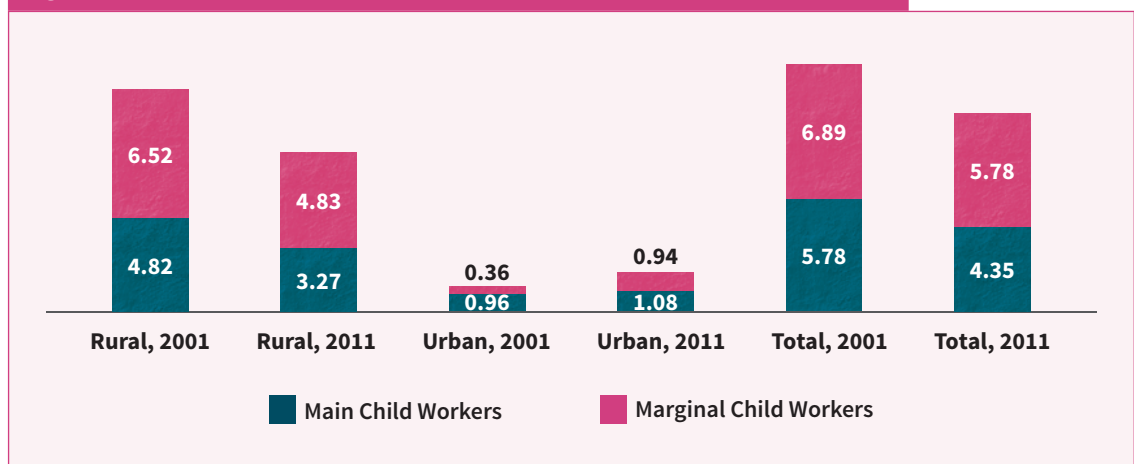
⁵ As per Census 2011, Child Worker Magnitude is defined as absolute number of child workers and Child Worker Incidence as child worker as a percentage of total children in the corresponding age group.

⁶ Places that satisfy the following criteria are termed as Census Towns (CTs) (a) a minimum population of 5000, (b) at least 75 percent of the male main working population engaged in non-agricultural pursuits and (c) density of population of at least 400 per sq. km.

industry in Maharashtra, Usha Jayachandran points out that when workers migrate to the brick kiln zones in the cities of Nashik and Pune, they do so with their families. These migrant tribal families have large numbers of children who get displaced from their native schools and start working on brick kilns, alongside their parents.

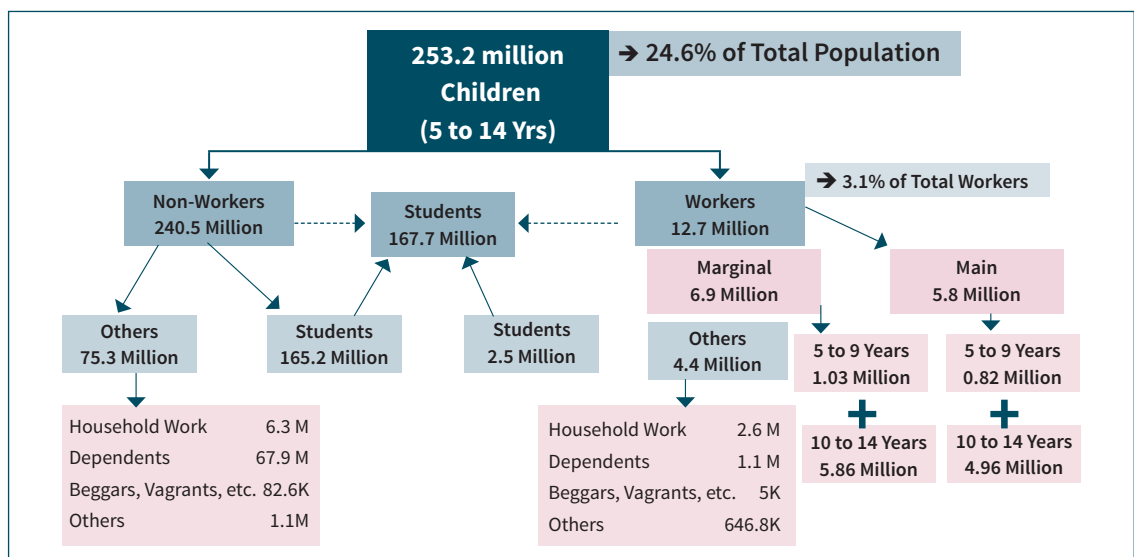
An analysis of child workers by duration of work is understood by the status of child workers as ‘main’ and ‘marginal’ workers as classified by Census of India. Main workers are those who work for 6 months or more in the preceding one year and marginal workers are those working for lesser than 6 months.⁷ Figure 3.2 shows that the urban areas witnessed an increase in child workers in marginal status in 2011, in comparison to 2001.

Figure 3.2 : Child Workers by Duration of Work, 2001-2011 (in Million)



Source: Census 2001 and 2011

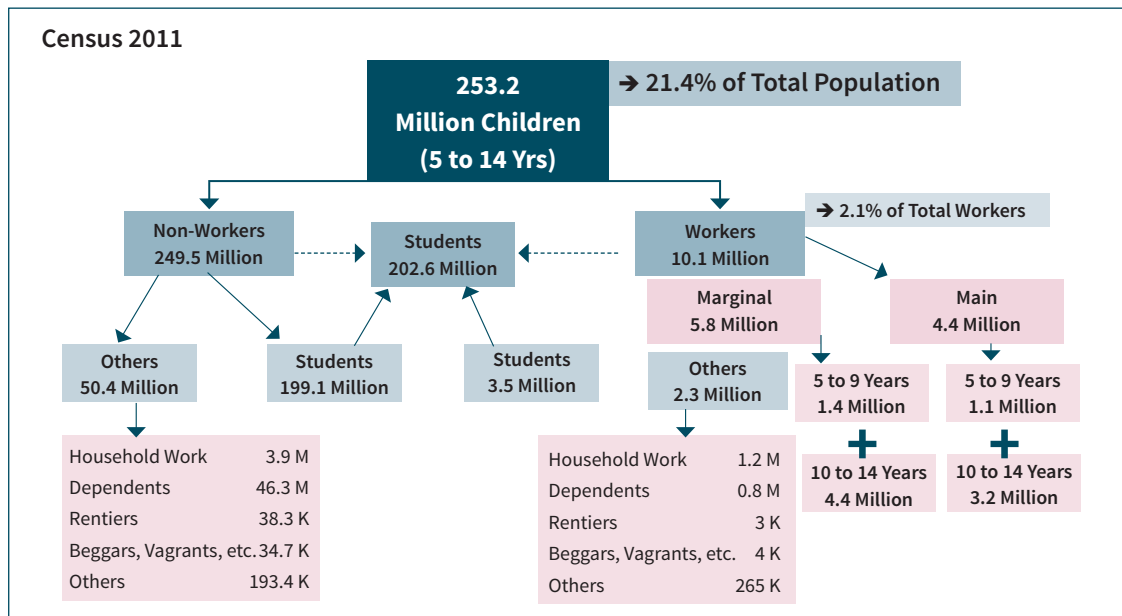
Text Box 1: Major Findings: The Macro Picture, 2001



Source: Census 2011

⁷ Those workers who had worked for the major part of the reference period (that is, 6 months or more) are termed as Main Workers. Those workers who had not worked for the major part of the reference period (that is, less than 6 months) are termed Marginal Workers.

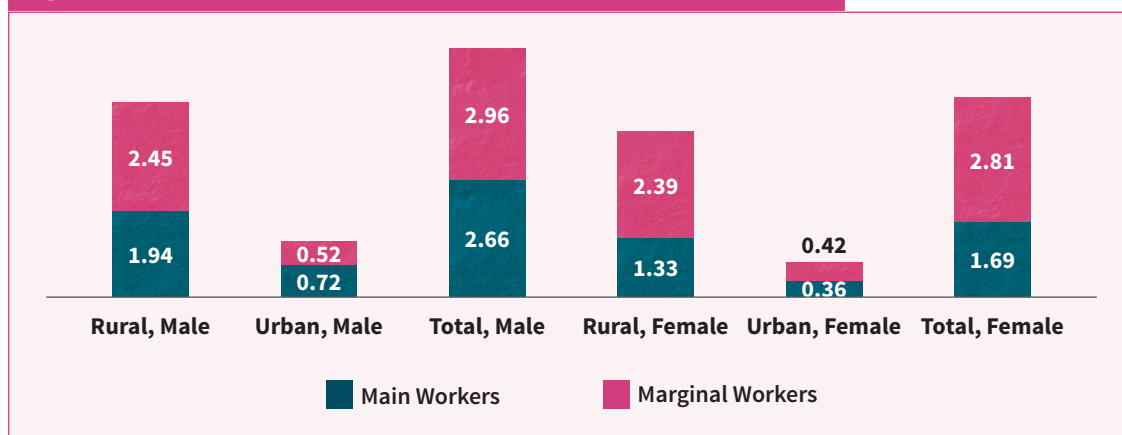
Text Box 2: The Macro Picture, 2011



Source: Census 2011

It was found that out of 10.1 million workers in the age group of 5–14 years, 4.4 million (42.6 per cent) were main workers in 2011 while 5.8 million were marginal workers that included 3.5 million students and 2.3 million others.⁸ Therefore, 6.7 million children involved in some form of economic activity alone were either main workers or non-students. It is disturbing to note that the proportion of marginal workers who were students had increased from 2.5 million in 2001 to 3.5 million in 2011. While 36.2 per cent of the marginal workers were students in 2001, the same figure stood at 60.3 per cent in 2011 (see Text Box 1 and 2). Some studies in India have pointed out that as the age of a child increases, the probability of the child studying full-time decreases. This is more so in the case of girls, as they have to attend to household domestic chores (Mehrotra and Biggeri, 2007). In the case of boys, it becomes

Figure 3.3 : Child Workers by Duration of Work, 2011 (in Million)



Source: Census 2011

⁸ Others include children in household work, dependents, rentiers, beggars, vagrants, and others.

important to supplement the household income and the traditional 'male breadwinner role' comes into play in the gendered social order of the country. In this context, a further disaggregated analysis by gender, as discussed below, clearly brings out the gender differentials in marginal status across rural and urban areas.

The study also shows that although marginal workers constitute a larger segment of total child workers, the same is neither true across rural and urban areas nor for males and females. In fact, one segment that stands out is urban males. In urban areas, main workers constitute a larger proportion of total workers, and so more males in urban areas were working as main workers in 2011 (0.72 million) in comparison to females (0.36 million) (see *Figures 3.2 and 3.3 for details*).

It is disheartening to note that the division of total child workers into two groups⁹, 5–9 years and 10–14 years, reveals that the proportion of child workers in the 5–9 years age group increased from 14.6 per cent in 2001 to 24.8 per cent in 2011 (see Text Box 1 and 2). In fact, the proportion is even more for main child workers. While 14.2 per cent of main child workers were in the 5–9 years age group in 2001, the numbers increased to 25.6 per cent in 2011. One of the factors that could be attributed for such a trend is the limited coverage of the RTE Act 2009, as it covers children within the age group of 6–14 years of age. Though the Act expresses interest in taking necessary steps in providing free pre-school education for children above 3 years of age, leaving out this critical segment of child population from the definition is worrisome; not only does the Act fail to cover all children, it does not provide definite timelines for many provisions (Jha and Parvati, 2010).

3.3 Child Workers in Major Sectors

This section provides an analysis on the distribution of child workers across major sectors, though one is constrained by sectoral data availability at more granular area of work for 2011. However, for the purpose of this study, population micro-sample data was used that divided sectoral employment into four broad levels, namely: Cultivators, Agricultural labourers, Household Industries and Other categories. According to the 2011 Census, agriculture emerged as the largest category employing children. In rural areas, 40.1 per cent children were engaged as agricultural labourers, 31.5 per cent as cultivators, 4.6 per cent in the household industry, and 23.8 per cent in other areas of work (Figure 3.4). It is significant that a large section of child workers classified as 'cultivators' in the Census would belong to the poor and marginal peasant families who cultivate either their own land or land leased from others (George and Panda 2015). In urban areas, children were mostly concentrated in occupations other than agriculture and household industry, with 83.4 per cent child labourers employed in this category (see *Figure 3.4*). The other activities in which children were engaged in urban areas were 7.3 per cent in household industry, 4.8 per cent as agricultural labourers and 4.4 per cent as cultivators. The nature of sectors in which children were engaged in rural and urban areas clearly identifies the need for a concerted policy approach to make children continue their education. At the same time, there is also a need to support agricultural households with mechanised tools so that there is less demand for child labour. Further, the demand for child labour needs to be addressed with appropriate policy interventions.

⁹ Census of India reports data for 5–9 years age group and 10–14 years age group.

Table 3.1: Child Workers (Main + Marginal) in 13 Major Sectors, 2001

Sr. No.	Sectors/Occupation	Rural	Urban	Total
1	Cultivators	37.2%	4.5%	33.8%
2	Agricultural labourers	41.2%	8.2%	37.8%
3	Plantation, Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting and Allied Activities	6.4%	2.4%	6.0%
4	Mining and Quarrying	0.3%	0.4%	0.4%
5	Manufacturing, HHI	5.6%	13.5%	6.4%
6	Manufacturing, Non-HHI	2.8%	16.5%	4.3%
7	Electricity, Gas and Water Supply	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
8	Construction	1.0%	6.7%	1.6%
9	Wholesale and Retail Trade	1.7%	18.1%	3.4%
10	Hotels and Restaurants	0.3%	2.7%	0.5%
11	Transport, Storage and Communications	0.3%	2.3%	0.5%
12	Financial Intermediation, Real Estate, Renting and Business Activities	1.5%	12.9%	2.7%
13	Public Administration and Defense, Compulsory Social Security; Education; Health and Social Work; Other Community, Social and Personal Service Activities; Private Households with Employed Persons; Extra-Territorial Organisations and Bodies.	1.6%	11.7%	2.6%
14	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

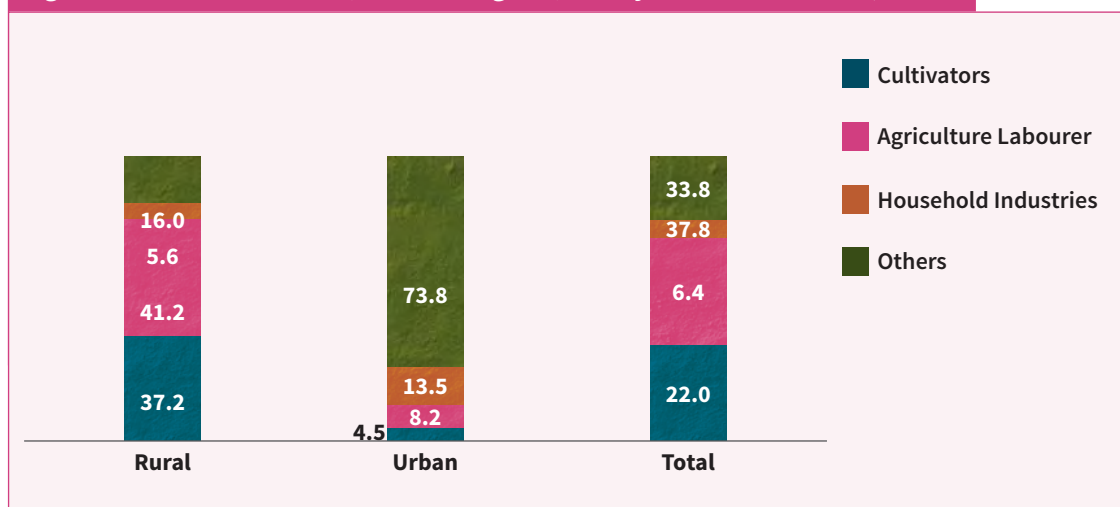
Source: Census 2001

Figure 3.4 : Child Workers (Main + Marginal) in Major Sectors in India, 2011



Source: Census Micro Sample 2011

Figure 3.5 : Child Workers (Main + Marginal) in Major Sectors in India, 2001



Source: Census 2001

Census 2001 data provides information on areas of work available in 13 sectors. The distribution of child workers (main + marginal) in major sectors in 2001 (see Figure 3.5 and Table 3.1) revealed that in rural areas, the majority of child workers (41.2 per cent) were engaged as agricultural labourers and 37.2 per cent as cultivators. A significant proportion were also engaged in plantation, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting and allied activities (6.4 per cent), and in manufacturing in household industries (HHI), (5.6 per cent).

In urban areas, a larger proportion of children were found to be employed in wholesale and retail trade (18.1 per cent), manufacturing in non-household industries (16.5 per cent), as well as in household industries (13.5 per cent). A significant proportion of children were also engaged in financial intermediation, real estate, renting, and business activities (12.9 per cent); in the activities of public administration and defense; compulsory social security; education; health and social work; other community, social and personal service activities; private households with employed persons; and extra-territorial organisations and bodies (11.7 per cent) (see Table 3.1) However, the number of children engaged as agricultural labour and cultivators declined in 2011 as compared to 2001, which might be attributed to an increase in school enrolment due to governmental intervention and education policies like Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan. Moreover, the increase in various poverty alleviation programmes, as well as shift in children's participation from primary to secondary and tertiary activities, is clearly visible as the proportion of child labour has increased in household industries and other sectors (Kumar, 2012).

3.4 Educational Levels and Trends in Child Labour

The introduction of proactive policies on education in India has had a significant impact on improving literacy rates and participation in diverse employment opportunities for the youth. The persistence of child labour, however, calls for an examination of the relationship between trends in education for children and their participation in the workforce. This section analyses the literacy levels among child workers at the national, state and district levels to assess factors that lead to children engaging in paid employment.

Out of a total of 4.4 million main child workers in the country in 2011, 2.8 million (65.3 per cent) between the age group of 5–14 years were literate (see Table 3.2). This was an increase from 47.6 per cent literate main child workers in 2001. 4 per cent of these child workers had studied till matriculation or above. This large increase in a decade implied that more and more children were beginning to attend at least some classes in schools. The increased literacy levels could be attributed to the enforcement of the Right to Education Act and Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan, but the question that arises is: How far have these flagship programmes of the Government of India contributed towards retaining children in school for longer time periods? Despite the higher rates of literacy and school attendance, several children are still forced to work. Some micro-studies have reported a variety of reasons, such as i) location of schools at long distances; ii) dilapidated school buildings; iii) dearth of drinking water and toilet facilities, iv) absence of separate toilets for girls; v) insufficient number of teachers; and vi) irregular attendance of teachers. Such factors make education an ordeal for children. Timings of formal schools are rigid and are often in conflict with other activities, especially in rural areas. Even when children do go to school, they do not find any incentive to complete various school stages since the post-school employment scenario remains bleak and there are no additional returns to school education. The interplay of all these factors persuades children to leave school, and these decisions are taken mostly by their parents (Mukherjee, 2011). This means that even as efforts to improve schooling and literacy levels have been rewarding, policy initiatives also need to focus on compensating families for the loss of wages incurred on withdrawing the children from paid employment. Along with rehabilitation of the children in terms of providing them education, there is a need to facilitate the economic rehabilitation of families.

The education level of workers at the state and district levels reflected striking differences. An analysis of educational levels of main child workers in the age group 5–14 years across various states in India (see Table 3.3) revealed striking trends and showed that the majority of child workers

Table 3.2: Education Level of Main Workers, 5–14 Years

Total Main Workers, 5–14 Years, India (2001)	5.8 Million	100.0%
Not Literate	3.0 Million	52.4%
Literate	2.8 Million	47.6%
Below Matric	2.6 Million	44.8%
Matric or Above	164,334	2.8%
Total Main Workers, 5–14 Years, India (2011)	4.4 Million	100.0%
Not Literate	1.5 Million	34.7%
Literate	2.8 Million	65.3%
Below Matric	2.7 Million	61.3%
Matric or Above	173,308	4.0%

Source: Census 2011

were literate. Kerala and Tamil Nadu were two states that had the highest proportion of literate child workers, with 82.2 per cent and 81.3 per cent respectively. Though Kerala has been one of the best performing states, the concentration of child labour in the state is due to the increase in migrant child labour from neighbouring states like Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. However, it is still difficult to find any child labour in a household in Kerala.¹⁰ Himachal Pradesh and Gujarat also had over 77.6 per cent and 76.1 per cent literate child workers. These states undoubtedly have better levels of education and school attendance rates and have witnessed significant economic development in recent decades. Despite these developments, many push factors compel children to continue working as child workers and migrate. Free, quality education with curricula that take into consideration the changing needs of the labour market, would provide children with appealing alternative opportunities, rather than migration. Further, the economic benefits derived, play a leading role in creating a demand for child labour (Ekpe-Out, 2009). The other states that followed included Maharashtra (73.8 per cent) and Uttarakhand (72.9 per cent). The states that recorded more than 60 per cent literate child workers included Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, West Bengal, Assam, Odisha, Punjab, Haryana, Chhattisgarh, and Telangana. The main reason for this achievement was the establishment of Early Childhood Centres by the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan (SSA). Despite this, some children were not able to go to school because of poverty and the distance between home and school. In Bihar, Rajasthan and Jharkhand, at least 50 per cent of child workers were literate. In addition to the factors mentioned above, many children are prevented from entering the school system or drop out due to prevalent caste and class barriers that lead to their social exclusion. Another reason may be the poor quality of the educational system, unmotivated and unsupportive teachers, and the lack of relevance of what is taught to the family occupations the children will be taking up (Murphy, 2005). Also, class and gender play an important role here – girls are normally withdrawn from schools at an early stage because of which they are unable to complete their primary education. The lower castes are also not able to complete their education due to poverty and cultural attitudes (Murphy, 2005). Telangana reported the highest number of child workers (6.2 per cent) having matric and above education. This was because income generating strategies (micro-credit and subsidies) were created for poor families so that their children could go to school. Parents were motivated to form self-help groups so their children could go to school and get quality education. Regular inspections and raids were conducted to check for violations (Gol, 2013).

The level of education has a positive relationship with the elimination of child labour. However, the incidence of child labour in different states in different educational profiles needs to be investigated further to understand the reasons why children continue to work despite the government developing schemes for the promotion of education. Although primary education appears to have done fairly well, efforts to support secondary and higher education need to be strengthened.

Table 3.3 shows that Jharkhand (59.4 per cent) and Jammu and Kashmir (56 per cent) have the lowest percentage of literate workers in the age group 5–14 years. The main reasons for this could be poverty, adult under-employment, poor educational system, tradition and culture, which act as pull factors and need to be taken into consideration and worked upon to decrease child labour. In the case of Kerala, a highly educated state, poverty and in-migration plays an important role in incidences of child

¹⁰ This was also brought out in India Mutinies on Child Labour in Kerala: Where are God's Children Paving to? 3rd May 2015. available at :<http://www.indianmutinies.com/child-labour-in-kerala/>

Table 3.3: Education Level of Main Workers, State-wise, 5–14 Years

Major States	No. of Main Workers	Not Literate	Literate	Literate but Below Matric	Matric or Above
Uttar Pradesh	896,301	37.3%	62.7%	58.6%	4.0%
Maharashtra	496,916	26.2%	73.8%	69.7%	4.1%
Bihar	451,590	45.3%	54.7%	50.0%	4.7%
Madhya Pradesh	286,310	38.3%	61.7%	58.5%	3.2%
Rajasthan	252,338	40.8%	59.2%	55.3%	3.9%
Gujarat	250,318	23.9%	76.1%	71.3%	4.8%
Karnataka	249,432	30.0%	70.0%	66.0%	4.0%
West Bengal	234,275	29.3%	70.7%	67.8%	2.8%
Andhra Pradesh	225,521	36.0%	64.0%	58.8%	5.1%
Telangana	179,330	39.8%	60.2%	54.0%	6.2%
Tamil Nadu	151,437	18.7%	81.3%	77.6%	3.7%
Assam	99,512	39.7%	60.3%	57.0%	3.3%
Odisha	92,087	32.9%	67.1%	64.1%	3.0%
Jharkhand	90,996	40.6%	59.4%	56.4%	3.0%
Punjab	90,353	36.0%	64.0%	61.0%	3.0%
Chhattisgarh	63,884	35.0%	65.0%	62.8%	2.2%
Haryana	53,492	35.7%	64.3%	62.2%	2.1%
Uttarakhand	28,098	27.1%	72.9%	70.7%	2.1%
Jammu & Kashmir	25,528	44.0%	56.0%	53.0%	3.1%
Kerala	21,757	17.8%	82.2%	79.5%	2.7%
Himachal Pradesh	15,001	22.4%	77.6%	75.7%	1.8%

Source: Census 2011

labour, whereas in states where the education systems are not up to the mark (for example, Jammu and Kashmir and Jharkhand), parents find child labour the better option.

Further, a disaggregated analysis at the district level (see Table 3.4) shows that the two top-ranking districts in terms of literate children as main workers are in Gujarat, namely, Surat and Ahmedabad, with 78.2 per cent and 78.1 per cent literate children respectively. Further, North 24 Parganas in West

Mapping Trends in Child Labour across Geographical Regions of India

Bengal (76.0 per cent), Bangalore in Karnataka (75.6 per cent), Pune (75.2 per cent), Nashik (73.9 per cent), and Thane (71.3 per cent) in Maharashtra also stand out as districts with larger proportions of literate child workers. Some of the other districts with more than 60 per cent literate child workers are Allahabad (64.6 per cent) and Ghaziabad (66.6 per cent) in Uttar Pradesh, Gaya (56.5 per cent) in Bihar, and Guntur (62.1 per cent) in Andhra Pradesh. While Patna in Bihar accounts for 55.1 per cent of literate child main workers, Bareilly in Uttar Pradesh accounts for 54.0 per cent of child workers, and Kurnool in Andhra Pradesh accounts for 49.4 per cent of literate child workers. Some of the studies have highlighted migration as being a prominent reason for child labour, despite children receiving some amount of education in their host states. Brick kilns located in West Bengal were the most preferred destinations for migrant families, as the working conditions were more honourable and remunerative (Sinha and Mishra, 2012). The analysis indicates that though effective implementation of education policies in these states led to a rise in literate children, inadequate earnings of families still compelled them to work and supplement household incomes.

Table 3.4: Education Level of Main Workers, District-wise, 5–14 Years

District Name (Top 15)	State Name	No. of Main Workers	Literate	Literate but Below Matric	Matric or Above
Nashik	Maharashtra	49,709	73.9%	69.2%	4.7%
Kurnool	Andhra Pradesh	47,905	49.4%	44.7%	4.7%
Thane	Maharashtra	41,909	71.3%	66.0%	5.4%
Mahbubnagar	Telangana	41,620	45.5%	39.9%	5.6%
Ahmedabad	Gujarat	34,347	78.1%	74.9%	3.1%
Bareilly	Uttar Pradesh	33,873	54.0%	48.7%	5.2%
Pune	Maharashtra	33,310	75.2%	71.5%	3.7%
Bangalore	Karnataka	33,140	75.6%	72.0%	3.6%
Gaya	Bihar	31,688	56.5%	51.1%	5.4%
Allahabad	Uttar Pradesh	30,441	64.6%	59.3%	5.3%
Patna	Bihar	30,120	55.1%	50.9%	4.2%
Ghaziabad	Uttar Pradesh	29,321	66.6%	62.1%	4.5%
Surat	Gujarat	27,137	78.2%	71.3%	6.9%
North 24 Parganas	West Bengal	26,291	76.0%	73.1%	2.9%
Guntur	Andhra Pradesh	25,954	62.1%	58.1%	4.0%

Source: Census 2011

3.5 Summing Up

The current magnitude of child labour, as revealed in this chapter, shows a decline in rural areas but an increase in urban areas between the two decennial census rounds of 2001 and 2011. In recent years, proactive educational policies have contributed tremendously to improvement in school education, but, at the same time, children across different geographical regions and social groups still continue to work. Agriculture has emerged as the predominant sector employing children in rural areas, whereas in urban areas, children are mostly concentrated in occupations other than agriculture and household industries. On mapping shifts in the incidence of child workers across states and union territories, Nagaland and Himachal Pradesh witnessed an increase in its incidence by 4 and 2 percentage points, respectively, between 2001 and 2011.

An analysis of educational levels of child workers across various states in India reveals that the majority of children are literate or educated below the matriculation level. Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Gujarat, and Himachal Pradesh have the highest number of literate child workers, indicating that the problem of child labour persists despite improved literacy rates in these states. There is no denying the fact that the determinants of child labour remain varied across regions, which requires identification of factors at the local level, thereby necessitating investigation at local contexts.

CHAPTER 04

Child Labour – Trends in the States

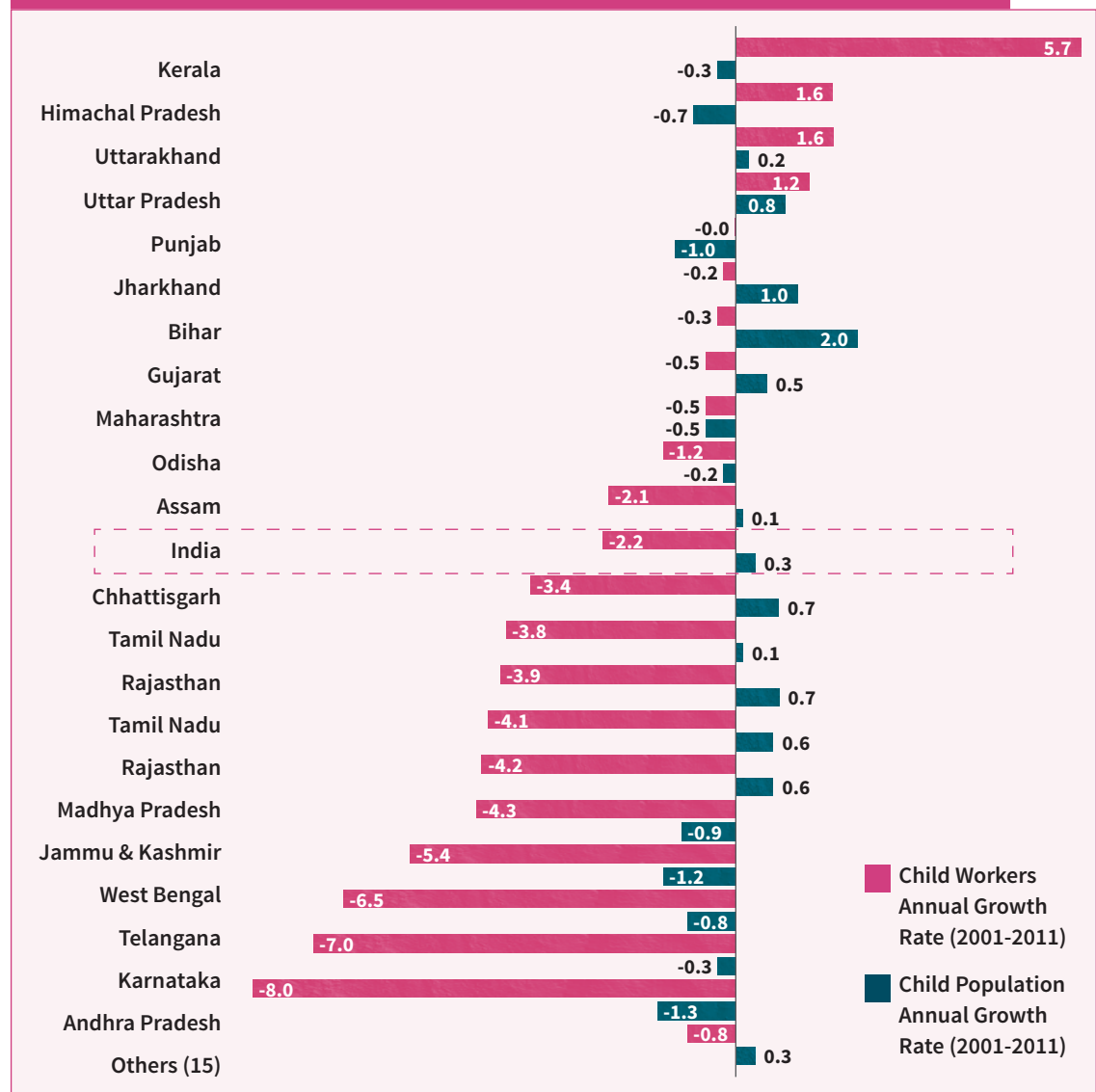


The chapter discusses the incidences of child labour across states and union territories. It also tries to delve into district-level analysis to provide a micro picture and identifies hotspot districts on greater concentration of child labour. The chapter also discusses case studies of some of the prominent states that witnessed increasing incidence of child labour in various Census years. The last section analyses the situation of child labour across various social groups.

4.1 Mapping Child Labour across States and Union Territories in India

As brought out through an analysis of the increase in child workers vis-à-vis the growth in child population in different states and union territories, Nagaland and Himachal Pradesh emerge as two states that showed increasing incidence of child labour. Nagaland witnessed an increase in the incidence of child

Figure 4.1 : Child Population and Child Workers, Annual Growth Rates, 2001-2011



Source: Census 2001

labour from 8.5 per cent in 2001 to 13.2 per cent in 2011. The incidence of child labour was higher in rural Nagaland (16.4 per cent) as compared to urban Nagaland (4.4 per cent). The proportion of child workers increased in six districts in the state and decreased in two districts between 2001 and 2011 (see *Table 4.3*). This was despite the fact that child population in Nagaland declined by 1.1 per cent per annum between 2001 and 2011, with the number of child workers falling from 540,749 in 2001 to 481,770 in 2011. There is an increase in the number of reported incidents of child labour. One of the reasons could be that since 2006, the state of Nagaland has made focused efforts to generate awareness among the population to recognise the problem of child labour and motivate the youth to support in the task of identification of child labour so that the problem could be addressed effectively. Himachal Pradesh too, showed a significant increase in child workers as a proportion of the child population, which rose from 8.1 per cent in 2001 to 10.3 per cent in 2011. While child population decreased by 0.7 per cent per annum in the state, the rate of child workers increased by 1.6 per cent per annum between 2001 and 2011. The proportion of child workers increased in eight districts of the state and decreased in four districts (see *Table 4.2*). The districts were Chamba (17.4 per cent), Kullu (17.9 per cent), Mandi (11.7 per cent), Hamirpur (11.2 per cent), Sirmour (16.6 per cent) and Kinnaur (13.2 per cent) (see *Table 4.8*). The state has reported a rise in construction activities in the past years and with the growth in the tourism industry, increasing numbers of child workers are also absorbed in the service sector – in hotels and restaurants.

It was significant that the Census noted an annual growth rate of 0.3 per cent of child population in India between 2001 and 2011. However, it is disappointing to note that although the child population is growing at an annual rate of 0.3 per cent, the rate of growth of child workers is decreasing only at a snail's pace of 2.2 per cent per annum. At this rate of growth of child population, and the rate of decline in child workers, it will take close to 200 years to eradicate the problem of child labour completely. It was striking that four states, namely, Kerala (5.7 per cent) Himachal Pradesh (1.6 per cent), Uttarakhand (1.6 per cent) and Uttar Pradesh (1.2 per cent) had experienced an increase in annual growth rate in child workers beyond the all India average (-2.2 per cent). Also, Kerala witnessed an annual growth rate of child workers by 5.7 per cent, whereas the annual growth rate of child population was -0.3 per cent. This shows that certain states in India have higher rates of child workers for many reasons. For example, states like Kerala experienced high rates of migration of families in search of work. This, in turn, forces many families to send their children to work so that extra income can come into the house (Basumatary, 2012). Child workers as a percentage of child population in Kerala showed a minor increase¹¹, from 0.5 per cent in 2001 to 0.8 per cent in 2011, even though the child population in the state fell from 5,531,381 in 2001 to 5,377,882 in 2011, which was a decrease of 0.3 per cent per annum. It was significant that the proportion of child workers increased in 13 districts and decreased only in one district between 2001 and 2011. As is well-known, the state has seen higher levels of education and literacy in the past decades. The literacy rate in the state was 94 per cent in 2011. Yet, the increase in the child worker rates in the state could be attributed to the decline in the available child workforce in the state, even as demand for child workers persisted. The higher wage rates in the state (which were over Rs. 500) attracted migrant workers and their children from other states in sectors such as tea and coffee plantations, construction and to work as assistants in shops or small eating places (Bhowmik, 2015: 31).

¹¹ As per Census 2011

Child Labour – Trends in the States

Uttar Pradesh and Bihar accounted for the largest number of child workers. Both these states have 30.8 per cent of the child population in the country and account for 32.2 per cent of child workers. Seven states of the country, namely, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat, with 62.8 per cent of child population, account for 64.7 per cent of total child workers.

Table 4.1: Child Population and Workers Across States & UTs, 2011

Child Worker %	Number of Children (in 000)	Share in Total Children	Number of Child Workers (in 000)	Share in Total Child Workers	No. of States/UTs	States/UTs
<2.0%	9,473	3.6%	98	1.0%	5	DEL, TRI, LAK, KER, PUD
2.0 - 4.0%	131,753	50.7%	4,613	45.5%	16	PUN, CHA, UTK, HAR, BIH, MIZ, WBE, ODI, GUJ, D&D, D&N, MAH, KAR, TNA, A&N, APR
4.0 - 6.0%	116,575	44.9%	5,218	51.5%	12	J&K, RAJ, UPR, ARP, MAN, MEG, ASS, JHA, CHH, MPR, GOA, TEL
>=6.0%	1,836	0.7%	201	2.0%	3	HPR, SIK, NAG
Total	259,637	100.0%	10,129	100.0%	36	

Source: Census 2011

Table 4.1 shows child population and workers across states and union territories in 2011. It can be seen that Delhi, Tripura, Lakshadweep, Kerala, and Puducherry had less than 2 per cent of child workers. However, the share of total children in these states was 3.6 per cent and the share of total child workers was 1.0 per cent.

Table 4.2: Total Child Workers Distribution

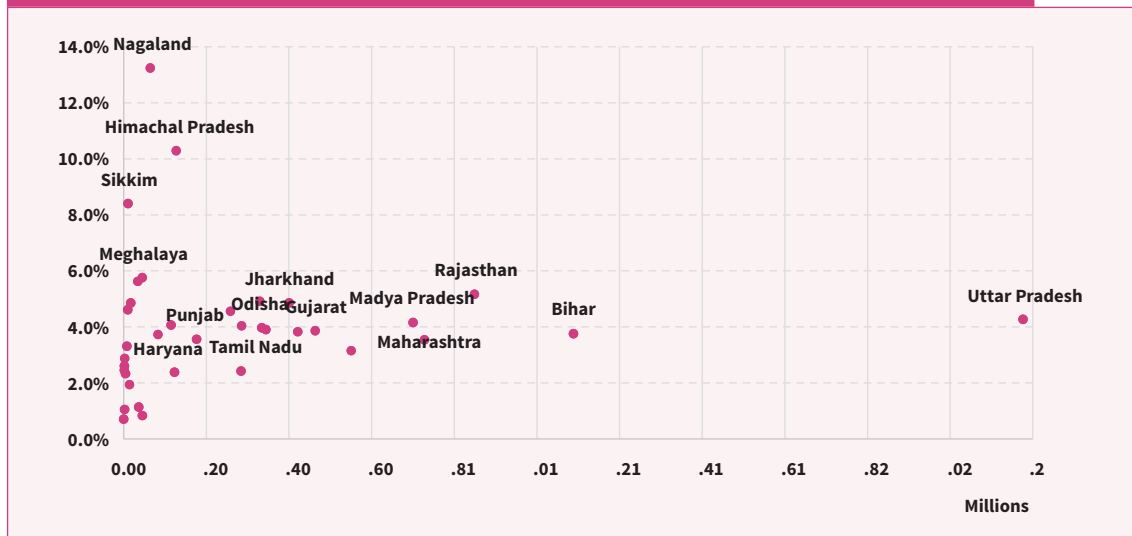
States/UTs	Less than 2.0%	2.0 - 4.0%	4.0 - 6.0%	6.0% or More	Total
Jammu & Kashmir	0.5%	43.9%	29.5%	26.1%	100.0%
Himachal Pradesh	0.0%	2.2%	0.2%	97.7%	100.0%
Punjab	0.0%	57.5%	42.5%	0.0%	100.0%
Chandigarh	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Uttarakhand	0.0%	59.3%	26.4%	14.3%	100.0%
Haryana	27.8%	72.2%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Delhi	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%

Rajasthan	0.0%	21.7%	39.6%	38.7%	100.0%
Uttar Pradesh	0.0%	29.7%	65.9%	4.4%	100.0%
Bihar	0.0%	49.6%	43.2%	7.3%	100.0%
Sikkim	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Arunachal Pradesh	0.0%	30.6%	29.8%	39.6%	100.0%
Nagaland	0.0%	0.0%	10.1%	89.9%	100.0%
Manipur	0.0%	26.2%	0.0%	73.8%	100.0%
Mizoram	18.5%	40.1%	0.0%	41.4%	100.0%
Tripura	65.4%	34.6%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Meghalaya	0.0%	15.9%	21.3%	62.8%	100.0%
Assam	0.0%	43.7%	47.9%	8.4%	100.0%
West Bengal	6.3%	87.8%	5.9%	0.0%	100.0%
Jharkhand	1.1%	25.5%	25.0%	48.4%	100.0%
Odisha	6.6%	33.6%	23.9%	36.0%	100.0%
Chhattisgarh	6.3%	32.2%	14.6%	46.9%	100.0%
Madhya Pradesh	1.0%	44.3%	24.6%	30.0%	100.0%
Gujarat	0.0%	66.8%	24.5%	8.7%	100.0%
Daman & Diu	10.9%	89.1%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Maharashtra	2.5%	54.9%	36.6%	5.9%	100.0%
Andhra Pradesh	0.0%	50.4%	30.1%	19.5%	100.0%
Karnataka	4.2%	46.3%	36.5%	13.0%	100.0%
Goa	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Lakshadweep	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Kerala	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Tamil Nadu	21.3%	78.7%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Puducherry	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	16.3%	83.7%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Telangana	0.0%	29.5%	32.4%	38.1%	100.0%
India	3.1%	42.6%	36.6%	17.8%	100.0%

Source: Census 2011

Table 4.2 shows the total distribution of child workers across states and union territories of India. There are some states that showed higher percentage of child workers because of increasing poverty in the families, illiteracy, low family income, and so on. Table 4.2 also shows that the states of Punjab, Chandigarh, Uttarakhand, Haryana, Bihar, Mizoram, West Bengal, Odisha, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu had 2–4 per cent of child workers. The share of total children in the above states was 50.7 per cent and the total share of child workers was 45.5 per cent. Also, it can be seen that Jammu and Kashmir, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh, amongst others, had 4–6 per cent of child workers, thereby reporting 51.5 per cent of child workers, while the total share of child population remained 44.9 per cent. In comparison, states like Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, and Nagaland had more than or equal to 6 per cent of child workers. In these states, the share of total child workers was 2.0 per cent and the total child population was 0.7 per cent. According to Child Rights and You, the reason behind this was that the demand for child labour in the market had increased in some states and union territories of India.¹² In some of the states, the caste system played a prominent role, wherein the lower caste children were not allowed to get the benefits of education. Moreover, the poor family background of the children also played a crucial role in child labour. The quality of education was also not good, which did not enable the parents to send their children to school (Basumatary, 2012).

Figure 4.2 : Child Workers across States & UTs (Rural + Urban), 2011; Magnitude and Incidence



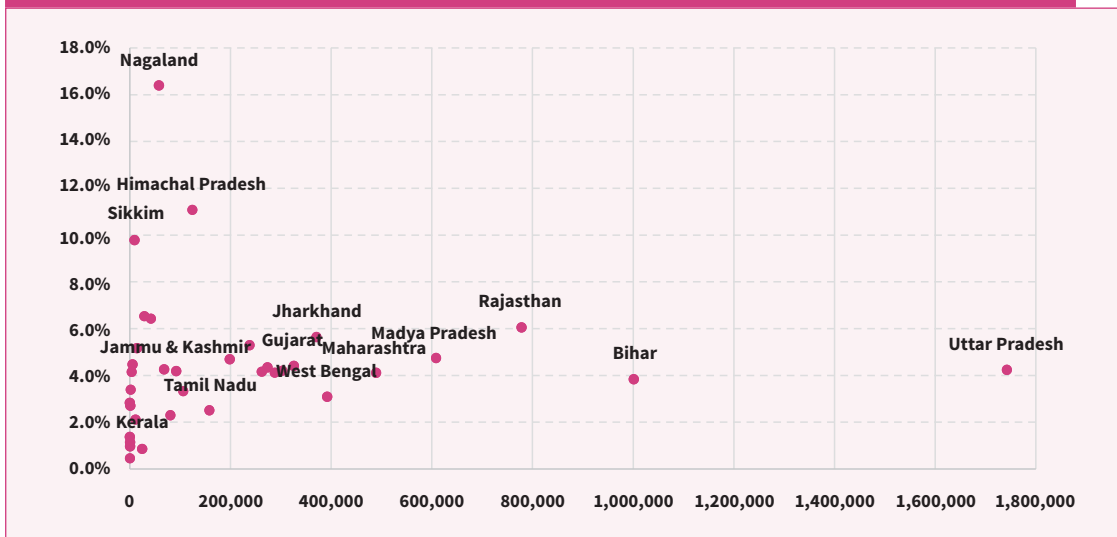
Source: Census 2011

Figure 4.2 shows the magnitude and incidence of child workers across states and union territories (rural and urban) in 2011. It shows that Uttar Pradesh had 4.1 per cent incidence and 2.1 million was the magnitude of child workers, whereas, Bihar had 3.9 per cent incidence and 1.1 million magnitude of child labour, but, Himachal Pradesh (10.1 per cent) and Nagaland emerged as states with highest incidence of child labour, both in rural and urban areas. They were followed by two North-Eastern states, Sikkim (8 per cent) and Meghalaya (6 per cent), in incidence of child labour. A recent report on

¹² For details see the website: http://www.cry.org/resources/pdf/ConceptPaper_ChildLabour.pdf

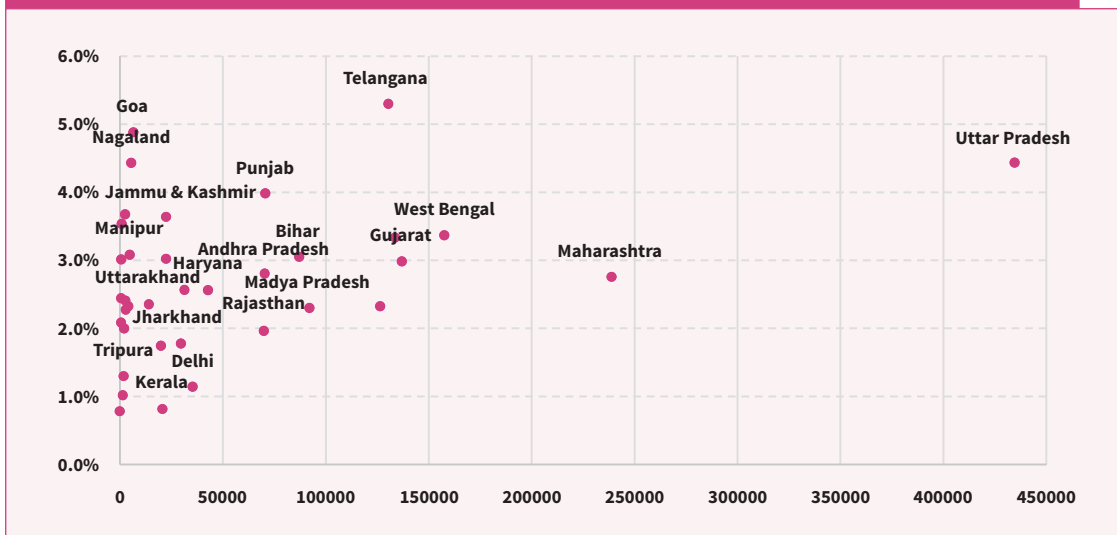
elementary education states that children are entering the educational system but are not moving ahead in the system. The reason is that the quality of education may not be satisfactory and up to standard, inadequate or no information is given to the students and parents, and so on (MHRD, 2011). This led to an increase in the magnitude and incidences of child workers across states and union territories in 2011.

Figure 4.3 : Child Workers across States & UTs (Rural), 2011; Magnitude & Incidence



Source: Census 2011

Figure 4.4 : Child Workers across States & UTs (Urban), 2011; Magnitude & Incidence



Source: Census 2011

Figures 4.3 (Rural) and Figure 4.4 (Urban) depict the incidence and magnitude of child workers across states and union territories in 2011. In urban Uttar Pradesh, there were higher incidences (4.5 per cent) of child workers with magnitude 420,000. In contrast, the rural sector had 4.1 per cent incidences of

child workers and a magnitude of approximately 17,50,000. On the other hand, Kerala showed the least magnitude (approximately 40,000) and 1.1 per cent of incidences of child workers in urban areas, and a magnitude of around 1 lakh with less than 2 per cent of incidences of child workers in rural areas. Urban areas have higher incidences of child workers, probably because there is migration from rural to urban areas on the basis of better standard of living, more job opportunities, and so on. Children in most of the families reported having stopped going to school because of poverty, lack of interest in going to school, poor quality of education, etc., and some of these reasons had forced them to become child labourers (Basumatary, 2012).

As discussed above, some of the states in the country have shown increasing incidence of child labour and have experienced different causal factors for the prevalence of child labour. The following are some case studies of states that witnessed an increase in incidence of child labour.

4.1.1 Uttar Pradesh

Uttar Pradesh recorded the highest number of child workers in the country. Census 2011 enumerated 2,176,706 child labourers, which was an enormous increase from 1,927,997 child workers in 2001. While the child population in the state reported a growth of 0.8 per cent per annum, child workers grew at the rate of 1.2 per cent per annum. Mapping the shifts in the incidence of child labour across districts in Uttar Pradesh revealed that its incidence increased in 45 districts and decreased only in 25 districts (see Table 4.3). Although the overall poverty in the state declined over the years, high incidence of poverty remained an area of concern in the central and eastern regions of the state. Disaggregated poverty estimates revealed that the maximum numbers of high poverty districts were located in the central and eastern regions of the state (Arora and Singh 2015: 108).

As depicted in the maps denoting the child labour corridor, a higher concentration of child workers was found in western and central Uttar Pradesh, particularly in urban areas, with a lower concentration in southern and eastern Uttar Pradesh (see Annexure I). This implies that child workers were being pushed out of regions in southern and eastern U.P., which had a higher incidence of poverty, landlessness or marginal land holdings, and were taking up employment in regions that offered more opportunities for employment. According to the Uttar Pradesh State Development report, districts in the western region, specifically those located near the National Capital Region (NCR), were more productive, whereas districts clustered in the north-central area of Uttar Pradesh were the worst performers (GOI, 2007). On analysing the concentration of child labour across the country, it was found that the majority of urban hotspots of child labour (with an incidence higher than 6.20 per cent) in 2011 were in Uttar Pradesh. These seven hotspots were Rudraprayag, Agra, Firozabad, Bareilly, Allahabad, Varanasi, and Gaya. Such trends denote that child workers continue to be engaged in industries that are known to employ them in large numbers (See Table 4.9). These include the footwear industry of Agra, glass industry in Firozabad, the silk-weaving industry in Varanasi, *zari* industry in Bareilly, the handmade carpet industry in Mirzapur-Bhadoi, and the lock-making industry of Aligarh.

Some of the micro studies conducted in the region portray a very complex picture about the situation of child labour across different districts of the state. For example, the practice of engaging children as

family labour in the lock manufacturing units of Aligarh is very common. Locks or parts of locks are made in almost every home in the old city of Aligarh, where children are generally engaged, though the participation of female children is very low in such units. It is reported that the local people believe the processes involved in the lock industry are such that children can easily perform.¹³

In the glass industry in Firozabad, children work at different stages of production of bangles, utensils, decorative pieces, bulbs, etc. Children are introduced to work in the manufacturing units by either their family members or relatives. Children are employed in almost all the processes of bangle making and glass blowing. They carry molten glass on rods called *labya* from the furnace to the adult workers and back to the furnace. In the bangle industry, children are also engaged in processes like *judai* (joining the ends), *chhatai* (sorting), *katai* (engraving of different patterns with the help of abrasive wheels), *pakai* (heating), packing and sorting, and are also engaged in marking the trademark on the products, clearing the glass apparatus, shining the manufactured glass products, and helping the main workers in other operations of glass manufacturing production. Family circumstances and economic conditions are reported as reasons that force the parents to send their children to glass factories.¹⁴

The carpet belt of Uttar Pradesh comprises three core districts of Mirzapur, Bhadohi (recently named as Sant Ravidas Nagar) and Varanasi, and the four adjacent districts Allahabad, Koshambi, Jaunpur and Sonebhadra. Located in the eastern region of Uttar Pradesh, these districts are economically backward with high density of population, low literacy rates, high infant mortality rates, marginal land holdings, or landlessness. Children are forced to supplement the income of their impoverished families that is much below the subsistence level.¹⁵ The static technology with low-level of productivity and low income level generates a situation where the demand for child labour is very high.

In Allahabad, Koshambi, Varanasi, Jaunpur, Sonebhadra, Faizabad, Sant Ravi Das Nagar (Bhadohi), and Mirzapur districts, *zari* making is by and large carried out in home-based units of the families that have been engaged in this work for generations. *Zari* means gold thread. Synthetic or tested *zariis* made by melting metal ingots and pressing them through perforated steel sheets to be converted into wires. They are hammered to the required thickness. Children learn the *zardosi* and *hathari* work from their family members or from the craftsmen in the neighbourhood *karkhanas* (factories) and they start working for low wages. Employers benefit by employing children, as their wage-rate is generally more flexible than that of adults. Moreover, children basically work as apprentices and therefore full-fledged wages are not necessary, this is again a major motivating factor for involving them?¹⁶ How many hours do they work? Is this actually an apprenticeship or is it exploitation?

¹³ Sekar, Helen R., and Mohammad, Noor., (2001) "Child Labour in Home Based Lock Industries of Aligarh, Series No. 018/2001," V.V. Giri National Labour Institute, Noida.

¹⁴ Barge, Sandhya, et al., (1998) "Child Labour in Glass-bangles Industry of Ferozabad-Uttar Pradesh: An Economic Analysis," "In Economics of Child Labour in Hazardous Industries of India," edited by Anker, Richard, et al., Hindustan Publishing Corporation, New Delhi, pp. 48-67.

¹⁵ Focus-group discussions and unstructured interviews with different social partners and stakeholders by Helen R. Sekar, Faculty, V.V. Giri National Labour Institute, during field visits to Mirzapur (5 June 2008), Agra (18 March 2008), Aligarh (14 March 2008), Lucknow and Fatehpur (12 March 2008), Moradabad (25 March 2008), Firozabad (12 May 2008), Bareilly (14 May 2008), Kanpur (6 May 2008), Varanasi (7 March 2008), Allahabad (7 May 2008), Jaunpur (14 to 17 November 2011) and Balrampur (22 to 25 May 2012).

¹⁶ Sekar, Helen R., (2007) "Carpet Weaving in Allahabad, Koshambi, Varanasi, Jaunpur, Sohebhadr, Faizabad, Bhadohi and Mirzapur Districts of Uttar Pradesh," in *Child Labour: Situation and Strategies for Elimination*, V.V. Giri National Labour Institute, Noida, pp. 41-43.

In the Rampur district of Uttar Pradesh, children are engaged in knife-making, *beedi* making, *karchobh* and patch-work. In knife-making children are involved in the process of *jara* (joining blades, engraved handles and *kamani*), polishing the handles and the blades, and fanning the furnace while making *falka* (blades). Knife-making remains a closely confined craft within families and groups of families interconnected by a process dependence. Poverty, large family size, high mortality rate, and illiteracy are some of the reasons for the prevalence of child labour in the district. Children work in unregistered tiny knife manufacturing units that are very often not declared as industry and do not feature in the District Industries Department, nor are listed in the Labour Department. The income from knife manufacturing is not sufficient, be it for sellers or manufacturers. Hence, child labour as a cheap source of labour is an option to bring down the production cost.¹⁷ The number of child labourers are more in 'Karchob'-a raised *zari* metallic thread embroidery created by sewing flat stitches on cotton padding. Children work along with their family members in their own dilapidated houses or that of others as hired-in labourers. All these places are highly congested with narrow lanes, with hardly any sanitation facilities, which are the habitats of the poorest section of the Rampur population. The people engaged in knife and *karchob* are from the Muslim community, with very little or no education and are locals working over generations. Compared to the knife industry, more families are involved in 'Karchob' because of its employment potential due to the international connection as supply chains of garment-export companies. Being marginalised industries, surviving on subsistence and constantly on the lookout for cheap labour, the proportion of child labour to adult workers in the knife-manufacturing and *karchobh* is high in Rampur district of Uttar Pradesh.¹⁸

In Moradabad district of Uttar Pradesh, child labour in the brassware industry is accepted as a structural phenomenon that gets typically associated with poverty, illiteracy, subsistence wage, low investment, and least mechanization. Child labour is endemic in the processes that are sub-contracted, such as scrapping, casting (as furnace attendants), welding, threading, electroplating, and engraving, which is monotonous work. The artisan families work on piece-rates and on receiving orders, receive advances. This system makes them perpetually dependent on middlemen. The pressure of getting orders at compromising rates in the face of competition and then supplying them on time, compel them to utilise their household capacities to the maximum limit. Children are used in this household labour by compulsions of saving money and time. There is no regular and steady supply of orders.¹⁹ Many children from the artisan families never get enrolled in school and a large proportion of those who are enrolled discontinue their studies at the primary level of education. Those who are reported to have completed primary education hardly know how to read and write; it almost amounts to illiteracy, except for the fact that they have attended school for few years.²⁰

¹⁷ Sekar, Helen R., (2007) "Knife Industry in Rampur, In *Child Labour Situations and Strategies for Elimination*," VV Giri National Labour Institute, Noida, pp. 32-34.

¹⁸ Ghosh, Ashish, & Sekar, Helen R., (2003) "Situational Analysis of Child Labour in the Knife-making and Karchobh Work of Rampur," VV. Giri National Labour Institute, Noida, and Developing Countries Research Centre, University of Delhi (unpublished report).

¹⁹ Sekar, Helen R., (2007) "Impact of Technological Change on the Demand for Child Labour in Brassware Industry of Moradabad," Series No. 074/2007, VV. Giri National Labour Institute, Noida, p.129-130.

²⁰ Ghosh, Ashish, & Sekar, Helen R., (2000) "Child Labour in Moradabad Home-Based Industries in the Wake of Legislation," Series No. 013/2000, VV. Giri National Labour Institute, Noida

4.1.2 Bihar

According to the Census 2011, Bihar reported 1,088,509 child workers, a decrease from 1,117,500 child workers in 2001. Mapping the shifts in the incidence of child labour across districts in Bihar reveals that its incidence increased in 12 districts and decreased only in 25 districts (see *Table 4.3*). The hotspot of Bihar was the urban district of Gaya, which had 6.4 per cent incidence and 8,438 magnitude of child labour (see *Table 4.9*). The Census 2011 showed that 54.7 per cent of the child workers were literate, whereas 45.3 per cent of them were illiterate. There were fewer percentage of child workers who strived to be educated to matric and above. According to UNICEF's state information on Bihar in the year 2006, poverty is still rampant, due to which child labour is still prevalent.²¹ Bihar is one of the main suppliers of cheap child labour to other states of India. Most of the children work as domestic help in shops and factories. There is a high concentration of child workers in agriculture, forestry and fishing, followed by trade, hotels, transport, and communication.²²

Demographic and technological factors are also responsible for the region being underdeveloped. The unorganised sector in Bihar is a vast sector employing children in various occupations: as domestic workers, helpers or assistants in hotels, restaurants, road side *dhabas* (motels), and tea shops; hawkers, newspaper sellers, porters, shoe-shine boys, sweepers and scavengers; children working in motor garages, iron gates and grill manufacturing industries, book-binding and paper cutting industries; and construction industries as brick kiln workers, stone crushers, loaders of heavy construction materials like bricks, sand, cement, etc. Many of these children are street children or runaway children who have come back to their place of residence and are working in the service sector. Children are also engaged in farms, involved in animal grazing, helping parents in agricultural operations, etc. (Mohsin, 2006).

4.1.3 Rajasthan

According to Census 2011, Rajasthan reported 848,386 child workers, which was an enormous decrease from 1,262,570 child workers in 2001. Mapping the shifts in the incidence of child labour across districts in Rajasthan revealed that its incidence increased in one district and decreased in 31 districts (see *Table 4.3*). Census 2011 showed that 59.2 per cent of the child workers were literate, whereas 40.8 per cent of them were illiterate. It was also seen that 55.3 per cent of child workers were below matric. According to the Human Development Report of Rajasthan (2008), poverty was still prevalent but had reduced substantially. Literacy rates also improved in the state, which was visible in the increased enrolment of children in the schools. In Rajasthan, child workers are highly concentrated in the sectors of agriculture, forestry, and fishing, followed by trade, hotels, transport and communication. The hotspots of Rajasthan are the tourism industry in Pratapgarh, tourism industry in Banswara, trade industry in Jalor and tourism industry in Dhaulpur. Traditionally, the gem polishing industry is another primarily home-based industry that engages child labour. The locals who are unemployed, under-

²¹ Mohsin, N. (2006) *CLAP II Evaluation Report, The European Union, India Country Office & TDH (Germany) India Office*

²² For details, see: [link:http://unicef.in/State/Bihar](http://unicef.in/State/Bihar)

employed and those who earn much less than the subsistence level of income, such as street vendors, rickshaw-pullers, and tailors of old clothes, do not enroll their children in school but send them to work in gem polishing units instead. They send their children to work due to low rates of perceived returns to education, high perceived opportunity costs and the perception of the employment in the industry as a way for upward mobility. Further, when the family income shrinks and survival strategies are constrained, children are forced to supplement the family income.²³

While male children are employed in different processes such as joining, ‘pre-shaping’ carving, and polishing, girl children are mainly involved in bead-making and cutting rough stones. Besides faceting, most of the above mentioned processes do not require any technical skills. In the units where semi-precious stones are processed, children are also employed for arranging the wooden sticks on which the stones have to be fixed, and also as sweepers.²⁴ The organisation and segmentation of work in gem polishing facilitates carrying out the work by different individuals involving women and children in the family units located in different places.

However, child labour in Jalor (limestone and stone quarry), Jaipur (gem polishing), Bikaner (carpet-weaving), Ajmer (tourism), Dhaultpur (marble), Banswara (cane and bamboo works, and stone quarry), and Bhilwara (garment), is mainly due to high industrial activities and the resultant demand for cheap labour. The incidence of child labour in Banswara, Chittor, Dungarpur, and Udaipur is due to the concentration of impoverished tribal population languishing under poverty conditions. Along with their family members, children are engaged in farm and farm-based activities such as sowing, weeding, harvesting, grazing, and tending livestock and poultry. Children in Rajasthan are also engaged in trade and commerce, transportation, mining and construction, and as domestics in hotels and *dhabas* and in private houses.²⁵ The majority of child workers in domestic work, restaurants, *dhabas* and shops are migrants. There are tribal children who work and live in bondage in the employers’ home or manufacturing unit to pay-off their families’ debts as per the agreed contracts.

4.1.4 Maharashtra

According to Census 2011, Maharashtra reported 727,932 child workers, which was a considerable decline from 764,075 child workers in 2001. Mapping the shifts in the incidence of child labour across districts in Maharashtra revealed that its incidence increased in 19 districts and decreased only in 16 districts (see *Table 4.3*). Census 2011 showed that 73.8 per cent workers were literate, whereas 26.2 per cent were illiterate. In Maharashtra, child workers are highly concentrated in the sectors of agriculture, forestry, and fishing.

²³ Unstructured interviews with different social partners and stakeholders by Helen R. Sekar, VGNLI, during field visits to Jaipur in May 2013

²⁴ Martine, K. (1996) “Child Labour and Adult Labour in the Gem Polishing Export Industry of Jaipur, in *Child and Adult Labour in the Export-Oriented Garment and Polishing Industry of India*,” India Committee of the Netherlands, Utrecht, pp. 82-99.

²⁵ Shah, Farida, *Scheduled Tribe Child Labour*, (1996), Shiva Publishers Distributors, Udaipur, pp. 42-45

4.1.5 West Bengal

According to Census 2011, West Bengal reported 550,092 child workers, which was a considerable decline from 857,087 child workers in 2001. Mapping the shifts in the incidence of child labour across districts in West Bengal revealed that its incidence increased in three districts and decreased only in 15 districts (see *Table 4.3*). Census 2011 showed that 70.7 per cent were literate child workers, whereas 29.3 per cent were illiterate. Though the number of incidences of child workers had decreased, the literacy rate had increased. The government programme on literacy may have been implemented properly, which shows the result in the state. The child workers were mainly concentrated in the sectors of manufacturing, followed by agriculture, forestry, and fishing.

4.1.6 Gujarat

According to Census 2011, Gujarat reported 463,077 child workers, which was a considerable decrease from 485,530 child workers in 2001. Mapping the shifts in the incidence of child labour across districts in Gujarat revealed that its incidence increased in nine districts and decreased only in 16 districts (see *Table 4.3*). Census 2011 showed that 76.1 per cent of child workers were literate, whereas 23.9 per cent were illiterate. According to the Gujarat Human Development Report (2004), there was some development in the state. Though child labour still existed in the state, the literacy rate had increased to a considerable degree. Child workers were mainly concentrated in the sectors of agriculture, forestry, and fishing followed by trade, hotels, transport and communication.

4.1.7 Jammu and Kashmir

According to Census 2011, Jammu and Kashmir reported increase in child labour in two districts and decrease in 12 districts (see *Table 4.3*). Carpet weaving is the principal craft of Jammu and Kashmir and is deeply rooted in tradition. Child labour is engaged in the process of weaving, which is the most arduous and time consuming process of all the operations involved in carpet weaving. Children are preferred with the view that they learn the skill quickly, work faster and occupy less sitting space at the loom than an adult. Carpet industry, is essentially a home-based industry and is not capital intensive. The carpet looms are established in houses. Therefore, it becomes easy for families to engage their own children in addition to other children they may hire for carpet weaving in these looms. Thus, the placing of these looms in the premises of their houses and in their own localities facilitates the labour participation of children. Most of the child labour in carpet weaving belongs to traditional weavers' households and those who come from low income families of cultivators, agricultural labourers, artisans, tailors, etc. It is reported that child labour is rampant because, more than economic compulsions, people believe that children have flexible muscles and their nimble fingers help in this fine task of carpet weaving. Children are paid much lower wages as compared to adults (Mishra, 2000).

Most of the children employed in Jammu and Kashmir are engaged in the handloom and handicraft industry. While Udhampur engages the highest number of children, Srinagar has the lowest proportion of children engaged as child labour.²⁶

²⁶ (1993) "Child Workers in the Carpet Weaving Industry of J & K," *Child Labour Series, Child Labour Cell, VV. Giri National Labour Institute, pp. 2-10.*

Most of the children working in the carpet industry are illiterate. They belong to the low income strata of society and are from households that lack many amenities. Illiteracy is attributed to low income of the families their consequent inability to send their children to school and their inability to appreciate the value of education. Lack of schools and/or schools with poor facilities are also stated as the reasons for children joining the carpet weaving industry. Forced by their circumstances, children who have lost one or both of their parents at an early age take up carpet weaving as their economic activity for survival (Mishra, 2000).

4.1.8 Karnataka

According to Census 2011, Karnataka reported increase in child labour in one district and decrease in 26 districts (see Table 4.3). The hotspot of Karnataka is the rural district of Yadgir, which has 10.6 per cent incidence and 24,817 magnitude of child labour (see Table 4.8). Children at work in Karnataka are engaged in different economic activities. In the rural areas of Karnataka, they are engaged in agriculture and sericulture-based occupations, in poultry/hatchery, cattle-herding, fishing, cotton picking and ginning, making country made cigars (*beedi making*), woodcutting, basket-making, mat-weaving and making incense sticks (*agarbathis*), tile-making, etc. Indebtedness due to acute health crisis is reported as a predominant reason for child labour in the rural areas of Karnataka. In the urban areas, they are employed in loading and unloading, cleaning vehicles, painting, carpentry, small-scale manufacturing units such as gem-polishing, in chemical industrial units, fabricated metal and electrical manufacturing, *zari* embroidery, confectionery, slate-pencil-making, jaggery making, aluminium industry, building construction processes, road-tarring, in private houses as domestic, help and in hotels, restaurants, petrol pumps, automobile garages and ready-made garment units as helpers. Children carry out rag picking, vending, shoe-shining in Bengaluru City and the adjoining areas. They also work in food processing units and in the power-looms of Belgaum. In Gulbarga, children are at work around the peripheries of iron ore mines and are also reported to be engaged in stone-cutting, footwear-making, and in the tanneries of this district. In Mysore and surrounding areas, children work in plantations, cashew-picking and processing, and in tile-making.²⁷ In Dakshina Kannada district, children are employed in handloom units and phenyl units in village Katipalla of Mangalore Taluka. It is reported that the teachers discriminate between children on the basis of caste, religion, gender, geographical background (rural/tribal) and are very often insensitive to their specific educational needs and keep social and emotional distance, resulting in a feeling of alienation for children. With the preference to work rather than attending such schools, the educational process often alienates poor and/or rural students from their natural and social environment, leading to higher rates of migration to urban centres alone or with peer groups, relatives, neighbours or family members. The school environment seems to be hostile to children, especially those who belong to socially disadvantaged groups, particularly in the rural areas, because of which several children drop-out of school after facing ill-treatment and discrimination by the teachers.²⁸

²⁷ *Unstructured interviews with different social partners and stakeholders by Helen R. Sekar during field visits to Karnataka from 1 June 2007 to 20 to 22 July 2011*

²⁸ Joseph, Ammu, (1996) "A Profile of Child Labour in Karnataka," Department of Women and Child Development, Karnataka, pp. 39-40

4.1.9 Himachal Pradesh

Mapping the shifts in the incidence of child labour across districts in Himachal Pradesh revealed that its incidence increased in eight districts and decreased only in four districts (see Table 4.3). The hotspot of Himachal Pradesh is in the rural and urban districts of Chamba, which has 17.4 per cent incidence and 19,101 magnitude of child labour. Kullu has 17.9 per cent incidence and 14,466 magnitude, Mandi has 11.7 per cent incidence and 21,061 magnitude, Hamirpur has 11.2 per cent incidence and 8,639 magnitude, Sirmour has 16.6 per cent incidence and 17,871 magnitude, and Kinnaur has 13.2 per cent incidence and 1,731 magnitude of child workers (see Table 4.9). Mandi is the second largest district in Himachal Pradesh that engages in activities like carpet making, animal husbandary, and *pullah* making²⁹ which is traditionally carried out by women and children. The region is basically poor, with high illiteracy and most of the workers below the poverty line (Prasad, 1996).

4.2 Child Labour in Districts

This section analyses the distribution of child labour across various districts in the country. It also tries to map the shifts in the incidence and magnitude of child labour during various Census years. Further, a disaggregated analysis of the districts is carried out to identify the districts with greater concentration of child labour in various districts across the country.

Table 4.3: Shifts in Incidence in Districts

States/UTs	Change in Incidence between 2001 & 2011, No. of Districts		
	Increased	Decreased	Total
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	1	2
Andhra Pradesh	0	13	13
Arunachal Pradesh	5	8	13
Assam	6	17	23
Bihar	12	25	37
Chandigarh	1		1
Chhattisgarh	2	14	16
Dadra & Nagar Haveli		1	1
Daman & Diu	1	1	2
Delhi	3	6	9
Goa	2		2

²⁹ Pullah making is an activity related to making local embroidered shoes, that women and children engage in.

Child Labour – Trends in the States

Gujarat	9	16	25
Haryana	3	16	19
Himachal Pradesh	8	4	12
Jammu & Kashmir	2	12	14
Jharkhand	6	12	18
Karnataka	1	26	27
Kerala	13	1	14
Lakshadweep	1		1
Madhya Pradesh	4	41	45
Maharashtra	19	16	35
Manipur	4	5	9
Meghalaya	1	6	7
Mizoram		8	8
Nagaland	6	2	8
Odisha	14	16	30
Puducherry	2	2	4
Punjab	11	6	17
Rajasthan	1	31	32
Sikkim	1	3	4
Tamil Nadu	6	24	30
Tripura		4	4
Telangana	2	8	10
Uttar Pradesh	45	25	70
Uttarakhand	9	4	13
West Bengal	3	15	18
India	204	389	593

Source: Census 2001 and 2011

Note: Here are 24 districts in 2011 that could not be compared directly with 2001 as they were formed from multiple districts. Hence, they are matched with the 2001 districts, which contributed more population to the new districts.

An analysis of the shifts in the incidence of child labour between 2001 and 2011 across districts in different states revealed that states such as Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Maharashtra and Kerala witnessed an increase in child labour in a greater number of districts. In Uttar Pradesh, the incidence of child labour increased in 45 districts and decreased in 25 districts. In Maharashtra, it increased in 19 districts and declined in 16 districts. In Punjab, the incidence of child labour increased in 11 districts and decreased only in six districts. Notably, in Kerala the incidence of child labour increased in 13 districts and decreased in just one district. Most families prefer to send their children to work rather than to schools, as the quality of education delivered is not very good. Also, for most of them, going to school for learning is very expensive. Hence, they prefer to work rather than study (World Bank, 2004).

Table 4.4: Child Population and Workers across Districts, 2011

Incidence Range	No. of Children (in 000)	% of Children	No. of Child Workers (in 000)	% of Child Workers	No. of Districts
Less than 2.0%	21,677	8.30%	310	3.10%	72
2.0 - 4.0%	137,983	53.10%	4,315	42.60%	313
4.0 - 6.0%	77,545	29.90%	3,705	36.60%	160
6.0% or More	22,432	8.60%	1,799	17.80%	95
All	259,637	100.00%	10,129	100.00%	640

Source: Census 2011

Table 4.4 shows that five districts, namely, Allahabad, Gaya, Thane, Bareilly, Hyderabad, and Kurnool account for 3.7 per cent of total child workers (3.7 lakh) with an incidence rate of 5.7 per cent. It is to be noted that these districts account for 2.5 per cent of total children in the age group of 5–14 years. In fact, there are 140 districts that account for 52.8 per cent of total child workers (53.5 lakh) with an incidence rate of 4.6 per cent and these districts together have 45 per cent of total children.

Table 4.4 also shows that 72 districts had less than 2 per cent incidence of child workers. Further, these districts had 8.30 per cent children residing in them, of which, 3.10 per cent were child workers. On the other hand, there were 95 districts that had 6 per cent or greater incidence of child labour. Out of 8.60 per cent of the children residing in these districts, 17.80 per cent were engaged as child workers. It is apparent that a higher percentage of children had opted for working as child labour. Poverty may be the main reason for the increase in child labour and migration from one place to another in search of a better standard of living (Basumatary, 2012).

Table 4.5: Incidence of Child Labour across Districts

States/UTs	No. of Districts				Total
	Less than 2.0%	2.0 - 4.0%	4.0 - 6.0%	6.0% or More	
Jammu and Kashmir	1	12	6	3	22
Himachal Pradesh	-	1	1	10	12
Punjab	-	15	5	-	20
Chandigarh	-	1	-	-	1
Uttarakhand	-	8	4	1	13
Haryana	9	12	-	-	21
Delhi	9	-	-	-	9
Rajasthan	-	10	15	8	33
Uttar Pradesh	-	32	36	3	71
Bihar	-	23	14	1	38
Sikkim	-	-	-	4	4
Arunachal Pradesh	-	6	6	4	16
Nagaland	-	-	2	9	11
Manipur	-	4	-	5	9
Mizoram	2	5	-	1	8
Tripura	2	2	-	-	4
Meghalaya	-	1	2	4	7
Assam	-	14	11	2	27
West Bengal	2	16	1	-	19
Jharkhand	1	8	6	9	24
Odisha	5	11	7	7	30
Chhattisgarh	2	7	2	7	18
Madhya Pradesh	1	29	12	8	50
Gujarat	-	18	6	2	26
Daman& Diu	1	1	-	-	2

Dadra & Nagar Haveli	-	1	-	-	1
Maharashtra	2	20	11	2	35
Andhra Pradesh	-	9	3	1	13
Karnataka	4	19	5	2	30
Goa	-	-	2	-	2
Lakshadweep	1	-	-	-	1
Kerala	14	-	-	-	14
Tamil Nadu	11	21	-	-	32
Puducherry	4	-	-	-	4
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	2	-	-	3
Telangana	-	5	3	2	10
India	72	313	160	95	640

Source: Census 2011

Table 4.5 shows that 313 districts in India reported having an incidence of child labour between 2 to 4 per cent. However, 160 districts witnessed 4–6 per cent incidence of child labour, 95 districts were reported to have child labour incidence of more than 6 per cent, and 72 districts reported less than 2 per cent incidence of child labour.

Table 4.6: Total Child Workers (in '000)

States/UTs	No. of Districts				Total
	Less than 2.0%	2.0 - 4.0%	4.0 - 6.0%	6.0% or More	
Jammu & Kashmir	0.61	50.50	33.85	29.96	114.92
Himachal Pradesh	-	2.75	0.22	123.65	126.62
Punjab	-	101.65	75.00	-	176.65
Chandigarh	-	4.32	-	-	4.32
Uttarakhand	-	48.86	21.78	11.80	82.43
Haryana	34.22	88.99	-	-	123.20
Delhi	36.32	-	-	-	36.32
Rajasthan	-	184.01	335.77	328.62	848.39
Uttar Pradesh	-	646.53	1,433.80	96.38	2,176.71

Child Labour – Trends in the States

Bihar	-	539.81	469.78	78.93	1,088.51
Sikkim	-	-	-	10.39	10.39
Arunachal Pradesh	-	5.21	5.08	6.74	17.03
Nagaland	-	-	6.47	57.32	63.79
Manipur	-	8.94	-	25.15	34.09
Mizoram	1.44	3.12	-	3.22	7.78
Tripura	8.87	4.70	-	-	13.56
Meghalaya	-	7.05	9.49	27.93	44.47
Assam	-	124.54	136.38	23.89	284.81
West Bengal	34.53	482.98	32.58	-	550.09
Jharkhand	4.24	102.14	100.02	193.88	400.28
Odisha	21.99	112.33	79.86	120.24	334.42
Chhattisgarh	16.18	82.94	37.70	120.96	257.77
Madhya Pradesh	7.23	310.37	172.56	210.08	700.24
Gujarat	-	309.31	113.67	40.10	463.08
Daman & Diu	0.10	0.79	-	-	0.88
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	-	2.06	-	-	2.06
Maharashtra	18.30	399.94	266.79	42.91	727.93
Andhra Pradesh	-	173.34	103.65	66.98	343.97
Karnataka	17.65	195.24	153.67	54.78	421.35
Goa	-	-	10.01	-	10.01
Lakshadweep	0.08	-	-	-	0.08
Kerala	45.44	-	-	-	45.44
Tamil Nadu	60.50	223.74	-	-	284.23
Puducherry	2.17	-	-	-	2.17
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	0.27	1.40	-	-	1.67
Telangana	-	97.11	106.63	125.29	329.03
India	310.12	4,314.62	3,704.75	1,799.18	10,128.66

Source: Census 2011

Tables 4.5 and 4.6 show the number of incidences of child worker in the districts of the states and union territories of India. The tables show that most of the districts of Tamil Nadu (11 districts) and Kerala (14 districts) had less than 2 per cent incidences of child worker. Tamil Nadu is shown to have 21 districts that have around 2–4 per cent incidences of child workers. It can also be seen that Uttar Pradesh had the maximum incidences of child workers. Table 4.4 shows there were 32 districts with 2–4 per cent incidences of child workers and 36 districts with 4–6 per cent incidences of child workers in Uttar Pradesh. States like Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Bihar had reportedly fewer districts with 6 or more per cent incidences of child workers. However, states like Himachal Pradesh (10 districts), Nagaland (9 districts), Jharkhand (9 districts), Madhya Pradesh (8 districts), and Rajasthan (8 districts) reported greater than 6 per cent incidence of child labour. The reason for this was that there were some districts that had lower literacy rates, specifically among women. It is usually women who motivate other family members to attend school and earn better incomes. The women need to participate in the workforce in order to send their children to school (Afridi, 2013).

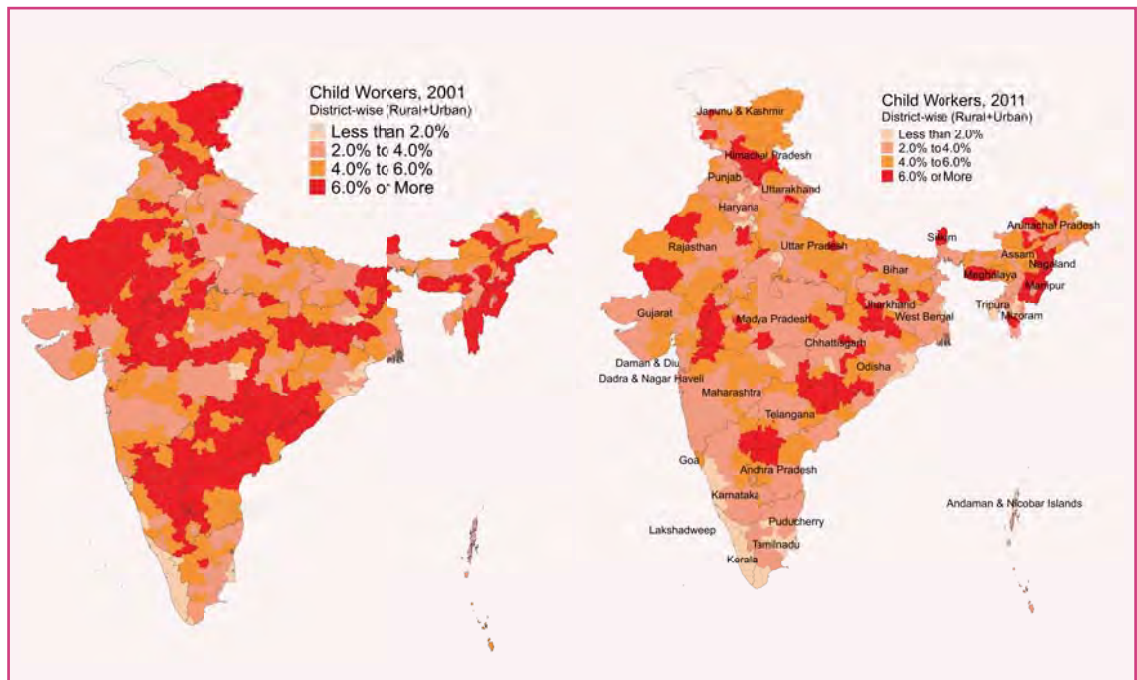
Child Worker Corridor

The maps (see *Annexure I*) provide a description of the child worker corridor. In the rural and urban map, it can be seen that parts of western and north-western India, and parts of south-eastern India, have high numbers of child workers. These numbers are lower in the western and southern part of the northern belt India. In the urban map, we can see that the child worker corridor is high in some states of southern and north-eastern India. The reason, according to Child Rights For You, is that the poverty level may be high in regions where there are higher incidences of child workers. Poverty and low family income are the reason for parents send their children to work rather than to school.³⁰

The maps (see *Annexure I*) show the child workers in rural and urban areas across India in the years 2001 and 2011. The child worker corridor in both rural and urban areas in 2001 was higher in parts of the north (Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh), west to south-east (Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka) and fragmented in the north-eastern parts (Sikkim, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Manipur, Nagaland, and Arunachal Pradesh) of India. It was comparatively lower in the west (Gujarat and Maharashtra) and north-west (Punjab and Haryana), and eastern parts (Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa) of India. In 2011, the map shows a considerable decline in the child workers along the south-western (Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Kerala) and south-eastern belt (West Bengal, Orissa, Puducherry Chhattisgarh, Telangana, and Tamil Nadu) of India. As the years passed, there were certain parts of India that emphasised children's education due to government policies. Parents were encouraged to send their children to school (Betcherman, 2004).

³⁰ For details see the website: http://www.cry.org/resources/pdf/ConceptPaper_ChildLabour.pdf

Map 4.1: Child Workers across Districts, 2001 and 2011



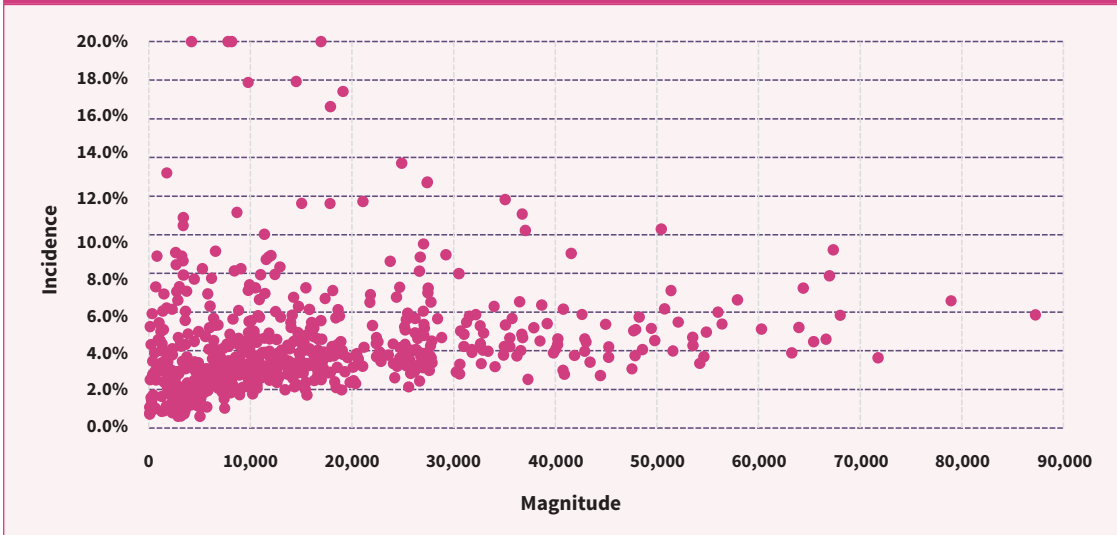
The maps above show the district-wise distribution of child workers for the period 2001 and 2011. It can be seen that in 2001 (rural and urban) most states in the north (Jammu and Kashmir, parts of Himachal Pradesh), west (Rajasthan and parts of Madhya Pradesh) and south-east (Chhattisgarh, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka) of India had districts with high rates (6 per cent and more) of child workers. Comparatively, the numbers decreased (rural and urban) in 2011. Higher rates of child workers were fragmented all over the country but rapidly declined in the south-western (Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Kerala) and south-eastern (West Bengal, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu) regions of India. This was mainly due to government policies that were adopted by the different states. The states ensured that all children were sent to school and given quality education. But still, there were fragments of high child labour across the country as the government may not have been able to reach those sections (Betcherman, 2004).

4.3 Hotspots of Child Labour

An analysis of the incidence of child labour across districts in 2011 identified 32 hotspots in the country that reported more than 8.9 per cent of child workers. Most of the hotspot districts were in the states of Himachal Pradesh (6 districts), Nagaland (5 districts), Rajasthan (4 districts) and Chhattisgarh (4 districts). Three hotspot districts were identified in Manipur, two in Madhya Pradesh and one each in Jammu and Kashmir, Sikkim, Arunachal Pradesh, Jharkhand, Odisha, Telangana, and Karnataka. Three districts in Nagaland, namely, Peren (32.3 per cent), Longleng (32.2 per cent), Mon (25.6 per cent) and Zunheboto (21.9 per cent) reported the highest incidence of child labour, both in rural and urban areas. As mentioned earlier, the higher figures in Nagaland are also due to a rise in reporting the

incidence of child labour. Taking into account the magnitude of child labour, Hyderabad in Telangana and Jalor in Rajasthan stood out as hotspots with 67,366 and 50,440 child workers respectively.

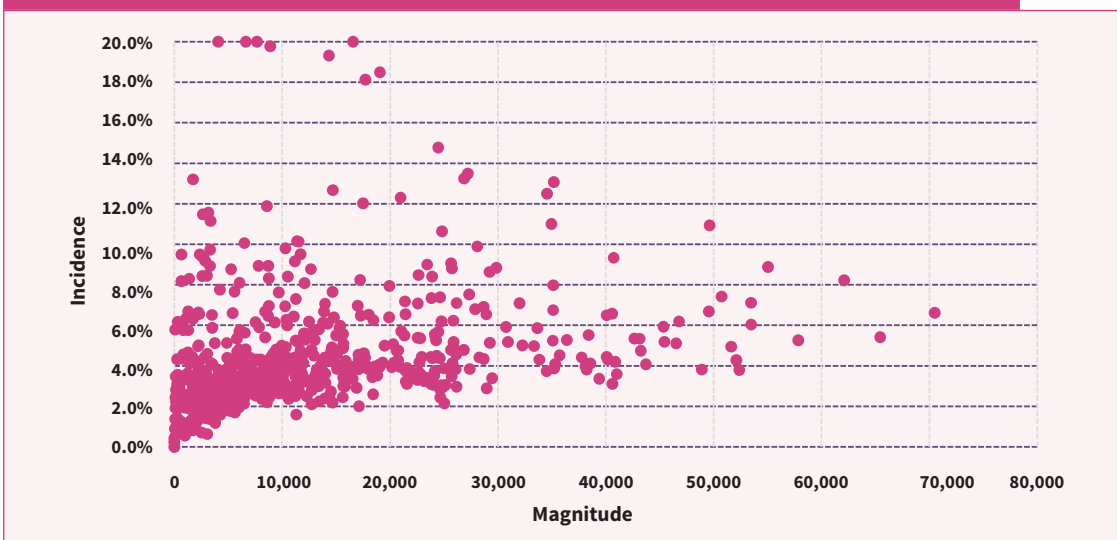
Figure 4.5 : Child Workers across Districts (Rural + Urban), 2011; Magnitude & Incidence



Source: Census 2011

Note: Each dot in this chart is a district. Incidence rate for four districts have been set to 20% to avoid clutter in the above chart. They are Peren (32.3%), Longleng (32.2%), Mon (25.6%) and Zunheboto (21.9%). All are in Nagaland.

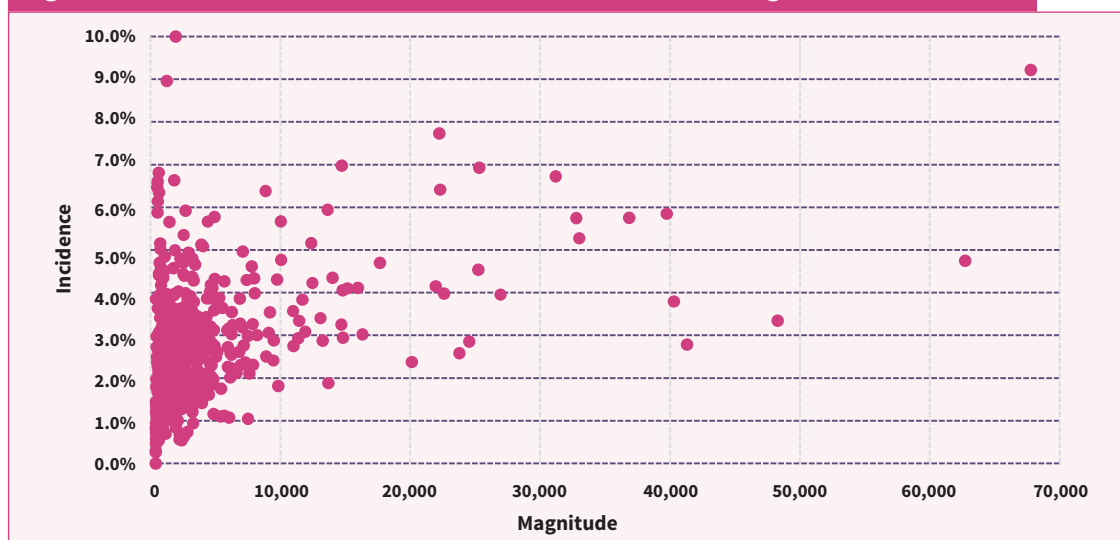
Figure 4.6 : Child Workers across Districts (Rural), 2011; Magnitude & Incidence



Source: Census 2011

Note: Each dot in this chart is a district. Incidence rate for four districts have been set to 20% to avoid clutter in the above chart. They are Longleng (36.8%), Peren (30.7%), Mon (28.9%) and Zunheboto (26.9%) . All are in Nagaland.

Figure 4.7 : Child Workers across Districts (Urban), 2011; Magnitude & Incidence



Source: Census 2011

Note: Each dot in this chart is a district. Incidence rate for Peren district in Nagaland was 41.3% but have been set to 10% to avoid clutter in the above chart.

Figures 4.6 and 4.7 show the magnitude and incidences of child workers across districts in rural and urban areas of Nagaland in 2011. They show that in rural Nagaland, Longleng district had the highest (36.8 per cent) incidence of child workers, followed by Peren district (30.7 per cent), Mon (28.9 per cent), Zunheboto (26.9 per cent) and Tuensang (19.8 per cent). In urban Nagaland, Peren (41.3 per cent) had the highest, followed by Tuensang (9 per cent) and Longleng (6.6 per cent). The reasons can be lower family income, adult unemployment, and illiteracy. Most families live in poverty and in order to fulfil each family member's essential needs, children are sent to work rather than to school (Chubayanger, 2013).

Identifying cities where the incidence of child labour is higher helps in targeting the exact location for intervention. Since Census 2011 had released the city-wise data³¹ it was possible to identify areas where a relatively larger proportion of child worker incidence existed as hotspots. In identifying such areas, we have constructed 90 per cent confidence intervals with mean and standard deviation for each of the segments (rural, urban, rural + urban, cities) separately and areas where the incidence was more than the upper-limit of a 90 per cent confidence interval were treated as hotspots. Table 4.7 reveals that Ballia in Uttar Pradesh had the highest incidence (10.9 per cent) of child labour, followed by Secunderabad in Telangana with 10.7 per cent incidence, whereas Lucknow in Uttar Pradesh had the lowest incidence of 5.9 per cent. With reference to the magnitude of child labour, Greater Hyderabad Municipal Corporation in Telangana had the highest number of child workers (96,892), followed by Lucknow in Uttar Pradesh with 30,342 child labourers.

³¹ Towns with 1 lakh and more population are treated as cities in Census.

Table 4.7: Hotspots Cities, 2011

State Name	City Name (UA)	Incidence	Magnitude
Telangana	GHMC (M Corp.+ OG)	7.8%	96892
Uttar Pradesh	Lucknow (M Corp.)	5.9%	30342
Uttar Pradesh	Agra (M Corp.)	7.5%	26095
Uttar Pradesh	Ghaziabad (M Corp.)	7.7%	24390
Uttar Pradesh	Varanasi (M Corp.)	7.4%	18173
Uttar Pradesh	Allahabad (M Corp.+OG)	8.6%	17904
Uttar Pradesh	Bareilly (M Corp.+OG)	8.3%	15505
Uttar Pradesh	Firozabad (NPP)	8.3%	12896
Punjab	Amritsar (M Corp.+OG)	6.0%	11466
Uttar Pradesh	Gorakhpur (M Corp.)	6.3%	8250
Bihar	Gaya (M Corp.+OG)	7.2%	7511
Uttar Pradesh	Jhansi (M.Corp.)	6.0%	5609
Telangana	Secunderabad (CB)	10.7%	3681
Uttar Pradesh	Mirzapur-cum-Vindhyachal (NPP)	6.8%	3498
Andhra Pradesh	Adoni (M+OG)	8.9%	3496
Uttar Pradesh	Ballia (NPP)	10.9%	2258
Uttar Pradesh	Faizabad (NPP)	6.2%	2003
Punjab	Moga (M Cl+OG)	6.4%	1782
Uttar Pradesh	Gonda (NPP)	7.1%	1699

Source: Census 2011

The following section lists the hotspots and explains the pattern. The upper-limit for all the districts was 8.9 per cent³². Hence, all 32 districts with an incidence of at least 8.9 per cent were identified as hotspots and are listed in Table 4.8.

In rural India, 29 such hotspots were identified, taking the upper-limit as 9.7 per cent. In rural India, most of the hotspots were found in the states of Himachal Pradesh (6), Chhattisgarh (5), Nagaland (5), and Rajasthan (2). Two hotspots each were also identified in Manipur and Madhya Pradesh. Jammu and Kashmir, Mizoram, Jharkhand, Odisha and Karnataka also had a hotspot district each.

³² The mean incidence of the series was 3.9% while standard deviation was 3.0%. So, the upper limit was calculated as $3.9\% + 1.645 \times 3.0\% = 8.9\%$

Table 4.8: Hotspot Districts 2011 (Rural+Urban)

State Name	District	Magnitude	Incidence
Jammu & Kashmir	Rajouri	17,804	11.6%
Himachal Pradesh	Chamba	19,101	17.4%
Himachal Pradesh	Kullu	14,466	17.9%
Himachal Pradesh	Mandi	21,061	11.7%
Himachal Pradesh	Hamirpur	8,639	11.2%
Himachal Pradesh	Sirmaur	17,871	16.6%
Himachal Pradesh	Kinnaur	1,731	13.2%
Rajasthan	Dhaulpur	36,717	11.1%
Rajasthan	Jalor	50,440	10.3%
Rajasthan	Banswara	41,559	9.0%
Rajasthan	Pratapgarh	27,388	12.7%
Sikkim	West District	3,380	10.9%
Arunachal Pradesh	Upper Siang	765	8.9%
Nagaland	Mon	16,912	25.6%
Nagaland	Zunheboto	7,786	21.9%
Nagaland	Tuensang	9,743	17.9%
Nagaland	Longleng	4,189	32.2%
Nagaland	Peren	8,144	32.3%
Manipur	Senapati	11,372	10.0%
Manipur	Tamenglong	3,347	10.5%
Manipur	Chandel	2,627	9.1%
Mizoram	Lunglei	3,221	8.9%
Jharkhand	Lohardaga	15,006	11.6%
Odisha	Koraput	29,227	9.0%
Chhattisgarh	Jashpur	24,888	13.7%
Chhattisgarh	Janjgir - Champa	37,059	10.2%
Chhattisgarh	Dakshin Bastar Dantewada	12,002	8.9%
Chhattisgarh	Bijapur	6,550	9.1%

Madhya Pradesh	Jhabua	35,070	11.8%
Madhya Pradesh	Alirajpur	27,416	12.7%
Telangana	Hyderabad	67,366	9.2%
Karnataka	Yadgir	27,026	9.5%

Source: Census 2011

On examining the incidence of child labour in rural India, the three districts in Nagaland, namely, Longleng (36.8 per cent), Peren (30.7 per cent), and Mon (28.9 per cent) recorded the highest figures. In terms of magnitude, however, three districts reported alarming numbers of children engaged in paid employment. These were Jalor (49,598) and Dhaulpur (35,188) in Rajasthan and Janjgir Champa (34,930) in Chhattisgarh. Apart from these, four other districts ranked higher among other spots, namely Dhaulpur (35,188) in Rajasthan, Jhabua (34,556) in Madhya Pradesh, Koraput (28,058) in Odisha and Alirajpur (26,856) in Madhya Pradesh. It can be understood from the above that poverty is not the only reason for increase in child labour. The objective of maximising profit by taking advantage of the flexible labour force is one of the pull factors of child labour. Parents are pushed into situations which force them to pull children out of school (Lieten, 2000).

Districts that have high rates of child workers may not have access to quality education that the children need. Parents may feel discouraged to send their children to school, Instead, they send them to work so they can earn for themselves and not be a burden, but, there are some states that have access to quality education and encourage the parents to send their children to school (Allais, 2008).

In urban India, 15 hotspots were identified, taking the upper-limit as 6.20 per cent. The majority of urban hotspots were in Uttar Pradesh, which reported seven hotspots in all. This was followed by Arunachal Pradesh (2), Nagaland (3), Manipur (2), Telangana (1). Peren district in Nagaland showed a very alarming incidence of child labour, which was 41.3 per cent. Hyderabad stood out as the second most striking hotspot in urban India, with 9.2 per cent incidence of child labour. Tuensang in Nagaland also reported 9 per cent incidence of child labour. Considering the magnitude of prevalence of child labour, Hyderabad ranked highest with 67,366 child workers. The city, which has seen considerable development and migration in recent years, is absorbing child workers in large numbers in domestic work, construction and for manual jobs in the hotel and restaurant industry. Hyderabad was followed by Agra (30,769) and Bareilly (24,905) in Uttar Pradesh. Children migrate with their families to urban areas for a better standard of living. But, due to poverty and lack of job opportunities, children are forced to work. In most cases, they are not able to attend school.

Table 4.9 shows 29 hotspots of child workers in rural districts in 2011. The table shows that Longleng district in Nagaland had the highest (36.8 per cent) incidences of child labour, followed by Peren district in Nagaland with 30.7 per cent incidences of child labour. The lowest was Koriya district of Chhattisgarh with 9.8 per cent incidences of child labour. Considering the magnitude, Jalor district in Rajasthan was ranked the highest with 49,598 and Kinnaur district in Himachal Pradesh was ranked the lowest with 1,731 magnitude. There are still some districts with high incidences of child labour in India. The government has not been able to reach those sectors of our society. Some measures need to be taken to reduce the rate of incidences in these districts. Poverty and low family income are the main problems for child labour (Lieten, 2000).

Table 4.9 : Hotspot Districts 2011 (Rural)

State Name	District	Magnitude	Incidence
Jammu & Kashmir	Rajouri	17,506	12.0%
Himachal Pradesh	Chamba	19,034	18.5%
Himachal Pradesh	Kullu	14,309	19.3%
Himachal Pradesh	Mandi	20,945	12.3%
Himachal Pradesh	Hamirpur	8,575	11.9%
Himachal Pradesh	Sirmaur	17,702	18.1%
Himachal Pradesh	Kinnaur	1,731	13.2%
Rajasthan	Dhaulpur	35,188	13.1%
Rajasthan	Jalor	49,598	10.9%
Rajasthan	Pratapgarh	27,208	13.5%
Sikkim	West District	3,349	11.2%
Nagaland	Mon	16,536	28.9%
Nagaland	Zunheboto	7,652	26.9%
Nagaland	Tuensang	8,895	19.8%
Nagaland	Longleng	4,058	36.8%
Nagaland	Peren	6,599	30.7%
Manipur	Senapati	11,348	10.2%
Manipur	Tamenglong	3,132	11.6%
Mizoram	Lunglei	2,614	11.5%
Jharkhand	Lohardaga	14,694	12.7%
Odisha	Koraput	28,058	9.9%
Chhattisgarh	Koriya	10,266	9.8%
Chhattisgarh	Jashpur	24,436	14.8%
Chhattisgarh	Janjgir - Champa	34,930	11.0%
Chhattisgarh	Dakshin Bastar Dantewada	11,519	10.1%
Chhattisgarh	Bijapur	6,468	10.1%
Madhya Pradesh	Jhabua	34,556	12.5%
Madhya Pradesh	Alirajpur	26,856	13.3%
Karnataka	Yadgir	24,817	10.6%

Source: Census 2011

Table 4.10 : Hotspot Districts 2011 (Urban)

State Name	District	Magnitude	Incidence
Uttarakhand	Rudraprayag	127	6.6%
Uttar Pradesh	Agra	30,769	6.7%
Uttar Pradesh	Firozabad	14,324	7.0%
Uttar Pradesh	Bareilly	24,905	6.9%
Uttar Pradesh	Allahabad	21,823	7.7%
Uttar Pradesh	Varanasi	21,893	6.4%
Bihar	Gaya	8,438	6.4%
Arunachal Pradesh	Papum Pare	1,429	6.6%
Arunachal Pradesh	Upper Siang	111	6.5%
Nagaland	Tuensang	848	9.0%
Nagaland	Longleng	131	6.6%
Nagaland	Peren	1,545	41.3%
Manipur	Churachandpur	236	6.8%
Manipur	Chandel	258	6.3%
Telangana	Hyderabad	67,366	9.2%

Source: Census 2011

Table 4.10 shows 15 hotspots of child workers in urban districts in 2011. It can be seen that Peren (Nagaland) had the highest (41.3 per cent) incidences. Comparatively, other districts of Nagaland like Tuensang had lower (9 per cent) incidences. Chandel district of Manipur had the lowest (6.3 per cent) incidence of child workers. Regarding the magnitude of child workers, Telangana (Hyderabad) ranked the highest (67,366), followed by Agra (Uttar Pradesh) with magnitude 30,769. The lowest magnitude could be seen in Upper-Siang District of Arunachal Pradesh (111) and Rudraprayag district of Uttar Pradesh (127). According to Child Rights and You (CRY), there were some districts that had high incidences of child workers, probably because of high poverty. Due to poverty, most parents find it feasible to send their children to work rather than to school. Low family income may be the reason for higher incidences and magnitude of child workers.³³

Overall, 42 districts across 16 states were identified as hotspots, where any of the segments such as rural, urban or rural + urban was a hotspot for child workers. Table 4.11 gives the list of such districts. It is pertinent to note that three districts in Nagaland (Longleng, Peren and Tuensang) were hotspots in all the three segments.

³³ See website: http://www.cry.org/resources/pdf/ConceptPaper_ChildLabour.pdf

Table 4.11 : Hotspot Districts by Segment

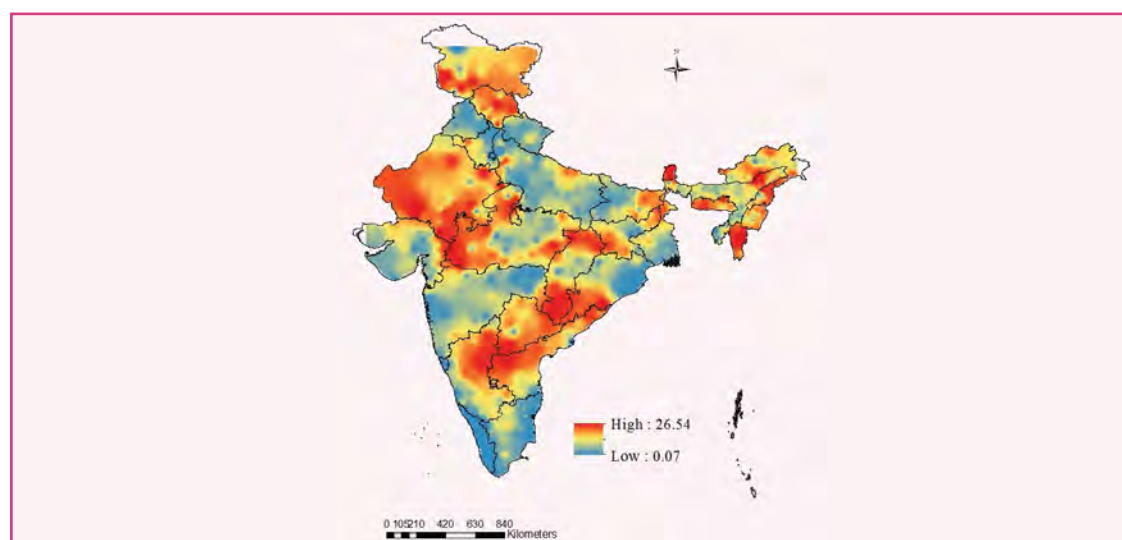
State Name	District Name	Hotspot Districts by Segment		
		Rural	Urban	Rural + Urban
Arunachal Pradesh	Papum Pare	No	Yes	No
Arunachal Pradesh	Upper Siang	No	Yes	Yes
Chhattisgarh	Bijapur	Yes	No	Yes
Chhattisgarh	Dakshin Bastar	Yes	No	Yes
Chhattisgarh	Janjgir - Champa	Yes	No	Yes
Chhattisgarh	Jashpur	Yes	No	Yes
Chhattisgarh	Koriya	Yes	No	No
Himachal Pradesh	Chamba	Yes	No	Yes
Himachal Pradesh	Hamirpur	Yes	No	Yes
Himachal Pradesh	Kinnaur	Yes	No	Yes
Himachal Pradesh	Kullu	Yes	No	Yes
Himachal Pradesh	Mandi	Yes	No	Yes
Himachal Pradesh	Sirmaur	Yes	No	Yes
Jammu & Kashmir	Rajouri	Yes	No	Yes
Jharkhand	Lohardaga	Yes	No	Yes
Karnataka	Yadgir	Yes	No	Yes
Madhya Pradesh	Alirajpur	Yes	No	Yes
Madhya Pradesh	Jhabua	Yes	No	Yes
Manipur	Chandel	No	Yes	Yes
Manipur	Churachandpur	No	Yes	No
Manipur	Senapati	Yes	No	Yes
Manipur	Tamenglong	Yes	No	Yes
Mizoram	Lunglei	Yes	No	Yes
Nagaland	Longleng	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nagaland	Mon	Yes	No	Yes
Nagaland	Peren	Yes	Yes	Yes
Nagaland	Tuensang	Yes	Yes	Yes

Nagaland	Zunheboto	Yes	No	Yes
Odisha	Koraput	Yes	No	Yes
Rajasthan	Banswara	No	No	Yes
Rajasthan	Dhaulpur	Yes	No	Yes
Rajasthan	Jalor	Yes	No	Yes
Rajasthan	Pratapgarh	Yes	No	Yes
Sikkim	West District	Yes	No	Yes
Telangana	Hyderabad	No	Yes	Yes
Uttar Pradesh	Agra	No	Yes	No
Uttar Pradesh	Allahabad	No	Yes	No
Uttar Pradesh	Bareilly	No	Yes	No
Uttar Pradesh	Firozabad	No	Yes	No
Uttar Pradesh	Gaya	No	Yes	No
Uttar Pradesh	Varanasi	No	Yes	No
Uttarakhand	Rudraprayag	No	Yes	No

Source: Census 2011

The child worker incidence is mapped in a continuous manner across districts for 2011, which is in contrast to other maps based on incidence groups. Map 4.2 clearly identifies child workers from the highest to lowest concentration.

Map 4.2 : Child Worker Incidence, 2011, (Rural+Urban)



Source: Census 2011

4.4 Incidence and Magnitude of Child Labour among Different Social Groups

Different social groups in India have differential access to opportunities for education, employment and quality of jobs. Children belonging to socio-economically deprived groups are, therefore, more likely to join the workforce than their counterparts in affluent groups. A comparison of Census figures in 2001 and 2011 revealed that the incidence of child labour showed a decline among all social groups, particularly in urban areas. Out of all social groups, the incidence of child labour was highest among Scheduled Tribes (STs) at 6.7 per cent in 2011. This was, however, a decline of around 3 per cent from figures recorded in 2001. The workforce participation of children belonging to Scheduled Tribes was more pronounced in rural areas as compared to urban areas, with 7 per cent children engaged as child workers in rural areas compared to 3.3 per cent in urban areas. This indicates the extreme economic distress of the ST families in rural areas, which forces children to forgo education and take up jobs that are mostly low paid and involve hard labour. The incidence of child labour among Scheduled Castes (SCs) was also higher as compared to other groups in 2011, even though it did witness a decline from 5.3 per cent in 2001 to 3.9 per cent in 2011. Like in the case of the STs, a greater proportion of children from SC families in rural areas compared to urban areas were engaged as workers, indicating the poorer economic conditions of the SC households in rural India. Children among the lower castes are more vulnerable to child labour and are reported to have lower educational participation rates.³⁴ However, on considering the magnitude of the prevalence of child labour, it was found that social groups apart from STs and SCs reported larger numbers of children engaged in the workforce.

Table 4.12 : Child Workers by Social Group

Social Groups	Incidence 2001			Magnitude 2001 (in Million)		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
SC	6.00%	2.30%	5.30%	2.15	0.19	2.34
ST	10.60%	3.40%	10.10%	2.23	0.06	2.29
OTH	5.20%	2.00%	4.30%	6.97	1.07	8.04
Total	5.90%	2.10%	5.00%	11.3	1.32	12.7
Social Groups	Incidence 2011			Magnitude 2011 (in Million)		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
SC	4.10%	2.90%	3.90%	1.5	0.27	1.78
ST	7.00%	3.30%	6.70%	1.64	0.08	1.71
OTH	3.80%	2.90%	3.50%	4.96	1.68	6.64
Total	4.30%	2.90%	3.90%	8.1	2.03	10.1

Source: Census 2001 and 2011

³⁴ Please refer to: <http://www.ncpcr.gov.in/showfile.php?lang=1&level=2&lid=131&sublinkid=176>

Table 4.13 : Child Workers by Social Group in States

22 Major States	SC	ST	OTH	Total
Himachal Pradesh	11.2%	13.4%	9.6%	10.3%
Rajasthan	5.3%	7.6%	4.6%	5.2%
Telangana	4.1%	7.5%	4.7%	4.9%
Jharkhand	4.6%	7.6%	3.7%	4.9%
Goa	4.5%	4.3%	4.7%	4.6%
Chhattisgarh	3.7%	6.8%	3.4%	4.6%
Uttar Pradesh	4.3%	5.3%	4.3%	4.3%
Madhya Pradesh	3.4%	7.3%	3.1%	4.2%
Jammu & Kashmir	3.2%	6.7%	3.7%	4.1%
Assam	3.6%	5.9%	3.8%	4.0%
Odisha	3.4%	6.5%	2.9%	4.0%
Andhra Pradesh	3.9%	8.1%	3.5%	3.9%
Gujarat	3.1%	6.2%	3.4%	3.9%
Karnataka	4.5%	5.7%	3.5%	3.8%
Bihar	4.3%	6.1%	3.6%	3.8%
Uttarakhand	4.1%	6.6%	3.5%	3.7%
Punjab	3.9%		3.4%	3.6%
Maharashtra	3.3%	6.1%	3.2%	3.5%
West Bengal	3.0%	4.2%	3.1%	3.2%
Tamil Nadu	2.5%	4.8%	2.3%	2.4%
Haryana	2.4%		2.4%	2.4%
Kerala	1.0%	1.6%	0.8%	0.8%

Source: Census 2001 and 2011

Table 4.13 shows that the numbers of child workers belonging to other social groups was nearly 1.5 times higher in 2011 as compared to STs and SCs. The number of STs was considerably higher in rural areas (1.64 million) as compared to urban areas (0.08 million). The examination of child worker rates across different states, regarding the STs, revealed that Andhra Pradesh (8.1 per cent), Rajasthan (7.6 per cent), Jharkhand (7.6 per cent), Telangana (7.5 per cent) and Madhya Pradesh (7.3 per cent)

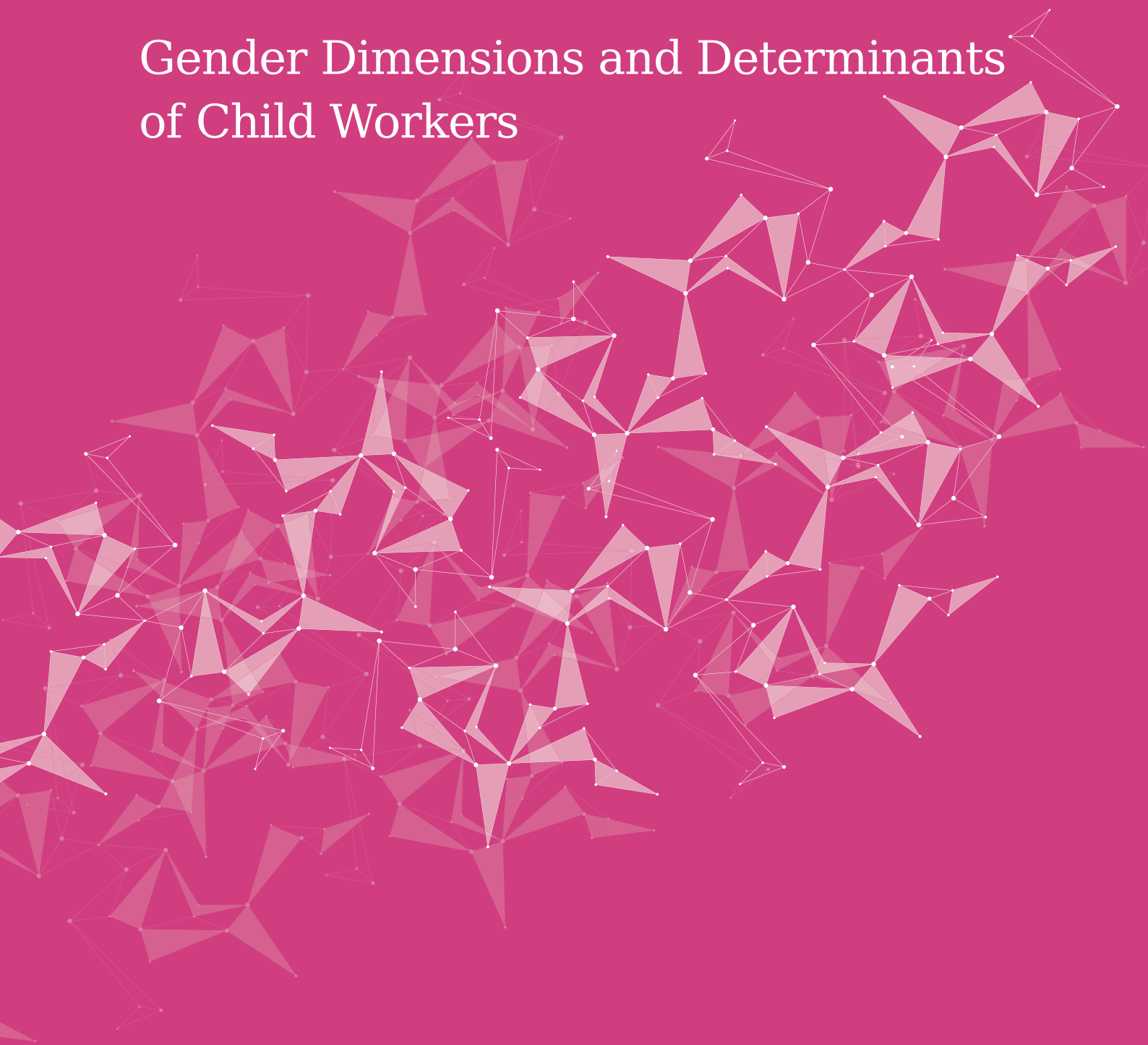
reported higher rates of child workers. Himachal Pradesh had the highest number of STs (13.4 per cent) and SCs (11.2 per cent) working as child labour. Kerala had the least number of STs (1.6 per cent) and SCs (1 per cent) working as child labour. In Madhya Pradesh, only 7.3 per cent of STs were working as child labour. The number of incidences of child labour decreased from 2001 (10.1 per cent) to 2011 (6.7 per cent) amongst the STs in both rural and urban areas. This can be seen with other social groups as well. Kaletski and Prakash (2014) in their work, look at the impact of political reservation on child labour outcomes in India. According to this study, in some states, a higher proportion of child labour belongs to the lower and vulnerable social categories, Incidence and magnitude of child labour has a co-relation with the resource allocation for the welfare of SCs and STs, and also with the extent to which the welfare policies are implemented within a particular state and across different states.

4.5 Summing Up

An analysis of the situation of child labour in states and union territories showed that Uttar Pradesh and Bihar accounted for the largest number of child workers, that is, 32.2 per cent child workers. In an analysis of the districts on the incidence of child labour, Uttar Pradesh showed an increase with 45 districts with child workers being concentrated mostly in western and central Uttar Pradesh. On the basis of Census 2011, 32 districts were identified as hotspots of child labour, comprising 8.9 per cent child workers in the country. The major hotspot districts were in the states of Himachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Rajasthan, and Chhattisgarh. The chapter also focused on the incidence and magnitude of child labour among different social groups. It was revealed that the incidence of child labour was highest among the Scheduled Tribes, followed by the Scheduled Castes in 2011.

CHAPTER 05

Gender Dimensions and Determinants of Child Workers



5.1 Introduction

The World Report on Child Labour by ILO reflects on the twin challenges of child labour and ensuring decent work for youth. It makes the case for achieving decent work as one of the core Sustainable Development Goals for the post-2015 period (2015). 'Decent Work' as a concept originated from the United Nation Committee on Economic Social and Cultural Rights and the term is commonly used across the world to refer to work which complies with Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (FPRW) and other national and international Labour Standards. Child labour and early school leaving are intertwined and the reasons for both include poverty, access to education and gender related social pressures. The gendered vulnerabilities associated with school leaving have important implications for the child labour situation and children's activities. Female children face special difficulties in entering and remaining in school, owing to factors such as early marriage and the demands of domestic responsibilities within their own homes. They are also particularly vulnerable to the worst forms of child labour, such as commercial sexual exploitation and hidden forms of child labour in domestic work. Female youth in many regions have fewer opportunities in the labour market and face greater difficulties in transiting to decent work; they are often confined to a narrower range of occupational opportunities than their male counterparts (ILO, 2015).

Available literature and some of the micro studies on girl child labour have highlighted that socio-economic factors like female literacy, fertility rates, family size, adult wage-rates, diversification of the rural economy, and female work participation in labour, are also important determinants of child labour. Economic development is another variable that is supposed to reduce child labour with better opportunities for adult labour and increasing education for children (MahendraDev 2004: 742). Though school education has occupied a prominent place in academic literature related to child labour, gender differentials in participation of boys and girls in different activities, coupled with statistical invisibility of work done by girls, still remains an under-researched area. Some studies show that the participation rate of female children in the female workforce is higher (6.29 per cent), compared to the male children in the male workforce, which stands at a relatively lower 4.32 per cent. This trend is evident both in rural as well as urban areas, demonstrating a gender bias against girls, although a substantial percentage of boys are also engaged in labour. It is, thus, clear that a higher percentage of girls among the female workforce are put to work as child labour compared to boys. It should be noted that this work is apart from the unpaid care work done by girls, which is not captured in the Census categories (George and Panda, 2015: 16).

In the International Conference on Labour Statisticians (ICLS) in 1998, ILO discussed concepts and measurement of child labour and recommended that non-market work of a domestic nature in the parents' or guardians' households, where the children actually reside, needs to be included when investigating children's schooling and non-schooling activities. This would help identify those children who are working more hours a day than may be considered normal to learn common household chores and related activities, that is, they are child labourers (Grimsrud 2001). Further, the 19th ICLS in October 2013 recommended that specialised household surveys on topics such as time-use, volunteering, agriculture, child labour, and labour migration may be more appropriate for comprehensive measurement and in-depth analysis of participation in specific forms of work, or for focusing on

particular subgroups of the population. Time-use surveys,³⁵ in particular, are a main source of statistics on participation and time spent in own-use production work and volunteer work for purposes of individual, household and macroeconomic level analyses (ILO, 2013).

The incidence of child labour in the late 1990s was in tune with NSS, at around 4 per cent. Time-use surveys carried out in 1998-99 indicated that the incidence of child labour was around 20 per cent. The major activities in which children were engaged were low-skilled unpaid or subsistence activities, or activities on family enterprises, like animal husbandry, including grazing and collection of fuel, fodder, water, fruits, etc., as well as crop farming and petty services. Because of the cultural factors, male children are much more likely to work outside their houses as compared to the female children. However, most of the children, particularly girls, participate in extended activities (SNA activities) in a big way. If we combine SNA and extended SNA activities, the contribution of girls is greater than boys.³⁶ Children who have never attended school and who are without work, who come under the category of 'nowhere children' (neither at school nor at work), is about 10 per cent of the total number of children. Compared to children from households with low standards of living, children from households with medium and higher standards of living are significantly less likely to participate in child work.

This chapter studies the differences in workforce participation of male and female children, examining the reasons that lead to their engagement in paid employment. It looks at the differences in participation in education for boys and girls, as well the trends in dropping-out from school, to analyse the relationship between education and workforce participation of male and female children. Studies have shown that large numbers of children who have withdrawn from employment may not necessarily be in school. This is particularly true of girl children who are allocated responsibilities of sibling care, housework or of assisting in home-based piece-rate work by their parents. This chapter examines the shifts between participation in education and employment for girl children and the implications of such shifts for the household as well as for the lives of girl children.

5.2 Shifts in Child Workers: Gender Dimensions

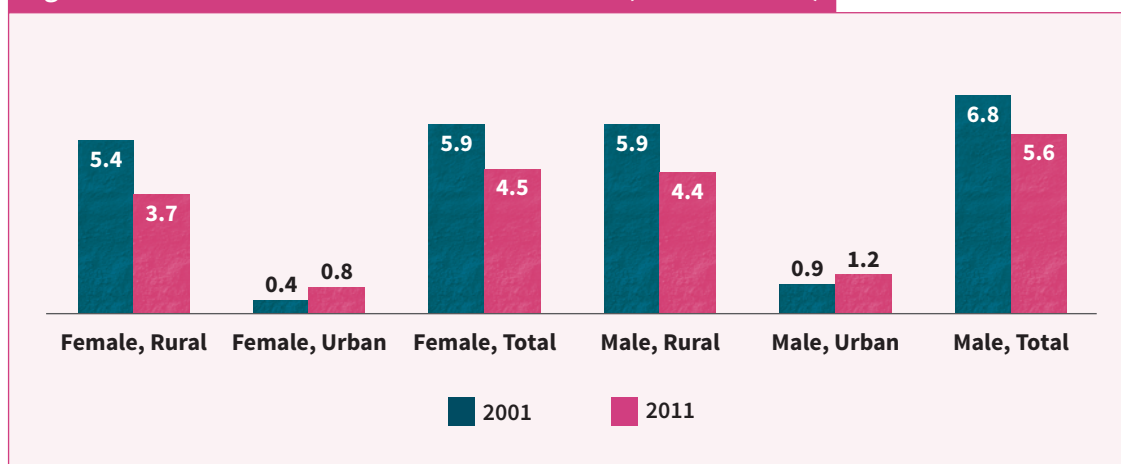
During the period between 2001 and 2011, greater numbers of male children were engaged as workers as compared to girl children. The proportion of female child workers in rural areas fell from 5.9 per cent in 2001 to 4.1 per cent in 2011. In contrast, their numbers increased in urban areas, with 2.4 per cent girl children engaged as workers in 2011, compared to 1.5 per cent in 2001. The workforce participation of male children showed a similar trend, with a decline in their participation in rural areas (from 5.9 per cent in 2001 to 4.4 per cent in 2011) and increase in proportions in urban areas (from 2.7 per cent in 2001 to 3.4 per cent in 2011). The increase in the proportion of child workers in urban areas could be

³⁵ *Time Use Surveys are detailed descriptions of activities of people in a 24 hr period. In India, a Time Use Survey was conducted only once in 1998-1999 by the Central Statistical Organisation, India. Time Use Surveys differ from standard labour force surveys in that they ask respondents to report on all activities carried out in a specified period, such as a day or a week. Time Use Surveys, in contrast, tell us how much time an average person from a particular social group (such as male or female, young or old, rich or poor) spends on sleeping, eating, employment-related work, socialising, and unpaid care work, such as housework and caring for children, the disabled, elderly, ill, and so on, in an average day or week.*

³⁶ *System of National Accounts Activities (SNA)(as per) Time Use Statistics (1998-99) !:1 Primary Production Activities includes Crop farming, kitchen gardening, etc., Animal husbandry, fishing, forestry, horticulture, gardening collection of fruit, water, plants etc., storing and hunting. Processing and storage, mining, quarrying, digging, cutting, etc. 2. Secondary activities, construction activities, manufacturing activities, 3. Trade, business and services.*

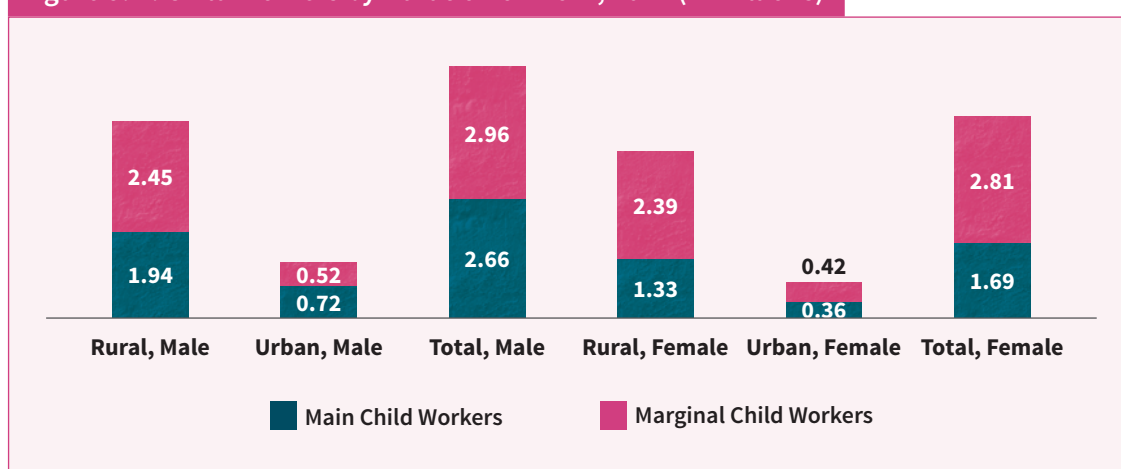
attributed to lack of employment opportunities in rural areas, leading to migration of families to urban areas in search of employment. In order to understand trends in child labour over the years, it may also be important to look at trends in female labour force participation.

Figure 5.1 : Shift in Child Workers across Gender (No. in Millions)



Source: Census 2001 and 2011

Figure 5.2 : Child Workers by Duration of Work, 2011 (in Millions)



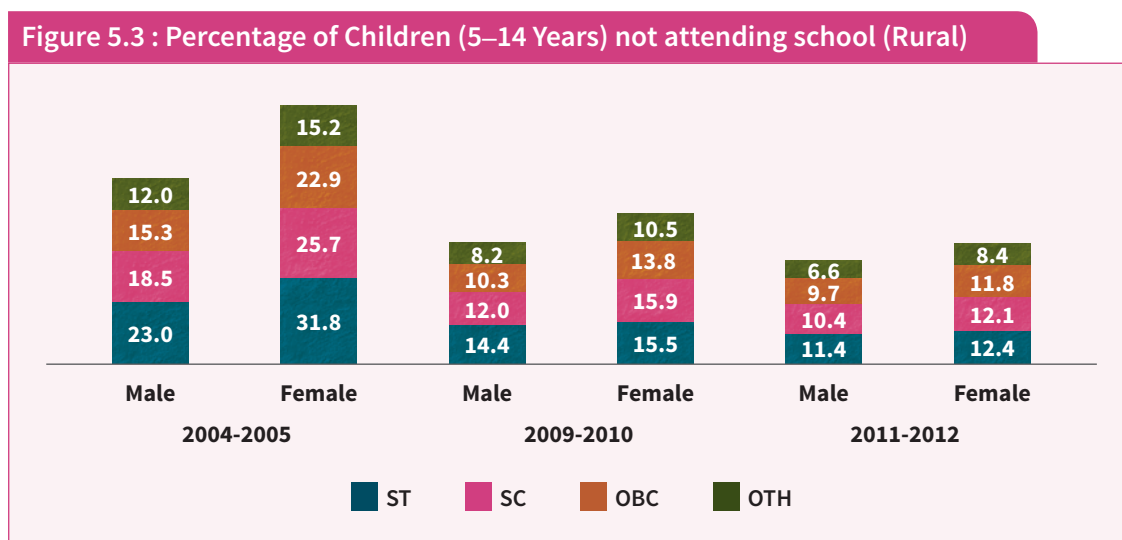
Source: Census 2011

The gender-wise analysis for 2011 revealed that the overall difference in main and marginal workers was more evident for girls, with female marginal workers approximately 1.5 times higher among females (see Figure 5.2). The overall proportion of female marginal workers was 1.5 times higher than main workers. The difference in main and marginal was more prominent for girls in rural areas as compared to urban areas. One reason for this may be the engagement of female children in agricultural activities, which are seasonal in nature.

It has been argued that socio-economic factors like female literacy, fertility rates, family size, adult wage-rates, diversification of the rural economy and female work participation rates, etc., are important determinants of child labour (MahendraDev 2004: 742). Studies that have examined trends in female Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) have noted a significant decline in women’s participation in paid employment (Himanshu, 2011; Thomas, 2012; Mazumdar and Neetha, 2011; Dreze and Sen, 2013; Sanghi, et al., 2015). According to NSSO, the rural female LFPR has been almost half of the rural male LFPR, while in urban areas, the female LFPR is less than half of the male LFPR. While the female LFPR marginally revived in urban areas in 2011-12, in rural areas, the declining trend continues except for the year 2004-05. It was found that a large proportion of labour in agriculture was engaged as unpaid helpers, both in principal and subsidiary capacities. The age-wise distribution of rural female labour force from 1993-94 to 2011-12 revealed a steady decline in the LFPR in the age group 5–9 years and 10–14 years, indicating the increased participation of rural females in education. Similarly, a decline in female LFPR was observed in the 15–19 year and 20–24 year age-cohorts. However, female LFPR showed disturbing trends in the age group of 30–49 years, the prime working age group (Sanghi et al. 2015).

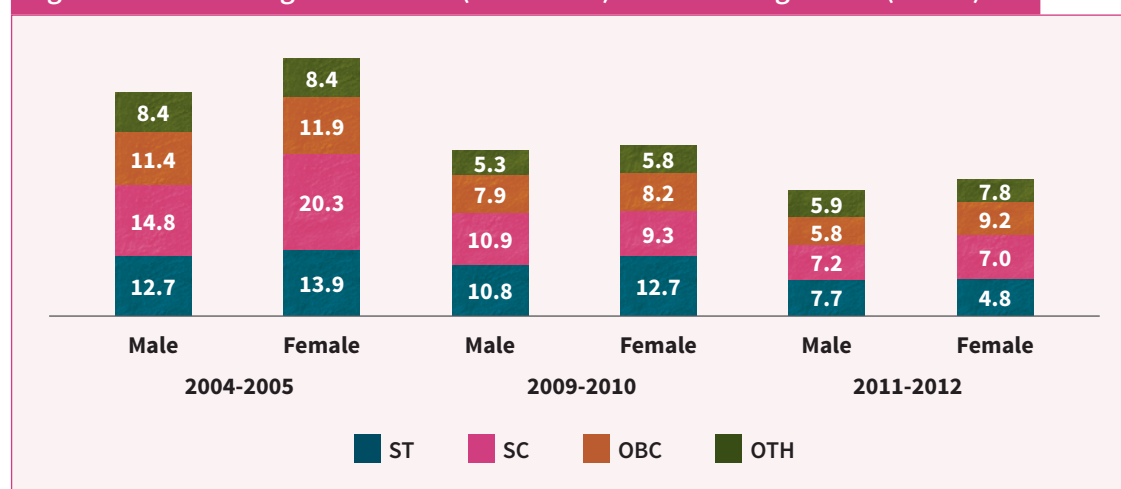
5.3 Gender Differentials

The analysis of the reports of the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) from 2004-05 to 2011-12, showed improvement in school attendance of children in the age-group of 5–14 years both in rural and urban areas. One of the prominent reasons for this trend was policy initiatives on education like the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan. However, the gender differentials between boys and girls in school attendance were more pronounced in rural areas in comparison to urban areas.



Source: Computed from NSS unit level data, all rounds

Figure 5.4 : Percentage of Children (5–14 Years) not attending school (Urban)



Source: Computed from NSS unit level data all rounds

In 2011-12, a greater proportion of girls (11.2 per cent) as compared to boys (9.4 per cent) were not attending school. The figures showed a significant decline from 16.1 per cent for boys and 22.7 per cent for girls in 2004-05, yet, the gender gap for school attendance continued to be evident. In addition, gender differentials in school attendance became more prominent across social groups (Figures 5.3 and 5.4). In 2011-12, a greater proportion of girls (12.1 per cent) than boys (10.4 per cent) belonging to Scheduled Castes in rural areas were not attending school. Similarly, among the Scheduled Tribes, more girls (12.4 per cent) than boys (11.4 per cent) were not attending school in rural areas. Gender differentials were also evident among the Other Backward Classes (OBCs), with 11.8 per cent girls not attending school as compared to 9.7 per cent boys in rural areas. On the contrary, the gender differentials in school attendance were not so significant in urban areas that reported 6.6 per cent girls not attending school in comparison to 6.1 per cent boys.

On examining the reasons for children (5–14 age group) not attending school in rural areas in 2011-12, it was found that a greater percentage of girls (3.0 per cent) than boys (0.5 per cent) had not been attending school due to their engagement in domestic chores. Similarly, for children who had attended school in the past and were not currently attending school, 7.4 per cent girls were not attending school due to their engagement in domestic chores, whereas only 1.1 per cent boys were unable to attend school due to engagement in domestic chores in rural areas. Similar trends were also seen in urban areas, where 4.5 per cent females were currently not attending school due to engagement in domestic chores, in comparison to 1.3 per cent of boys. Further, 7.2 per cent girls in urban areas, who had attended school in the past, had dropped out due to the burden of domestic chores, in comparison to only 0.7 per cent males who reported doing so. The other reasons reported by girls for not attending school included less emphasis on education for girls and the distance between home and school. This indicated that social perceptions of education being more important and beneficial for boys continued to persist. Parents’ attitude towards education has a major effect on childrens prospects for education. When either one of the parents is educated or, especially, when women are educated, parents are more willing to send their children, especially girls, to school (Burra 2001).

In contrast, a larger proportion of boys (6.6 per cent) had dropped out of school to supplement household income as compared to girls (3.2 per cent) in rural areas. However, urban areas showed greater proportion of boys (15.2 per cent) dropping out of school to supplement household income than girls (1.6 per cent). The increase in participation of boys in the workforce to supplement household income was due to large scale migration of families from rural to urban areas for better income. Moreover, gender stereotypical notions like the ‘male breadwinner role’ operate and constrain young boys to continue with education and compel them to work to supplement the family income. Since migrant workers are mostly engaged in low paying jobs, which are not sufficient for sustaining the entire household in the urban space, the demand for young boys to join the workforce increases. On the other hand, girls often remain in the household, attending to domestic chores or sibling care. According to the Human Development Report (2012), even though fewer girls than boys are found to be working, girls figure more among the ‘nowhere children.’ Nowhere children are usually those children who do not attend school for one reason or another, but are not in the labour market either. Girls who stay at home to look after younger siblings account for a significant share of these children (Human Development Report 2012). Similar reasons for not attending school due to engagement in household chores were also highlighted in the NSS 2011/12 report, as discussed above.

Such disturbing trends on school attendance raise many concerns related to access and continuation in education, thereby reiterating the need for appropriate policy interventions to address the issue of gender inequality. Studies in other South Asian countries have also noted such gender disparities in education. It was found that girls in Nepal and Pakistan are more likely than boys to be neither in schooling nor in employment, and less likely to combine schooling with employment. In Pakistan, ‘nowhere children’ are less likely to be found in urban areas, more likely in the rural. In Nepal, the situation is just the opposite. Some of the other reasons associated with school education are household poverty and education of parents. Household poverty has a detrimental impact on child schooling in both countries, by discouraging a child from attending school with or without simultaneous child employment (Ray 2002: 5222). A comparison of the female education marginal possibilities shows that the impact of increasing female education on child behaviour is much stronger in Nepal than in Pakistan, similar to the impact of household poverty (Ray 2002: 5223).

5.4 Unpaid Work of Girl Children

Writing about the engagement of girl children in home-based employment, such as in *beedi*, *agarbatti*, matches and *zari* embroidery work, Burra points out: “Exploitative terms and conditions of such work often propel mothers to utilise the services of their girl children either to augment output or to do household tasks or both. By virtue of the fact that she assists her mother through the day, her opportunity for an education is systematically denied (Burra 2001: 487). It has been argued that the assumption that girl children gain experiential learning by engaging in the work done by their mothers, leads them to forgo education, which in turn has a detrimental impact on the development of their capabilities (Burra 2001; George and Panda 2015).

The proportion of rural females who reported themselves as engaged primarily in domestic duties and activities for household consumption increased from 56 per cent in 1993-94 to 60 per cent in 2011-12, while for urban females, it was around 64 per cent during this period. It was evident that large numbers

of women gave up paid employment to attend to domestic duties as there was no other person to carry out these duties (Sanghi et al. 2015). Similar reasons could be applicable for the decline in the percentage of female child workers. With regard to participation of girl children in specified activities along with domestic duties as reported by the NSS in 2011–12, it was revealed that 32.5 per cent of the girl children in rural areas in the age group of 5–14 and 17.3 per cent in urban areas were reported to attend to domestic duties as there was no other member to carry out the domestic work. In rural areas, the other reasons for attending to domestic duties included other reasons (31.4 per cent), social and religious constraints (22.7 per cent), and being unable to afford hired help (13.4 per cent). On the other hand, in urban areas, the prominent reason for attendance to domestic duties reported by girl children was social and religious constraints (48.0 per cent). Apart from this, 25.2 per cent in the 5–14 age group had other reasons and 9.6 per cent reported that they could not afford hired help (GOI, 2014). Such disturbing trends reflect on the missing girl children who may not be available for school. With no other family members to carry out or assist in domestic responsibilities, girl children who are withdrawn from paid employment, may end up with responsibilities of housework and sibling care rather than joining educational institutions.

In addition, most of the household related activities carried out by girl children remain statistically invisible in national accounting systems. Such invisibility not only undermines their status as workers but also leads to them being ignored in policy initiatives on promoting education. Some of the studies – through analysing occupational data from NFHS, Census 2011, NSS, and Time-use survey data – have revealed that male children are much more likely to work than female children. However, children, particularly girls significantly participate in extended SNA activities. If we combine SNA and extended SNA activities, the contribution of girls is greater than boys (MahendraDev 2004). Such underestimation of the contribution of girl children to the household economy and social reproduction in general, further reinforces unequal division of labour within the household. Various feminist scholars called attention to the devaluation of women’s unpaid work in the domestic sphere (Jain 2008; Esquivel 2011; Hirway and Jose 2011; Hirway 2011). Similarly, the labour of children — particularly girls who assist their mothers and fathers in activities like rearing younger siblings, cooking, cleaning and washing, tending livestock or assisting their mothers in home-based production activities — goes unrecognised. Burra (2011) argues that the definition of child labour needs to be widened beyond just wage employment, as there is both little recognition of the economic contribution of girls to the economy and also fewer efforts to get girls out of work and into school. For ensuring gender equality in access to education, skill training and better prospects for employment, there is a need to provide full visibility in official statistics to household division of labour by capturing the various activities carried out by girl children.

5.5 Summing Up

Continued poverty; illiteracy and ignorance of poor parents; increase in population; inadequate family income; large families; indebtedness; absence of social security schemes; the lack of strict enforcement of the provisions for compulsory education; migration from rural areas to urban areas; and, cheap costs of child domestic labour all contribute to the persistence of child labour (UNICEF, 2008). In a patriarchal society like ours, it is often observed that girls are especially discouraged from attending school from the onset of puberty and also due to early marriage. Added to this, are factors like the presence of exclusively male teachers, distance between home and school, not-so-safe roads to school, no separate

toilets for girls, and so on. These are considered as potential factors for high dropout rate for girls (Chugh, 2011). Even when both parents are working outside the home, it is the girl children who are given the responsibility of taking care of siblings and looking after the house in the absence of the parents. They are found to substitute for their mothers in the household for unpaid work. As discussed above, though access to education has improved in the country due to governmental intervention, gender differentials continue to remain. Girl children are exposed to vulnerabilities right from their childhood and experience life-cycle risks that continue to get reinforced through gendered socio-cultural norms and embedded structures of patriarchal gender relations. Such socio-cultural barriers, which deprive girl children from attending school or make them drop out, largely emanate from devaluation of girls' education in comparison to boys, the unequal division of labour within the household that attributes care and domestic responsibilities to girl children, and other cultural norms. Though the right to education is recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and guaranteed in other treaties like the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, in order to be realised in its true spirit, primary, secondary and vocational education needs to be accessible to girl children. They also need to be supported with financial assistance in terms of scholarships, stipends, family support income programmes; availability of state-sponsored crèche facilities; and awareness within the community on the relevance of education for women. Apart from this, there is a need to account for the activities of girl children in official statistics, to capture the magnitude of domestic child labour and plan policy interventions for their education.

The understanding that gender discrimination is a leading cause of child domestic labour is critical to protect child workers and to prevent and eliminate child domestic labour. It is equally important to examine domestic work for the role it plays in reinforcing and perpetrating gender stereotypes that subordinate women. This cause and effect relationship between domestic child work and gender bias has in some situations created an inter-generational cycle of discrimination that needs to be addressed (UNICEF, 2008). Policy measures that address issues of poverty and issues of discrimination against girl children would be important in ensuring equality in education and opportunities for development and advancement of all children.

CHAPTER 06

Policy Recommendations



Child labour is not a homogeneous category and therefore the approach to eliminate child labour needs to be multifarious, multidimensional, involving multiple stakeholders and social-partners, with coordinated and inter-sectoral approach. In light of the findings discussed in the preceding section, this section presents some detailed recommendations, which may be useful for policy interventions.

6.1 Recommendations

- ▶ **Implementation of Free and Compulsory Education:** There is a need to effectively implement free and compulsory education with increased resources and expansion of educational infrastructure. This will help combat child labour. The education system must be made more accessible by rationalising the admission procedures and improving the quality of teachers, books, curricula, recreational facilities, etc., for attracting poor children. A systematic approach must be adopted to enrol children in schools by sensitising the community in general, and parents in particular, on the importance of education. It is also important to ensure attendance of all the children enrolled in school by addressing the local specific reasons which come in the way of their regular attendance. Strategies need to be evolved with appropriate pedagogical approaches aimed at retention of children in school. The reasons for dropping out from school need to be carefully examined and discriminatory practices by teachers and school-authorities on grounds of caste, religion, ethnicity, region, race, etc., need to be discouraged. Midday meals, uniforms, books, blackboards, teaching aids and adequate infrastructure need to be provided on time.
- ▶ **Initiatives for Education of Children from Migrant Families:** Children of families that migrate to work in brick kilns, construction sites, etc., get displaced from their native schools and start working alongside their parents. If these children do not work along with their parents, they stay at temporary settlements to look after their siblings. Thus, they are totally excluded from the education system, remain illiterate and are unable to join schools. These children, who are unable to access the formal schooling system, need to be provided education through other means, such as mobile schools. Special attention should be paid to female children of migrant families to ensure they also attend such school regularly (Jayachandran 2001).
- ▶ **Economic Rehabilitation of the Family:** Programmes to curb child labour emphasise the rehabilitation of the child, but, along with this, the economic rehabilitation of the family is equally important. Adequate measures need to be taken to ameliorate poverty, so that, families are able to overcome the economic crises that forced them to send their children to work.
- ▶ **Sensitisation Programmes for the Community:** Sensitisation programmes need to be conducted periodically for the community on the adverse consequences of child labour, including impact on health and future of the children, economic situation of the family and the adverse impact on the community and society at large. Teachers and officials of the education department need to be sensitised on the necessity to provide education and educational infrastructure for enrolling and retaining children in school so they do not drop out to join the labour force, and also provide for teacher's training in pedagogical methodology. The Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) need to be sensitised on the issue of child labour, and programmes need to be conducted to enhance their capacity for effective participation in micro-planning. As per the power vested

in these institutions by the Constitutional 73rd Amendment Act, 1992, and Constitutional 74th Amendment Act, 1992, they are entrusted with the responsibility for ensuring better educational infrastructure in their area of jurisdiction and also ensuring the reach of various developmental programmes for raising the economic conditions of the poor, so that the latter are not forced to send their children to work to supplement family incomes.

- ▶ **Enforcement and Amendment of Labour Laws:** As far as the enforcement of laws pertaining to the prohibition of employment of child labour is concerned, though there has been an improvement in efforts with regard to inspection. However, such efforts have not significantly translated into prosecution and finally conviction. In view of this, the gap between the conduct of raids, filing of cases and reaching a logical end should be minimised. Further, the children identified in the raids should be immediately admitted either to usual special schools or to residential schools. Amendments for addressing the gaps in the laws related to child labour need to be carried out, along with strengthening the law enforcement machinery and enhancing its capacity. Alternative measures of ending child labour need to be introduced, in addition to enforcement of law. Convergence of benefits of all development programmes and development investment should be targeted towards areas of high incidence of child labour within the hotspot districts in order to develop the general livelihood resources of people, instead of targeting individual households with child workers. Agrarian based economies need to be developed by encouraging wasteland development schemes, schemes under tribal sub-plans, watershed management schemes, etc. Irrigation potential agricultural areas need to be located for agricultural productivity by encouraging cultivation of crops suitable to the region.
- ▶ **Raising of Minimum Wages:** Limited employment opportunities and lower wages lead families to migrate to other states where rates for minimum wages are higher. Children in many of these families also take-up paid work. A raise in the minimum wages in states where the rates are low would result in controlling the processes of distress migration and debt bondage to some extent, preventing child labour and enabling children to continue with their schooling at their native place. The current inadequate levels of minimum wages for adults needs to be reviewed, revised and upgraded to compensate for the loss of income from children working full-time.
- ▶ **Steps to Promote Gender Equality:** The understanding that gender discrimination is a leading cause of child domestic labour is critical to protecting child workers and eliminating child domestic labour. There is a need to account for the activities of girl children in official statistics to capture the magnitude of domestic child labour and plan policy interventions for their education.
- ▶ **Role of Civil Society Organisations:** Civil society partners need to be trained to provide assistance in identifying and monitoring units where child labour is used, and also to provide support to the law enforcement machinery by appearing as independent witnesses in the cases filed under laws relating to child labour; thereby playing a vital role in achieving convictions of the offenders. The community based organisations need to be strengthened to perform the role of local pressure groups to combat child labour and also act as catalysts in effective implementation of laws relating to child labour and various poverty alleviation and poverty amelioration programmes.

- ▶ **Role of Trade Unions:** Child labour depreciates the wages of adult labour and, therefore, persistence of child labour as a perennial problem needs to be addressed also by workers' organisations. Trade unions play an important role in spreading awareness among their cadres on the issue of child labour across the country and working towards total elimination of the practice of employing children as cheap labour.

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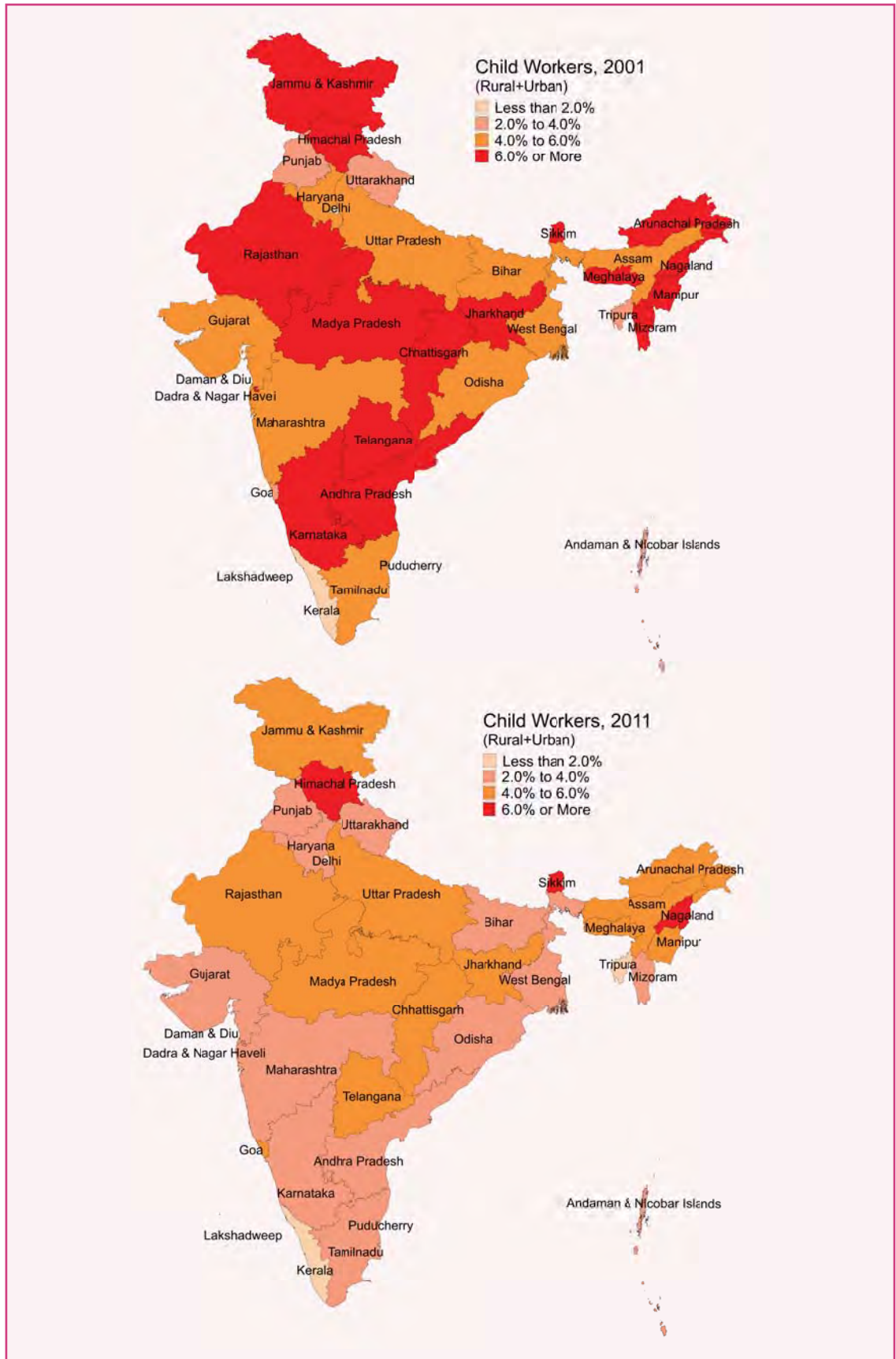
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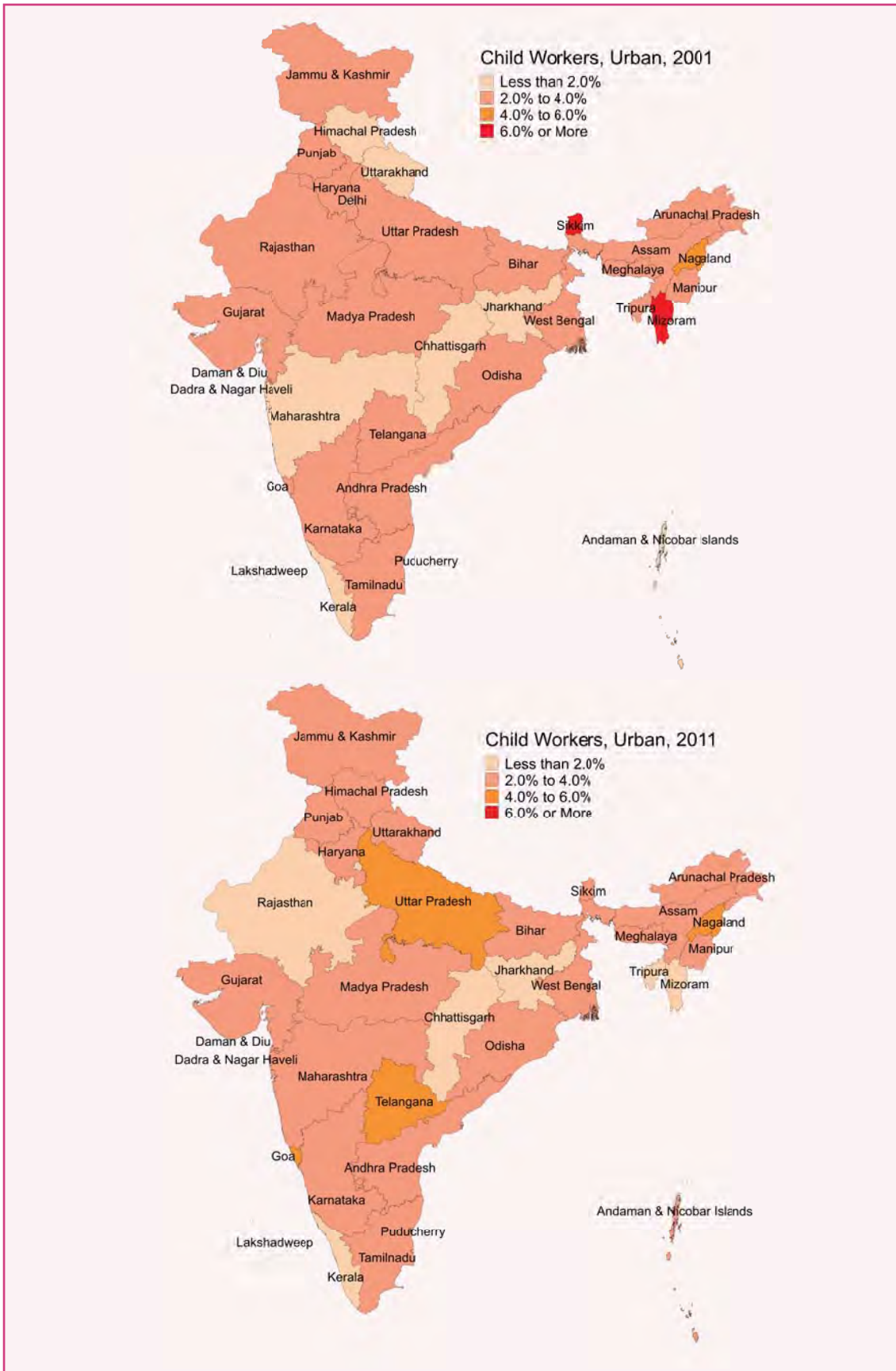
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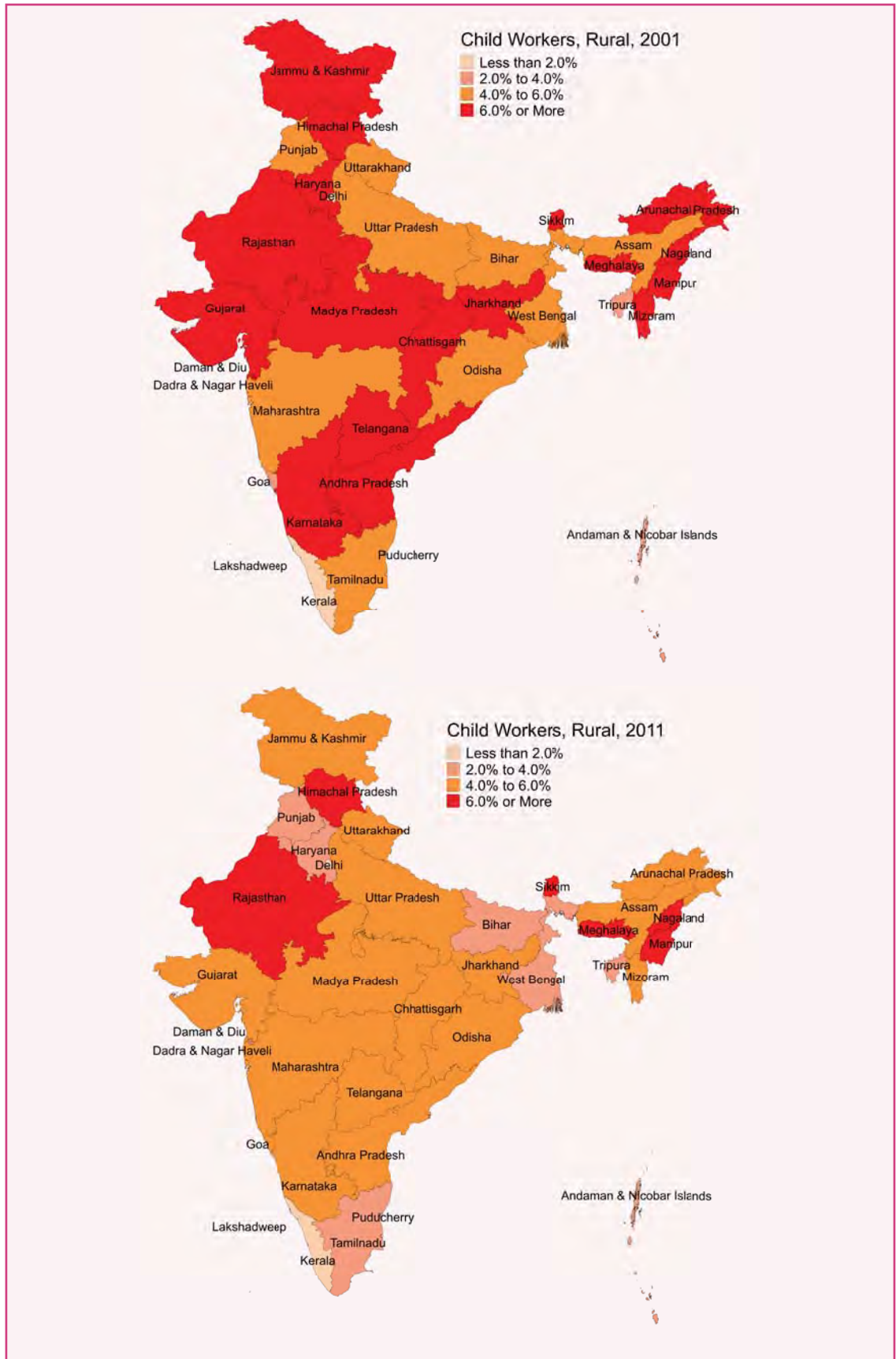
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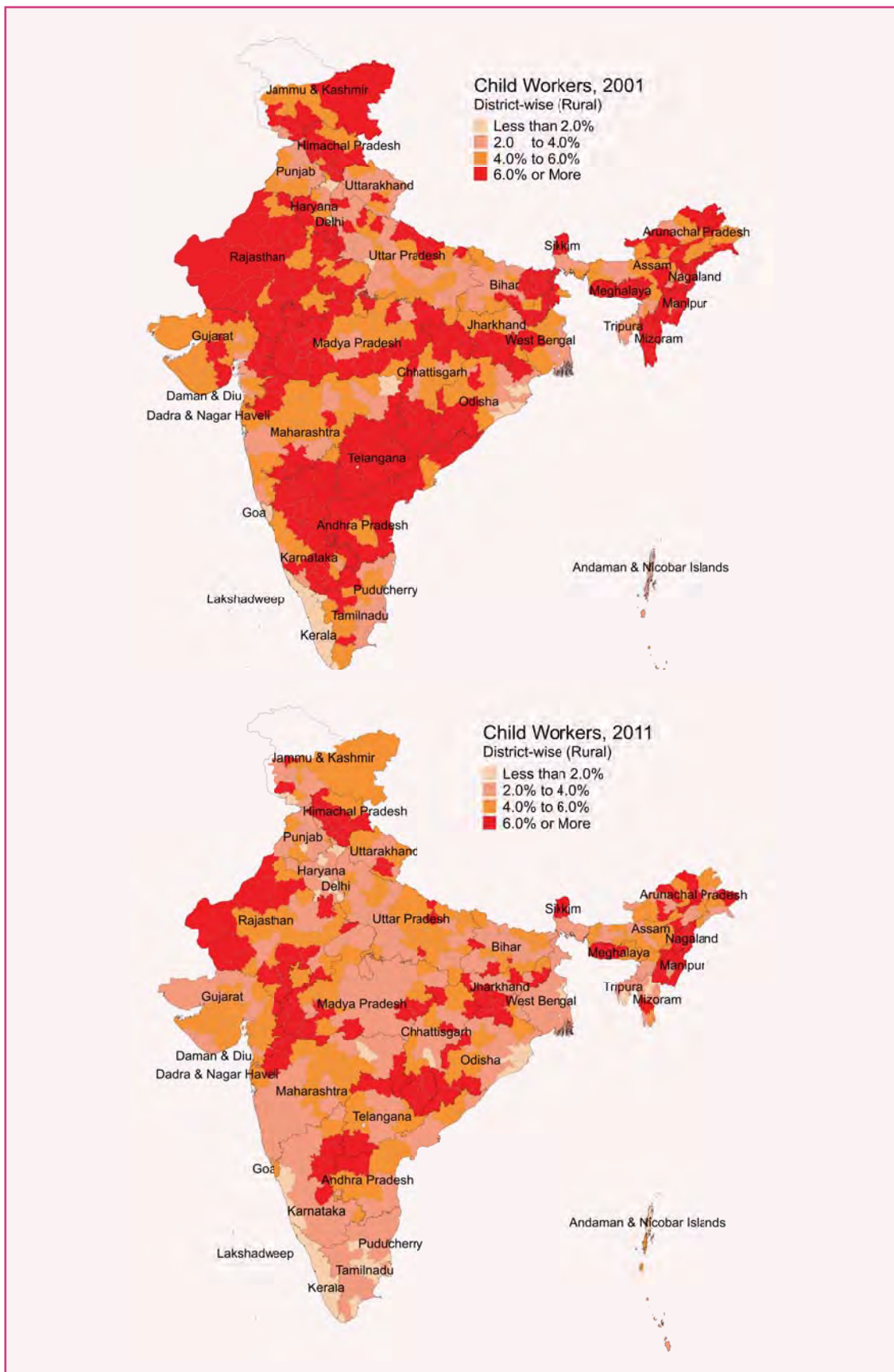


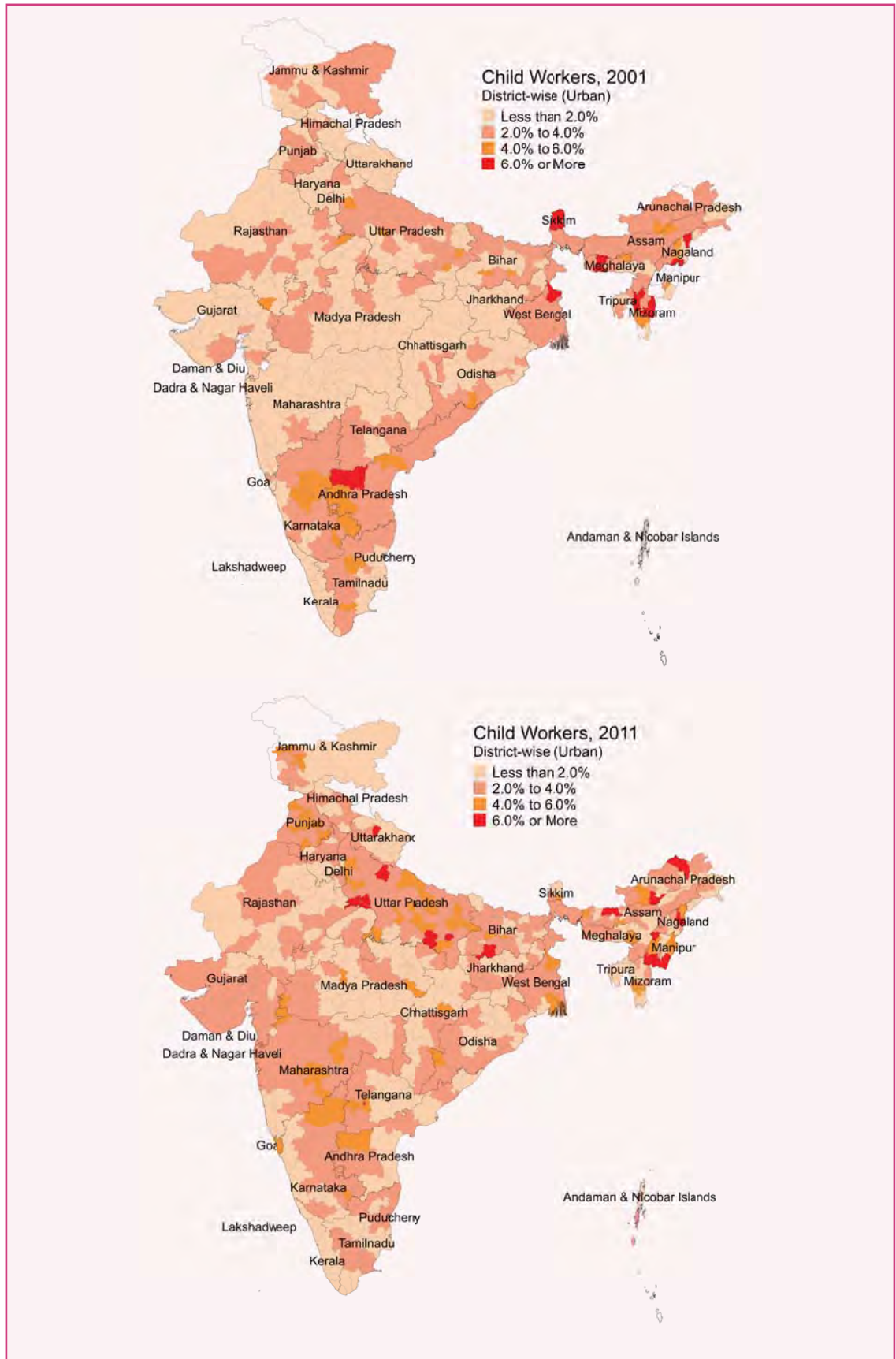
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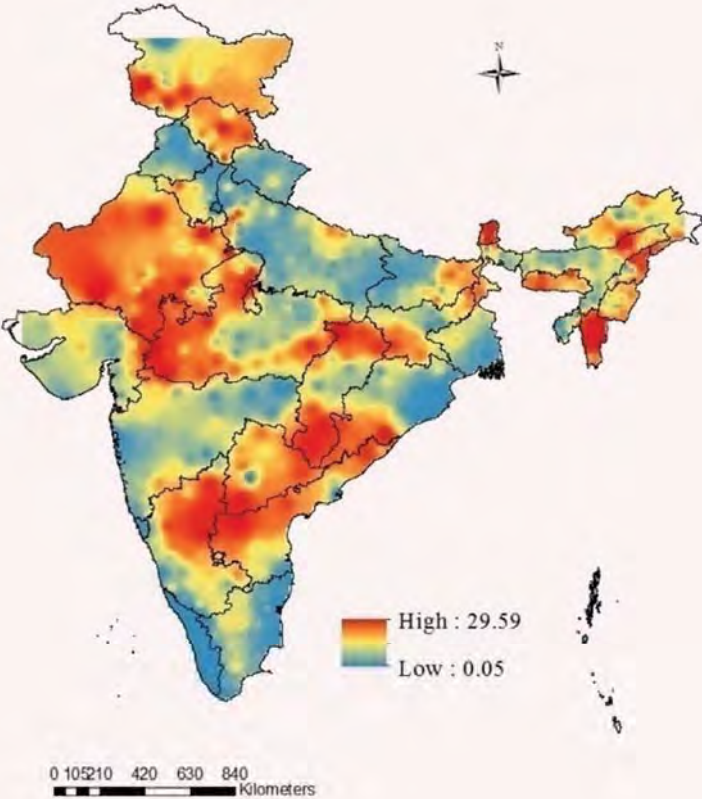
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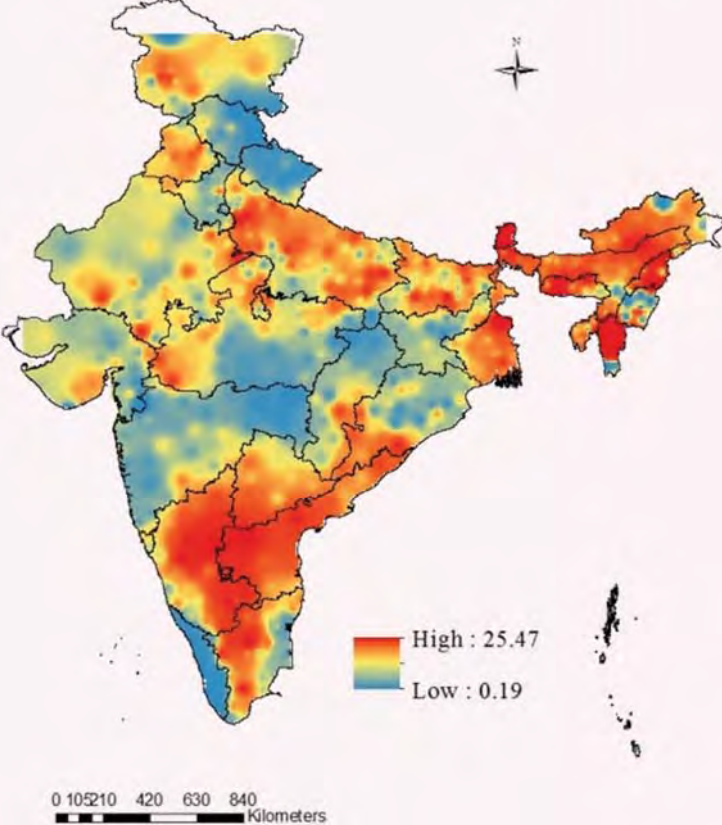


Annexure VI

Rural



Urban



Magnitude and Incidence of Child Workers: States and Union Territories

State/UT Name	Magnitude			Incidence		
	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
Jammu & Kashmir	92,355	22,568	114,923	4.2%	3.6%	4.1%
Himachal Pradesh	123,903	2,713	126,616	11.1%	2.4%	10.3%
Punjab	105,887	70,758	176,645	3.3%	4.0%	3.6%
Chandigarh	155	4,167	4,322	2.8%	2.3%	2.3%
Uttarakhand	68,343	14,088	82,431	4.3%	2.4%	3.7%
Haryana	80,302	42,900	123,202	2.3%	2.6%	2.4%
Delhi	858	35,459	36,317	1.0%	1.1%	1.1%
Rajasthan	778,409	69,977	848,386	6.1%	2.0%	5.2%
Uttar Pradesh	1,742,167	434,539	2,176,706	4.2%	4.4%	4.3%
Bihar	1,001,351	87,158	1,088,509	3.8%	3.1%	3.8%
Sikkim	9,426	964	10,390	9.8%	3.5%	8.4%
Arunachal Pradesh	14,378	2,651	17,029	5.2%	3.7%	4.9%
Nagaland	58,160	5,630	63,790	16.4%	4.4%	13.2%
Manipur	29,192	4,894	34,086	6.5%	3.1%	5.6%
Mizoram	5,583	2,195	7,778	4.5%	2.0%	3.3%
Tripura	11,656	1,904	13,560	2.1%	1.3%	1.9%
Meghalaya	41,632	2,837	44,469	6.4%	2.3%	5.8%
Assam	262,259	22,553	284,812	4.2%	3.0%	4.0%
West Bengal	392,450	157,642	550,092	3.1%	3.4%	3.2%
Jharkhand	370,513	29,763	400,276	5.6%	1.8%	4.9%
Odisha	303,042	31,374	334,416	4.2%	2.6%	4.0%
Chhattisgarh	237,742	20,031	257,773	5.3%	1.7%	4.6%
Madhya Pradesh	608,123	92,116	700,239	4.7%	2.3%	4.2%
Gujarat	326,057	137,020	463,077	4.4%	3.0%	3.9%

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Daman & Diu	166	715	881	1.4%	3.0%	2.5%
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1,474	581	2,055	3.4%	2.1%	2.9%
Maharashtra	489,104	238,828	727,932	4.1%	2.8%	3.5%
Andhra Pradesh	273,661	70,312	343,973	4.3%	2.8%	3.9%
Telangana	198,702	130,328	329,030	4.7%	5.3%	4.9%
Karnataka	287,600	133,745	421,345	4.1%	3.3%	3.8%
Goa	3,369	6,640	10,009	4.2%	4.9%	4.6%
Lakshadweep	13	68	81	0.5%	0.8%	0.7%
Kerala	24,675	20,761	45,436	0.9%	0.8%	0.8%
Tamil Nadu	157,748	126,484	284,232	2.5%	2.3%	2.4%
Puducherry	787	1,386	2,173	1.2%	1.0%	1.1%
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1,099	573	1,672	2.7%	2.4%	2.6%
Total (India)	8,102,341	2,026,322	10,128,663	4.3%	2.9%	3.9%

Magnitude and Incidence of Child Workers: Districts

State/UT Name	District Name	Magnitude			Incidence		
		Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total
J&K	Kupwara	6,443	1,351	7,794	3.0%	4.6%	3.2%
J&K	Badgam	4,989	591	5,580	2.7%	3.0%	2.8%
J&K	Leh(Ladakh)	800	70	870	5.8%	1.3%	4.6%
J&K	Kargil	1,257	30	1,287	4.7%	1.2%	4.4%
J&K	Punch	3,752	106	3,858	3.4%	1.4%	3.2%
J&K	Rajouri	17,506	298	17,804	12.0%	3.9%	11.6%
J&K	Kathua	3,914	222	4,136	3.4%	1.4%	3.2%
J&K	Baramula	5,556	1,178	6,734	2.8%	3.7%	2.9%
J&K	Bandipore	5,397	625	6,022	6.6%	4.5%	6.3%
J&K	Srinagar	126	9,340	9,466	3.5%	4.3%	4.3%
J&K	Ganderbal	2,794	347	3,141	4.4%	3.1%	4.2%
J&K	Pulwama	3,047	685	3,732	3.1%	4.8%	3.4%
J&K	Shupiyan	2,170	141	2,311	3.7%	5.9%	3.8%
J&K	Anantnag	9,747	2,827	12,574	4.6%	4.4%	4.6%
J&K	Kulgam	2,936	376	3,312	3.7%	2.3%	3.4%
J&K	Doda	2,895	53	2,948	3.1%	0.8%	2.9%
J&K	Ramban	2,208	6	2,214	3.1%	0.3%	3.0%
J&K	Kishtwar	1,676	21	1,697	3.0%	0.8%	2.9%
J&K	Udhampur	6,087	427	6,514	5.8%	2.5%	5.3%
J&K	Reasi	6,022	115	6,137	8.1%	2.4%	7.7%
J&K	Jammu	2,510	3,671	6,181	1.7%	3.1%	2.3%
J&K	Samba	523	88	611	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%
HPR	Chamba	19,034	67	19,101	18.5%	1.0%	17.4%
HPR	Kangra	17,004	311	17,315	7.0%	2.2%	6.7%
HPR	Lahul & Spiti	221	-	221	4.3%		4.3%

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HPR	Kullu	14,309	157	14,466	19.3%	2.4%	17.9%
HPR	Mandi	20,945	116	21,061	12.3%	1.2%	11.7%
HPR	Hamirpur	8,575	64	8,639	11.9%	1.2%	11.2%
HPR	Una	2,613	134	2,747	3.0%	1.7%	2.9%
HPR	Bilaspur	5,235	39	5,274	8.8%	0.9%	8.2%
HPR	Solan	7,775	629	8,404	8.9%	3.8%	8.1%
HPR	Sirmaur	17,702	169	17,871	18.1%	1.7%	16.6%
HPR	Shimla	8,759	1,027	9,786	8.3%	3.2%	7.1%
HPR	Kinnaur	1,731	-	1,731	13.2%		13.2%
PUN	Gurdaspur	10,102	3,295	13,397	3.3%	3.1%	3.2%
PUN	Kapurthala	2,676	2,100	4,776	2.8%	4.4%	3.3%
PUN	Jalandhar	3,890	7,627	11,517	2.2%	4.0%	3.1%
PUN	Hoshiarpur	4,810	1,774	6,584	2.2%	3.3%	2.4%
PUN	Shahid Bhagat Singh Nagar	1,971	561	2,532	2.4%	2.6%	2.4%
PUN	Fatehgarh Sahib	1,504	1,060	2,564	2.2%	3.4%	2.5%
PUN	Ludhiana	8,119	17,264	25,383	3.3%	4.7%	4.1%
PUN	Moga	5,561	2,125	7,686	4.0%	5.4%	4.3%
PUN	Firozpur	10,038	2,101	12,139	3.4%	2.1%	3.1%
PUN	Muktsar	3,681	1,202	4,883	3.1%	2.7%	3.0%
PUN	Faridkot	2,112	1,499	3,611	2.9%	4.0%	3.3%
PUN	Bathinda	6,229	2,833	9,062	4.1%	3.3%	3.8%
PUN	Mansa	4,898	1,456	6,354	4.4%	5.0%	4.5%
PUN	Patiala	5,710	5,276	10,986	2.7%	4.3%	3.3%
PUN	Amritsar	12,122	13,214	25,336	5.3%	5.9%	5.6%
PUN	Tarn Taran	9,437	801	10,238	4.8%	3.0%	4.6%
PUN	Rupnagar	3,058	589	3,647	3.4%	2.0%	3.1%
PUN	Sahibzada Ajit Singh Nagar	3,410	2,848	6,258	4.1%	3.1%	3.6%
PUN	Sangrur	5,193	2,231	7,424	2.6%	2.4%	2.5%

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PUN	Barnala	1,366	902	2,268	1.9%	2.6%	2.1%
CHA	Chandigarh	155	4,167	4,322	2.8%	2.3%	2.3%
UTT	Uttarkashi	3,755	70	3,825	5.1%	1.4%	4.9%
UTT	Chamoli	2,018	140	2,158	2.8%	1.2%	2.6%
UTT	Rudraprayag	1,726	127	1,853	3.3%	6.6%	3.4%
UTT	Tehri Garhwal	5,531	338	5,869	4.3%	2.3%	4.1%
UTT	Dehradun	6,294	4,427	10,721	4.0%	2.7%	3.3%
UTT	Garhwal	4,592	269	4,861	3.8%	1.2%	3.4%
UTT	Pithoragarh	3,542	196	3,738	4.1%	1.3%	3.7%
UTT	Bageshwar	2,296	17	2,313	4.2%	0.9%	4.1%
UTT	Almora	11,703	93	11,796	9.5%	0.9%	8.8%
UTT	Champawat	1,401	70	1,471	2.6%	0.8%	2.4%
UTT	Nainital	8,384	1,385	9,769	6.7%	1.9%	4.9%
UTT	Udham Singh Nagar	11,135	3,673	14,808	4.4%	2.8%	3.9%
UTT	Hardwar	5,966	3,283	9,249	2.0%	2.4%	2.1%
HAR	Panchkula	1,604	1,933	3,537	3.3%	3.6%	3.4%
HAR	Ambala	1,506	2,304	3,810	1.3%	2.8%	2.0%
HAR	Yamunanagar	2,037	1,737	3,774	1.4%	2.1%	1.7%
HAR	Kurukshetra	2,747	800	3,547	2.1%	1.7%	2.0%
HAR	Kaithal	3,201	874	4,075	1.9%	2.0%	1.9%
HAR	Karnal	5,358	2,814	8,172	2.5%	3.4%	2.8%
HAR	Panipat	3,028	3,797	6,825	2.1%	3.3%	2.7%
HAR	Sonipat	5,469	2,313	7,782	2.7%	2.7%	2.7%
HAR	Jind	7,764	1,199	8,963	3.6%	2.0%	3.3%
HAR	Fatehabad	4,364	496	4,860	2.8%	1.5%	2.5%
HAR	Sirsa	5,405	1,602	7,007	2.8%	2.7%	2.8%
HAR	Hisar	7,374	2,699	10,073	3.0%	2.6%	2.9%
HAR	Bhiwani	6,223	1,186	7,409	2.3%	1.9%	2.2%
HAR	Rohtak	1,787	910	2,697	1.5%	1.1%	1.3%

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HAR	Jhajjar	3,466	772	4,238	2.5%	1.7%	2.3%
HAR	Mahendragarh	2,867	283	3,150	1.8%	1.1%	1.7%
HAR	Rewari	2,587	553	3,140	2.0%	1.2%	1.8%
HAR	Gurgaon	1,099	3,847	4,946	1.1%	2.1%	1.7%
HAR	Mewat	6,440	375	6,815	2.1%	1.1%	2.0%
HAR	Faridabad	2,015	11,291	13,306	2.3%	3.8%	3.5%
HAR	Palwal	3,961	1,115	5,076	1.9%	2.1%	1.9%
DEL	North West	346	7,082	7,428	0.7%	1.0%	1.0%
DEL	North	99	3,033	3,132	2.4%	1.9%	1.9%
DEL	North East	47	5,270	5,317	0.9%	1.1%	1.1%
DEL	East	2	2,856	2,858	0.4%	0.9%	0.9%
DEL	New Delhi	-	385	385		1.7%	1.7%
DEL	Central	-	1,731	1,731		1.8%	1.8%
DEL	West	3	5,002	5,005	0.2%	1.1%	1.1%
DEL	South West	324	4,455	4,779	1.1%	1.2%	1.2%
DEL	South	37	5,645	5,682	1.4%	1.1%	1.1%
RAJ	Ganganagar	19,915	2,096	22,011	6.4%	2.0%	5.3%
RAJ	Hanumangarh	13,941	1,866	15,807	4.4%	2.6%	4.1%
RAJ	Bikaner	35,119	3,553	38,672	8.0%	2.1%	6.4%
RAJ	Churu	26,145	2,243	28,388	7.1%	1.7%	5.7%
RAJ	Jhunjhunun	21,040	1,328	22,368	5.7%	1.2%	4.7%
RAJ	Alwar	62,090	2,312	64,402	8.2%	1.7%	7.2%
RAJ	Bharatpur	24,315	1,861	26,176	4.5%	1.7%	4.0%
RAJ	Dhaulpur	35,188	1,529	36,717	13.1%	2.4%	11.1%
RAJ	Karauli	13,898	1,209	15,107	4.3%	2.3%	4.0%
RAJ	Sawai Madhopur	11,006	1,156	12,162	4.1%	2.0%	3.7%
RAJ	Dausa	13,093	819	13,912	3.6%	1.8%	3.4%
RAJ	Jaipur	23,982	13,298	37,280	3.1%	1.9%	2.5%
RAJ	Sikar	15,697	2,172	17,869	3.3%	1.5%	2.9%

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RAJ	Nagaur	28,664	3,112	31,776	4.3%	2.0%	3.9%
RAJ	Jodhpur	35,058	7,812	42,870	5.3%	3.0%	4.6%
RAJ	Jaisalmer	10,383	372	10,755	6.3%	1.8%	5.8%
RAJ	Barmer	50,743	622	51,365	7.4%	1.5%	7.1%
RAJ	Jalor	49,598	842	50,440	10.9%	2.3%	10.3%
RAJ	Sirohi	11,253	627	11,880	5.2%	1.4%	4.6%
RAJ	Pali	13,975	1,695	15,670	3.6%	1.7%	3.2%
RAJ	Ajmer	17,581	3,036	20,617	4.6%	1.5%	3.6%
RAJ	Tonk	11,594	1,590	13,184	4.4%	2.3%	4.0%
RAJ	Bundi	17,199	873	18,072	8.2%	1.9%	7.1%
RAJ	Bhilwara	28,900	2,652	31,552	6.6%	2.5%	5.8%
RAJ	Rajsamand	13,395	603	13,998	5.8%	1.6%	5.2%
RAJ	Dungarpur	14,753	381	15,134	4.4%	2.1%	4.3%
RAJ	Banswara	40,698	861	41,559	9.3%	3.5%	9.0%
RAJ	Chittaurgarh	17,250	1,113	18,363	6.5%	2.0%	5.7%
RAJ	Kota	5,940	4,419	10,359	3.4%	2.0%	2.6%
RAJ	Baran	10,187	989	11,176	4.4%	1.8%	3.9%
RAJ	Jhalawar	18,023	733	18,756	6.5%	1.5%	5.8%
RAJ	Udaipur	40,578	2,023	42,601	6.6%	1.9%	5.9%
RAJ	Pratapgarh	27,208	180	27,388	13.5%	1.3%	12.7%
UPR	Saharanpur	12,716	7,087	19,803	2.1%	3.0%	2.4%
UPR	Muzaffarnagar	23,754	6,504	30,258	3.1%	2.3%	2.9%
UPR	Bijnor	18,400	5,769	24,169	2.6%	2.6%	2.6%
UPR	Moradabad	35,195	12,656	47,851	3.9%	3.4%	3.7%
UPR	Rampur	25,887	5,111	30,998	5.2%	3.6%	4.8%
UPR	Jyotiba Phule Nagar	13,866	2,838	16,704	3.7%	2.5%	3.4%
UPR	Meerut	16,226	15,566	31,792	4.0%	4.1%	4.0%
UPR	Baghpat	8,224	1,028	9,252	3.3%	1.6%	3.0%
UPR	Ghaziabad	17,041	39,347	56,388	4.6%	5.9%	5.4%

ANNEXURES

UPR	Gautam Buddha Nagar	7,036	9,631	16,667	4.4%	4.8%	4.6%
UPR	Bulandshahr	21,420	5,552	26,972	3.2%	2.7%	3.1%
UPR	Aligarh	22,871	12,040	34,911	3.6%	4.2%	3.8%
UPR	Mahamaya Nagar	9,064	2,281	11,345	2.8%	2.9%	2.8%
UPR	Mathura	18,962	6,469	25,431	4.1%	3.9%	4.0%
UPR	Agra	24,100	30,769	54,869	3.7%	6.7%	5.0%
UPR	Firozabad	13,364	14,324	27,688	3.0%	7.0%	4.3%
UPR	Mainpuri	16,053	1,738	17,791	3.9%	2.6%	3.7%
UPR	Budaun	35,308	4,514	39,822	4.1%	2.8%	3.9%
UPR	Bareilly	43,112	24,905	68,017	5.4%	6.9%	5.8%
UPR	Pilibhit	12,744	2,426	15,170	2.8%	3.0%	2.8%
UPR	Shahjahanpur	22,496	4,020	26,516	3.3%	2.9%	3.2%
UPR	Kheri	40,873	4,363	45,236	4.2%	4.1%	4.2%
UPR	Sitapur	43,693	4,890	48,583	4.1%	3.9%	4.1%
UPR	Hardoi	38,124	4,748	42,872	4.0%	3.7%	4.0%
UPR	Unnao	32,263	4,445	36,708	5.0%	3.9%	4.8%
UPR	Lucknow	17,065	32,358	49,423	4.3%	5.7%	5.2%
UPR	Rae Bareli	35,689	2,773	38,462	4.5%	4.4%	4.5%
UPR	Farrukhabad	15,088	3,190	18,278	3.9%	3.4%	3.8%
UPR	Kannauj	8,780	2,181	10,961	2.4%	3.2%	2.6%
UPR	Etawah	9,554	2,496	12,050	3.2%	3.2%	3.2%
UPR	Auraiya	6,164	1,390	7,554	2.2%	2.6%	2.2%
UPR	Kanpur Dehat	11,461	995	12,456	3.0%	2.5%	2.9%
UPR	Kanpur Nagar	11,756	24,842	36,598	3.2%	4.5%	4.0%
UPR	Jalaun	10,997	2,343	13,340	3.8%	2.6%	3.5%
UPR	Jhansi	11,505	7,385	18,890	4.4%	4.6%	4.5%
UPR	Lalitpur	8,790	1,076	9,866	3.1%	2.9%	3.1%
UPR	Hamirpur	7,173	795	7,968	3.3%	1.7%	3.0%

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UPR	Mahoba	6,392	771	7,163	3.7%	1.8%	3.3%
UPR	Banda	12,906	1,382	14,288	3.1%	2.2%	3.0%
UPR	Chitrakoot	7,545	295	7,840	3.0%	1.3%	2.9%
UPR	Fatehpur	30,936	2,002	32,938	5.2%	2.8%	4.9%
UPR	Pratapgarh	42,661	2,289	44,950	5.3%	5.9%	5.4%
UPR	Kaushambi	25,875	1,128	27,003	6.2%	3.6%	6.1%
UPR	Allahabad	65,414	21,823	87,237	5.4%	7.7%	5.9%
UPR	Bara Banki	45,318	2,940	48,258	5.9%	3.8%	5.7%
UPR	Faizabad	24,308	3,517	27,825	4.4%	5.1%	4.5%
UPR	Ambedkar Nagar	22,711	2,655	25,366	4.2%	3.9%	4.1%
UPR	Sultanpur	38,564	1,455	40,019	4.1%	3.3%	4.1%
UPR	Bahraich	40,090	2,914	43,004	4.5%	4.3%	4.4%
UPR	Shrawasti	18,430	193	18,623	6.3%	2.0%	6.1%
UPR	Balrampur	29,253	1,388	30,641	5.1%	3.3%	5.0%
UPR	Gonda	53,456	2,528	55,984	6.1%	4.9%	6.0%
UPR	Siddharthnagar	36,381	1,499	37,880	5.3%	3.6%	5.2%
UPR	Basti	22,058	784	22,842	3.5%	2.7%	3.4%
UPR	Sant Kabir Nagar	16,591	1,145	17,736	3.8%	3.6%	3.8%
UPR	Mahrajganj	38,405	807	39,212	5.5%	2.5%	5.4%
UPR	Gorakhpur	40,182	9,605	49,787	4.3%	5.7%	4.5%
UPR	Kushinagar	46,499	1,182	47,681	5.1%	3.0%	5.0%
UPR	Deoria	25,712	1,653	27,365	3.5%	2.3%	3.4%
UPR	Azamgarh	40,994	4,251	45,245	3.6%	4.2%	3.7%
UPR	Mau	18,023	6,700	24,723	3.9%	5.0%	4.2%
UPR	Ballia	46,766	3,983	50,749	6.2%	5.7%	6.2%
UPR	Jaunpur	57,848	2,443	60,291	5.3%	3.0%	5.1%
UPR	Ghazipur	45,435	2,462	47,897	5.2%	3.8%	5.1%
UPR	Chandauli	17,075	2,042	19,117	3.8%	3.5%	3.8%
UPR	Varanasi	18,358	21,893	40,251	3.4%	6.4%	4.6%

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UPR	Sant Ravidas Nagar (Bhadohi)	9,648	1,431	11,079	2.7%	2.4%	2.6%
UPR	Mirzapur	21,436	4,521	25,957	3.8%	5.8%	4.0%
UPR	Sonbhadra	20,583	1,879	22,462	4.7%	2.7%	4.5%
UPR	Etah	15,815	2,130	17,945	3.9%	3.4%	3.8%
UPR	Kanshiram Nagar	13,685	2,004	15,689	4.3%	2.8%	4.0%
BIH	Pashchim Champaran	51,620	1,908	53,528	5.0%	1.9%	4.7%
BIH	Purba Champaran	52,347	2,272	54,619	3.8%	2.2%	3.7%
BIH	Sheohar	7,663	172	7,835	4.3%	2.2%	4.2%
BIH	Sitamarhi	34,486	1,733	36,219	3.7%	3.6%	3.7%
BIH	Madhubani	52,094	1,458	53,552	4.3%	3.6%	4.3%
BIH	Supaul	25,789	519	26,308	4.2%	1.9%	4.1%
BIH	Araria	33,847	1,146	34,993	4.3%	2.6%	4.2%
BIH	Kishanganj	15,662	1,423	17,085	3.4%	3.5%	3.4%
BIH	Purnia	37,742	2,488	40,230	4.4%	3.0%	4.3%
BIH	Katihar	25,130	1,040	26,170	3.1%	1.6%	3.0%
BIH	Madhepura	24,594	596	25,190	4.4%	2.7%	4.3%
BIH	Saharsa	15,780	1,016	16,796	3.1%	2.6%	3.1%
BIH	Darbhanga	28,959	1,611	30,570	2.9%	1.8%	2.8%
BIH	Muzaffarpur	39,368	4,052	43,420	3.4%	3.9%	3.4%
BIH	Gopalganj	23,370	1,244	24,614	3.4%	2.9%	3.4%
BIH	Siwan	26,144	1,446	27,590	3.0%	3.2%	3.0%
BIH	Saran	24,654	1,962	26,616	2.4%	2.2%	2.4%
BIH	Vaishali	24,600	1,164	25,764	2.9%	2.0%	2.8%
BIH	Samastipur	25,012	530	25,542	2.2%	1.5%	2.1%
BIH	Begusarai	21,559	4,267	25,826	3.1%	2.8%	3.1%
BIH	Khagaria	17,901	287	18,188	3.8%	1.3%	3.7%
BIH	Bhagalpur	23,381	4,482	27,863	3.4%	3.1%	3.4%
BIH	Banka	23,800	208	24,008	4.5%	1.2%	4.4%

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BIH	Munger	6,505	1,353	7,858	2.4%	1.6%	2.2%
BIH	Lakhisarai	8,068	1,195	9,263	3.3%	3.2%	3.3%
BIH	Sheikhpura	9,308	765	10,073	6.1%	2.6%	5.5%
BIH	Nalanda	33,352	3,424	36,776	5.0%	2.9%	4.7%
BIH	Patna	43,218	22,202	65,420	4.8%	4.0%	4.5%
BIH	Bhojpur	28,240	2,761	31,001	4.4%	2.9%	4.2%
BIH	Buxar	12,938	819	13,757	3.1%	2.0%	3.0%
BIH	Kaimur (Bhabua)	14,003	276	14,279	3.2%	1.6%	3.1%
BIH	Rohtas	23,044	2,643	25,687	3.3%	2.4%	3.2%
BIH	Aurangabad	24,990	2,159	27,149	3.9%	3.5%	3.9%
BIH	Gaya	70,491	8,438	78,929	6.6%	6.4%	6.6%
BIH	Nawada	33,662	2,058	35,720	5.9%	3.6%	5.7%
BIH	Jamui	24,180	961	25,141	5.5%	2.6%	5.2%
BIH	Jehanabad	8,242	856	9,098	3.0%	2.4%	2.9%
BIH	Arwal	5,608	224	5,832	3.1%	1.6%	3.0%
SIK	North District	649	17	666	8.2%	1.4%	7.3%
SIK	West District	3,349	31	3,380	11.2%	3.0%	10.9%
SIK	South District	2,567	81	2,648	9.4%	2.0%	8.5%
SIK	East District	2,861	835	3,696	9.2%	4.0%	7.1%
ARP	Tawang	306	32	338	3.6%	2.7%	3.5%
ARP	West Kameng	867	125	992	5.9%	3.6%	5.4%
ARP	East Kameng	839	245	1,084	4.6%	4.5%	4.5%
ARP	Papum Pare	1,420	1,429	2,849	6.6%	6.6%	6.6%
ARP	Upper Subansiri	1,288	88	1,376	6.7%	2.5%	6.0%
ARP	West Siang	1,286	127	1,413	5.8%	2.3%	5.1%
ARP	East Siang	1,083	92	1,175	6.3%	1.4%	5.0%
ARP	Upper Siang	654	111	765	9.5%	6.5%	8.9%
ARP	Changlang	1,200	52	1,252	3.6%	1.3%	3.4%
ARP	Tirap	1,143	54	1,197	4.5%	1.1%	4.0%

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ARP	Lower Subansiri	549	42	591	3.2%	1.4%	2.9%
ARP	Kurung Kumey	1,739	13	1,752	6.3%	2.0%	6.2%
ARP	Dibang Valley	75	20	95	5.8%	3.9%	5.2%
ARP	Lower Dibang Valley	321	51	372	3.0%	1.8%	2.8%
ARP	Lohit	1,290	168	1,458	4.4%	2.3%	4.0%
ARP	Anjaw	318	2	320	6.2%	0.8%	5.9%
NAG	Mon	16,536	376	16,912	28.9%	4.2%	25.6%
NAG	Mokokchung	2,692	277	2,969	9.3%	2.4%	7.3%
NAG	Zunheboto	7,652	134	7,786	26.9%	1.9%	21.9%
NAG	Wokha	2,603	101	2,704	8.4%	1.4%	7.1%
NAG	Dimapur	2,165	1,444	3,609	5.0%	3.6%	4.3%
NAG	Phek	3,297	102	3,399	8.9%	1.7%	7.9%
NAG	Tuensang	8,895	848	9,743	19.8%	9.0%	17.9%
NAG	Longleng	4,058	131	4,189	36.8%	6.6%	32.2%
NAG	Kiphire	1,355	115	1,470	8.3%	2.4%	6.9%
NAG	Kohima	2,308	557	2,865	6.6%	2.2%	4.7%
NAG	Peren	6,599	1,545	8,144	30.7%	41.3%	32.3%
MAN	Senapati	11,348	24	11,372	10.2%	1.4%	10.0%
MAN	Tamenglong	3,132	215	3,347	11.6%	4.4%	10.5%
MAN	Churachandpur	4,222	236	4,458	7.8%	6.8%	7.7%
MAN	Bishnupur	1,102	358	1,460	3.5%	2.0%	2.9%
MAN	Thoubal	1,851	506	2,357	2.9%	1.6%	2.5%
MAN	Imphal West	902	1,769	2,671	2.3%	3.2%	2.8%
MAN	Imphal East	1,255	1,196	2,451	2.2%	3.6%	2.7%
MAN	Ukhrul	3,011	332	3,343	8.4%	5.0%	7.9%
MAN	Chandel	2,369	258	2,627	9.5%	6.3%	9.1%
MIZ	Mamit	485	22	507	2.9%	0.7%	2.5%
MIZ	Kolasib	266	250	516	3.1%	2.6%	2.8%
MIZ	Aizawl	347	878	1,225	1.9%	1.6%	1.6%

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MIZ	Champhai	402	297	699	2.2%	2.9%	2.5%
MIZ	Serchhip	162	54	216	2.2%	0.8%	1.6%
MIZ	Lunglei	2,614	607	3,221	11.5%	4.5%	8.9%
MIZ	Lawngtlai	848	26	874	3.3%	0.6%	2.9%
MIZ	Saiha	459	61	520	5.9%	1.1%	3.9%
TRI	West Tripura	4,231	1,435	5,666	2.1%	1.4%	1.9%
TRI	South Tripura	3,005	194	3,199	1.9%	1.0%	1.8%
TRI	Dhalai	1,702	57	1,759	2.3%	0.8%	2.1%
TRI	North Tripura	2,718	218	2,936	2.2%	1.1%	2.1%
MEG	West Garo Hills	10,243	597	10,840	6.9%	3.8%	6.6%
MEG	East Garo Hills	5,549	214	5,763	7.7%	2.0%	6.9%
MEG	South Garo Hills	2,234	45	2,279	6.6%	1.3%	6.2%
MEG	West Khasi Hills	8,714	333	9,047	8.9%	2.7%	8.2%
MEG	Ribhoi	3,031	85	3,116	4.6%	1.4%	4.3%
MEG	East Khasi Hills	5,825	1,226	7,051	4.7%	1.7%	3.6%
MEG	Jaintia Hills	6,036	337	6,373	5.7%	5.2%	5.7%
ASS	Kokrajhar	9,927	415	10,342	5.0%	4.6%	5.0%
ASS	Dhubri	24,269	970	25,239	5.3%	2.6%	5.1%
ASS	Goalpara	7,418	920	8,338	3.5%	3.2%	3.4%
ASS	Barpeta	10,799	565	11,364	2.8%	2.3%	2.7%
ASS	Morigaon	10,205	393	10,598	4.5%	2.8%	4.4%
ASS	Nagaon	22,683	2,015	24,698	3.7%	3.1%	3.6%
ASS	Sonitpur	17,409	628	18,037	4.3%	2.2%	4.2%
ASS	Lakhimpur	11,489	294	11,783	5.2%	1.7%	4.9%
ASS	Dhemaji	11,244	184	11,428	7.3%	1.9%	7.0%
ASS	Tinsukia	9,662	993	10,655	4.0%	2.2%	3.7%
ASS	Dibrugarh	8,754	1,292	10,046	3.8%	3.4%	3.8%
ASS	Sivasagar	7,492	358	7,850	3.6%	2.0%	3.5%
ASS	Jorhat	11,074	1,391	12,465	6.4%	3.9%	6.0%

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ASS	Golaghat	9,689	474	10,163	4.7%	2.9%	4.5%
ASS	Karbi Anglong	10,334	406	10,740	4.9%	1.8%	4.6%
ASS	Dima Hasao	1,640	156	1,796	4.5%	1.3%	3.7%
ASS	Cachar	10,134	1,390	11,524	3.1%	2.6%	3.0%
ASS	Karimganj	8,389	469	8,858	3.0%	2.6%	3.0%
ASS	Hailakandi	4,480	215	4,695	2.9%	2.7%	2.9%
ASS	Bongaigaon	4,942	327	5,269	3.2%	1.8%	3.1%
ASS	Chirang	5,791	173	5,964	5.3%	2.6%	5.2%
ASS	Kamrup	14,619	821	15,440	4.9%	3.5%	4.8%
ASS	Kamrup Metropolitan	2,250	7,003	9,253	5.0%	4.3%	4.5%
ASS	Nalbari	4,354	238	4,592	3.1%	1.8%	2.9%
ASS	Baksa	8,666	154	8,820	4.3%	6.1%	4.3%
ASS	Darrang	8,369	133	8,502	3.8%	1.4%	3.7%
ASS	Udalguri	6,177	176	6,353	3.5%	2.7%	3.5%
WBE	Darjiling	4,774	3,345	8,119	2.1%	2.6%	2.3%
WBE	Jalpaiguri	13,963	4,297	18,260	2.4%	2.3%	2.4%
WBE	Koch Bihar	15,618	1,007	16,625	3.0%	2.3%	2.9%
WBE	Uttar Dinajpur	23,101	2,242	25,343	3.3%	2.9%	3.2%
WBE	Dakshin Dinajpur	11,339	1,006	12,345	3.7%	2.7%	3.6%
WBE	Maldah	29,460	3,231	32,691	3.4%	2.9%	3.3%
WBE	Murshidabad	40,611	13,606	54,217	3.1%	4.3%	3.4%
WBE	Birbhum	22,616	2,530	25,146	3.5%	3.3%	3.5%
WBE	Bardhaman	24,858	15,895	40,753	2.9%	3.0%	3.0%
WBE	Nadia	11,301	4,258	15,559	1.6%	2.0%	1.7%
WBE	North 24 Parganas	24,725	19,712	44,437	3.0%	2.4%	2.7%
WBE	Hugli	16,899	9,097	25,996	2.9%	2.9%	2.9%
WBE	Bankura	15,607	1,342	16,949	2.5%	2.9%	2.5%
WBE	Puruliya	21,570	1,999	23,569	3.9%	2.8%	3.8%

ANNEXURES

WBE	Haora	11,807	21,549	33,356	3.7%	4.2%	4.0%
WBE	Kolkata	-	32,582	32,582		5.3%	5.3%
WBE	South 24 Parganas	48,894	14,386	63,280	3.8%	4.1%	3.9%
WBE	Paschim Medinipur	38,215	3,683	41,898	3.8%	3.2%	3.8%
WBE	Purba Medinipur	17,092	1,875	18,967	2.0%	1.8%	2.0%
JHA	Garhwa	27,333	159	27,492	7.5%	0.9%	7.2%
JHA	Chatra	9,894	184	10,078	3.5%	1.2%	3.4%
JHA	Kodarma	8,417	384	8,801	5.4%	1.1%	4.6%
JHA	Giridih	40,089	705	40,794	6.5%	1.5%	6.1%
JHA	Deoghar	11,230	682	11,912	3.5%	1.2%	3.1%
JHA	Godda	15,089	166	15,255	4.6%	1.1%	4.4%
JHA	Sahibganj	14,970	900	15,870	5.5%	2.4%	5.1%
JHA	Pakur	13,800	310	14,110	6.1%	1.9%	5.8%
JHA	Dhanbad	9,398	7,200	16,598	3.4%	2.1%	2.7%
JHA	Bokaro	7,854	2,785	10,639	2.9%	1.3%	2.2%
JHA	Lohardaga	14,694	312	15,006	12.7%	2.4%	11.6%
JHA	Purbi Singhbhum	6,171	2,816	8,987	2.8%	1.2%	2.0%
JHA	Palamu	19,007	1,385	20,392	3.9%	2.6%	3.8%
JHA	Latehar	13,942	290	14,232	7.1%	2.3%	6.8%
JHA	Hazaribagh	13,762	754	14,516	3.5%	1.2%	3.2%
JHA	Ramgarh	3,239	1,004	4,243	2.4%	1.1%	1.9%
JHA	Dumka	21,378	400	21,778	7.2%	2.1%	6.9%
JHA	Jamtara	10,471	414	10,885	6.0%	2.6%	5.7%
JHA	Ranchi	28,673	6,424	35,097	6.9%	2.6%	5.3%
JHA	Khunti	11,173	344	11,517	9.2%	3.4%	8.7%
JHA	Gumla	23,411	345	23,756	9.0%	2.2%	8.6%
JHA	Simdega	8,667	131	8,798	6.5%	1.3%	6.1%
JHA	Pashchimi Singhbhum	29,861	645	30,506	8.8%	1.5%	8.0%

ANNEXURES

JHA	Saraikela-Kharsawan	7,990	1,024	9,014	4.3%	1.9%	3.8%
ODI	Bargarh	14,804	1,003	15,807	6.4%	3.8%	6.1%
ODI	Jharsuguda	2,083	831	2,914	3.4%	2.0%	2.8%
ODI	Sambalpur	6,594	1,772	8,366	4.8%	3.4%	4.4%
ODI	Debagarh	3,513	62	3,575	5.9%	1.4%	5.6%
ODI	Sundargarh	11,489	2,136	13,625	3.9%	1.6%	3.2%
ODI	Kendujhar	11,862	952	12,814	3.6%	1.9%	3.4%
ODI	Mayurbhanj	25,615	812	26,427	4.8%	2.4%	4.6%
ODI	Baleshwar	16,114	872	16,986	3.8%	1.9%	3.6%
ODI	Bhadrak	4,240	873	5,113	1.6%	2.4%	1.7%
ODI	Kendrapara	4,168	212	4,380	1.6%	1.4%	1.6%
ODI	Jagatsinghapur	2,683	344	3,027	1.6%	1.7%	1.6%
ODI	Cuttack	5,617	3,905	9,522	1.7%	3.4%	2.1%
ODI	Jajapur	3,764	307	4,071	1.2%	1.2%	1.2%
ODI	Dhenkanal	5,186	284	5,470	2.6%	1.5%	2.5%
ODI	Anugul	7,464	658	8,122	3.5%	1.8%	3.3%
ODI	Nayagarh	3,661	174	3,835	2.2%	1.3%	2.2%
ODI	Khordha	4,312	5,502	9,814	2.0%	3.1%	2.5%
ODI	Puri	4,540	858	5,398	1.8%	2.0%	1.8%
ODI	Ganjam	22,037	3,628	25,665	3.7%	2.7%	3.5%
ODI	Gajapati	10,514	477	10,991	8.4%	3.5%	7.9%
ODI	Kandhamal	7,034	288	7,322	4.3%	1.9%	4.1%
ODI	Baudh	4,841	45	4,886	5.1%	1.2%	5.0%
ODI	Subarnapur	3,408	154	3,562	3.2%	1.8%	3.1%
ODI	Balangir	11,965	1,096	13,061	4.1%	3.2%	4.0%
ODI	Nuapada	9,680	198	9,878	7.6%	3.1%	7.4%
ODI	Kalahandi	15,628	590	16,218	4.9%	2.5%	4.7%
ODI	Rayagada	13,876	857	14,733	6.7%	3.2%	6.3%
ODI	Nabarangapur	25,664	1,053	26,717	9.1%	5.7%	8.9%

ANNEXURES

ODI	Koraput	28,058	1,169	29,227	9.9%	2.7%	9.0%
ODI	Malkangiri	12,628	262	12,890	8.8%	2.4%	8.3%
CHH	Koriya	10,266	218	10,484	9.8%	0.5%	7.2%
CHH	Surguja	30,754	485	31,239	5.9%	0.9%	5.5%
CHH	Jashpur	24,436	452	24,888	14.8%	2.8%	13.7%
CHH	Raigarh	9,211	421	9,632	3.6%	0.9%	3.2%
CHH	Korba	5,844	893	6,737	3.4%	1.0%	2.6%
CHH	Janjgir - Champa	34,930	2,129	37,059	11.0%	4.7%	10.2%
CHH	Bilaspur	20,747	2,150	22,897	4.3%	1.6%	3.7%
CHH	Kabeerdham	5,457	270	5,727	3.0%	1.4%	2.9%
CHH	Rajnandgaon	11,245	698	11,943	4.0%	1.4%	3.6%
CHH	Durg	10,599	2,816	13,415	2.4%	1.2%	2.0%
CHH	Raipur	13,460	6,875	20,335	2.3%	2.4%	2.3%
CHH	Mahasamund	5,068	600	5,668	2.7%	2.6%	2.7%
CHH	Dhamtari	2,399	361	2,760	1.8%	1.3%	1.7%
CHH	Uttar Bastar Kanker	6,305	154	6,459	4.4%	1.1%	4.1%
CHH	Bastar	25,741	886	26,627	8.8%	2.5%	8.1%
CHH	Narayanpur	3,293	58	3,351	9.7%	1.2%	8.7%
CHH	Dakshin Bastar Dantewada	11,519	483	12,002	10.1%	2.3%	8.9%
CHH	Bijapur	6,468	82	6,550	10.1%	1.1%	9.1%
MPR	Sheopur	3,534	389	3,923	2.3%	1.5%	2.2%
MPR	Morena	9,925	1,915	11,840	2.7%	1.8%	2.5%
MPR	Bhind	6,061	1,172	7,233	2.1%	1.2%	1.9%
MPR	Gwalior	5,905	5,554	11,459	3.2%	2.3%	2.7%
MPR	Datia	3,818	625	4,443	2.7%	1.6%	2.5%
MPR	Shivpuri	15,857	1,358	17,215	4.2%	2.1%	3.9%
MPR	Tikamgarh	9,525	969	10,494	3.2%	1.7%	2.9%
MPR	Chhatarpur	12,100	1,658	13,758	3.4%	1.9%	3.1%

ANNEXURES

MPR	Panna	6,340	467	6,807	2.7%	1.7%	2.6%
MPR	Sagar	11,126	3,034	14,160	2.7%	2.1%	2.6%
MPR	Damoh	8,618	1,154	9,772	3.5%	2.3%	3.3%
MPR	Satna	10,703	1,899	12,602	2.5%	1.8%	2.4%
MPR	Rewa	20,381	2,330	22,711	4.2%	2.7%	3.9%
MPR	Umaria	5,876	365	6,241	4.4%	1.6%	4.0%
MPR	Neemuch	6,004	971	6,975	4.8%	2.0%	4.0%
MPR	Mandsaur	10,456	895	11,351	4.4%	1.7%	3.9%
MPR	Ratlam	19,936	1,785	21,721	7.9%	2.1%	6.5%
MPR	Ujjain	15,620	2,909	18,529	5.6%	2.0%	4.3%
MPR	Shajapur	11,834	995	12,829	4.1%	1.6%	3.6%
MPR	Dewas	22,643	1,720	24,363	8.5%	1.8%	6.8%
MPR	Dhar	32,005	1,944	33,949	7.1%	2.2%	6.3%
MPR	Indore	7,240	12,850	20,090	3.8%	2.9%	3.2%
MPR	Khargone (West Nimar)	24,760	1,433	26,193	6.2%	2.3%	5.7%
MPR	Barwani	29,232	1,301	30,533	8.6%	2.9%	8.0%
MPR	Rajgarh	15,651	1,345	16,996	5.1%	2.2%	4.6%
MPR	Vidisha	8,734	1,208	9,942	3.0%	1.6%	2.7%
MPR	Bhopal	4,268	14,762	19,030	3.7%	4.1%	4.0%
MPR	Sehore	12,727	941	13,668	4.8%	1.8%	4.3%
MPR	Raisen	7,966	911	8,877	3.1%	1.3%	2.7%
MPR	Betul	23,897	758	24,655	8.4%	1.4%	7.3%
MPR	Harda	4,060	416	4,476	3.8%	1.7%	3.4%
MPR	Hoshangabad	5,865	946	6,811	3.1%	1.3%	2.6%
MPR	Katni	7,011	888	7,899	2.8%	1.7%	2.6%
MPR	Jabalpur	6,490	8,794	15,284	2.9%	3.5%	3.3%
MPR	Narsimhapur	4,784	468	5,252	2.6%	1.2%	2.4%
MPR	Dindori	12,073	298	12,371	8.1%	4.7%	7.9%

ANNEXURES

MPR	Mandla	12,486	451	12,937	6.2%	1.9%	5.7%
MPR	Chhindwara	13,192	1,212	14,404	3.8%	1.3%	3.3%
MPR	Seoni	9,546	355	9,901	3.6%	1.2%	3.3%
MPR	Balaghat	11,700	689	12,389	3.9%	1.6%	3.6%
MPR	Guna	13,001	1,345	14,346	5.3%	1.9%	4.5%
MPR	Ashoknagar	4,782	659	5,441	2.7%	1.8%	2.5%
MPR	Shahdol	9,179	736	9,915	4.6%	1.7%	4.1%
MPR	Anuppur	7,490	447	7,937	6.2%	1.1%	4.8%
MPR	Sidhi	8,832	347	9,179	3.3%	1.6%	3.1%
MPR	Singrauli	9,410	1,406	10,816	3.6%	2.6%	3.4%
MPR	Jhabua	34,556	514	35,070	12.5%	2.5%	11.8%
MPR	Alirajpur	26,856	560	27,416	13.3%	4.3%	12.7%
MPR	Khandwa (East Nimar)	15,314	901	16,215	5.9%	1.7%	5.2%
MPR	Burhanpur	8,754	1,067	9,821	7.0%	2.0%	5.5%
GUJ	Kachchh	8,275	3,637	11,912	2.7%	2.6%	2.6%
GUJ	Banas Kantha	26,079	1,700	27,779	3.8%	1.9%	3.6%
GUJ	Patan	9,973	972	10,945	4.2%	1.8%	3.8%
GUJ	Mahesana	7,536	2,365	9,901	2.5%	2.6%	2.6%
GUJ	Sabar Kantha	20,751	1,793	22,544	4.8%	2.5%	4.5%
GUJ	Gandhinagar	4,904	3,104	8,008	3.2%	3.0%	3.1%
GUJ	Ahmadabad	11,664	39,888	51,552	4.7%	3.8%	4.0%
GUJ	Surendranagar	12,939	2,109	15,048	4.5%	2.3%	4.0%
GUJ	Rajkot	14,497	10,605	25,102	4.7%	2.8%	3.6%
GUJ	Jamnagar	10,303	5,918	16,221	4.2%	3.2%	3.8%
GUJ	Porbandar	2,364	1,388	3,752	3.9%	2.6%	3.3%
GUJ	Junagadh	12,979	4,173	17,152	3.4%	2.4%	3.1%
GUJ	Amreli	12,788	1,882	14,670	5.7%	2.6%	5.0%
GUJ	Bhavnagar	21,325	7,465	28,790	5.5%	3.3%	4.7%
GUJ	Anand	8,104	3,415	11,519	2.9%	3.1%	2.9%

ANNEXURES

GUJ	Kheda	11,743	2,553	14,296	3.3%	2.7%	3.2%
GUJ	Panch Mahals	19,304	1,132	20,436	4.2%	1.7%	3.8%
GUJ	Dohad	35,087	1,406	36,493	6.8%	3.5%	6.5%
GUJ	Vadodara	24,123	8,484	32,607	5.6%	2.5%	4.2%
GUJ	Narmada	6,537	244	6,781	5.6%	2.1%	5.3%
GUJ	Bharuch	8,962	2,871	11,833	4.5%	3.0%	4.0%
GUJ	The Dangs	3,489	117	3,606	6.5%	1.8%	6.0%
GUJ	Navsari	5,472	1,547	7,019	3.5%	2.4%	3.2%
GUJ	Valsad	9,081	3,688	12,769	4.2%	3.3%	3.9%
GUJ	Surat	9,951	24,115	34,066	4.4%	2.9%	3.2%
GUJ	Tapi	7,827	449	8,276	5.9%	3.2%	5.6%
D&D	Diu	66	30	96	1.0%	0.7%	0.9%
D&D	Daman	100	685	785	1.9%	3.5%	3.2%
D&N	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1,474	581	2,055	3.4%	2.1%	2.9%
MAH	Nandurbar	24,639	2,820	27,459	7.4%	4.8%	7.0%
MAH	Dhule	22,550	2,929	25,479	7.1%	2.7%	6.0%
MAH	Jalgaon	26,115	6,773	32,888	4.6%	2.8%	4.0%
MAH	Buldana	17,688	3,492	21,180	4.4%	3.3%	4.2%
MAH	Akola	9,615	4,223	13,838	4.7%	3.2%	4.1%
MAH	Washim	9,630	1,734	11,364	4.8%	4.0%	4.7%
MAH	Amravati	8,066	2,578	10,644	2.4%	1.5%	2.1%
MAH	Wardha	2,342	558	2,900	1.6%	0.8%	1.4%
MAH	Nagpur	5,968	9,431	15,399	2.4%	1.8%	2.0%
MAH	Bhandara	4,361	551	4,912	2.6%	1.4%	2.4%
MAH	Gondiya	5,916	1,037	6,953	2.9%	2.7%	2.9%
MAH	Gadchiroli	14,664	785	15,449	7.6%	3.7%	7.2%
MAH	Chandrapur	6,377	1,890	8,267	2.6%	1.5%	2.2%
MAH	Yavatmal	22,791	3,412	26,203	5.4%	3.2%	4.9%
MAH	Nanded	20,936	5,820	26,756	4.0%	3.0%	3.7%

ANNEXURES

MAH	Hingoli	12,020	1,911	13,931	5.6%	4.8%	5.5%
MAH	Parbhani	9,800	3,766	13,566	3.7%	3.1%	3.5%
MAH	Jalna	13,833	2,785	16,618	4.2%	3.6%	4.0%
MAH	Aurangabad	16,930	7,481	24,411	3.9%	2.3%	3.2%
MAH	Nashik	49,563	14,410	63,973	6.7%	2.9%	5.2%
MAH	Thane	23,887	47,883	71,770	4.4%	3.3%	3.6%
MAH	Mumbai Suburban	-	40,901	40,901		2.8%	2.8%
MAH	Mumbai	-	14,270	14,270		3.3%	3.3%
MAH	Raigarh	9,710	5,853	15,563	3.2%	3.5%	3.3%
MAH	Pune	24,164	23,354	47,518	3.7%	2.6%	3.1%
MAH	Ahmadnagar	24,070	3,376	27,446	3.5%	2.1%	3.2%
MAH	Bid	22,564	4,550	27,114	5.4%	4.3%	5.2%
MAH	Latur	11,101	3,303	14,404	3.0%	2.5%	2.9%
MAH	Osmanabad	11,903	2,296	14,199	4.6%	4.0%	4.5%
MAH	Solapur	14,373	5,775	20,148	2.5%	2.2%	2.4%
MAH	Satara	12,693	1,876	14,569	3.1%	1.9%	2.9%
MAH	Ratnagiri	6,351	430	6,781	2.6%	1.0%	2.4%
MAH	Sindhudurg	2,613	255	2,868	2.2%	1.6%	2.2%
MAH	Kolhapur	11,230	3,303	14,533	2.5%	1.6%	2.2%
MAH	Sangli	10,641	3,017	13,658	2.9%	2.5%	2.8%
TEL	Adilabad	27,883	4,266	32,149	6.8%	3.1%	5.9%
TEL	Nizamabad	15,232	3,712	18,944	4.0%	3.2%	3.8%
TEL	Karimnagar	12,286	3,163	15,449	2.5%	1.9%	2.4%
TEL	Medak	18,604	3,767	22,371	4.0%	2.7%	3.7%
TEL	Hyderabad	-	67,366	67,366		9.2%	9.2%
TEL	Rangareddy	15,651	36,450	52,101	5.0%	5.8%	5.5%
TEL	Mahbubnagar	53,458	4,467	57,925	7.1%	3.6%	6.6%
TEL	Nalgonda	18,809	2,237	21,046	3.5%	1.8%	3.2%
TEL	Warangal	16,511	2,786	19,297	3.4%	1.6%	2.9%

ANNEXURES

TEL	Khammam	20,268	2,114	22,382	5.1%	1.9%	4.4%
APR	Srikakulam	11,543	1,209	12,752	2.8%	1.6%	2.6%
APR	Vizianagaram	13,529	1,328	14,857	4.0%	1.6%	3.5%
APR	Visakhapatnam	24,468	11,048	35,516	5.7%	3.3%	4.7%
APR	East Godavari	14,668	3,765	18,433	2.2%	1.7%	2.1%
APR	West Godavari	14,494	1,796	16,290	2.7%	1.3%	2.5%
APR	Krishna	17,103	10,544	27,647	3.9%	3.6%	3.7%
APR	Guntur	26,837	8,693	35,530	4.8%	3.1%	4.2%
APR	Prakasam	22,933	2,163	25,096	4.4%	1.8%	4.0%
APR	Sri Potti Sriramulu Nellore	12,125	2,537	14,662	3.2%	1.8%	2.8%
APR	Y.S.R.	14,843	4,726	19,569	4.2%	2.6%	3.6%
APR	Kurnool	55,032	11,949	66,981	8.9%	5.2%	7.9%
APR	Anantapur	25,951	6,657	32,608	4.8%	3.2%	4.4%
APR	Chittoor	20,135	3,897	24,032	3.9%	1.9%	3.3%
KAR	Belgaum	27,385	3,223	30,608	3.9%	1.5%	3.3%
KAR	Bagalkot	10,150	3,613	13,763	3.6%	3.1%	3.5%
KAR	Bijapur	13,566	4,173	17,739	3.7%	4.0%	3.8%
KAR	Bidar	9,383	2,647	12,030	3.4%	2.8%	3.3%
KAR	Raichur	23,811	3,943	27,754	7.3%	3.9%	6.5%
KAR	Koppal	15,360	1,572	16,932	6.0%	3.3%	5.6%
KAR	Gadag	5,008	1,654	6,662	3.9%	2.4%	3.4%
KAR	Dharwad	4,763	4,644	9,407	3.3%	2.5%	2.8%
KAR	Uttara Kannada	3,295	847	4,142	1.9%	1.2%	1.7%
KAR	Haveri	7,162	1,819	8,981	3.1%	2.6%	3.0%
KAR	Bellary	21,441	5,599	27,040	6.5%	3.2%	5.4%
KAR	Chitradurga	14,221	1,801	16,022	6.1%	3.1%	5.5%
KAR	Davanagere	8,719	3,464	12,183	3.8%	3.1%	3.5%
KAR	Shimoga	4,398	1,398	5,796	2.2%	1.3%	1.9%

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KAR	Udupi	1,943	656	2,599	1.6%	1.4%	1.6%
KAR	Chikmagalur	4,774	852	5,626	3.3%	2.1%	3.1%
KAR	Tumkur	10,316	2,262	12,578	3.1%	2.2%	2.9%
KAR	Bangalore	4,299	62,323	66,622	3.1%	4.7%	4.6%
KAR	Mandya	7,966	921	8,887	3.4%	1.8%	3.1%
KAR	Hassan	6,004	860	6,864	2.8%	1.3%	2.5%
KAR	Dakshina Kannada	3,158	1,954	5,112	1.8%	1.3%	1.5%
KAR	Kodagu	2,121	342	2,463	2.6%	2.5%	2.6%
KAR	Mysore	9,476	6,499	15,975	3.2%	3.3%	3.2%
KAR	Chamarajanagar	4,185	484	4,669	3.1%	1.6%	2.9%
KAR	Gulbarga	19,488	7,568	27,056	5.0%	4.3%	4.8%
KAR	Yadgir	24,817	2,209	27,026	10.6%	4.4%	9.5%
KAR	Kolar	8,047	2,368	10,415	4.2%	2.7%	3.7%
KAR	Chikkaballapura	5,882	1,751	7,633	3.5%	3.3%	3.4%
KAR	Bangalore Rural	2,767	1,021	3,788	2.4%	2.2%	2.3%
KAR	Ramanagara	3,695	1,278	4,973	3.0%	2.6%	2.9%
GOA	North Goa	1,947	3,612	5,559	4.2%	5.1%	4.7%
GOA	South Goa	1,422	3,028	4,450	4.1%	4.7%	4.5%
LAK	Lakshadweep	13	68	81	0.5%	0.8%	0.7%
KER	Kasaragod	1,906	1,634	3,540	1.4%	1.8%	1.5%
KER	Kannur	1,025	1,804	2,829	0.7%	0.7%	0.7%
KER	Wayanad	1,228	26	1,254	0.9%	0.5%	0.9%
KER	Kozhikode	961	2,166	3,127	0.6%	0.6%	0.6%
KER	Malappuram	3,028	1,995	5,023	0.6%	0.5%	0.6%
KER	Palakkad	2,553	761	3,314	0.7%	0.7%	0.7%
KER	Thrissur	1,077	1,798	2,875	0.7%	0.6%	0.6%
KER	Ernakulam	1,039	2,421	3,460	0.7%	0.7%	0.7%
KER	Idukki	2,160	44	2,204	1.3%	0.5%	1.3%
KER	Kottayam	1,727	591	2,318	0.8%	0.7%	0.8%

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KER	Alappuzha	1,406	1,696	3,102	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%
KER	Pathanamthitta	1,286	177	1,463	0.9%	1.0%	0.9%
KER	Kollam	1,993	1,556	3,549	0.9%	0.8%	0.9%
KER	Thiruvananthapuram	3,286	4,092	7,378	1.4%	1.6%	1.5%
TNA	Thiruvallur	7,057	11,488	18,545	3.2%	3.1%	3.1%
TNA	Chennai	-	26,527	26,527		4.0%	4.0%
TNA	Kancheepuram	6,617	10,972	17,589	2.8%	2.9%	2.9%
TNA	Vellore	8,568	5,742	14,310	2.2%	2.0%	2.1%
TNA	Tiruvannamalai	9,220	1,397	10,617	2.8%	1.7%	2.6%
TNA	Viluppuram	15,824	1,805	17,629	3.0%	2.0%	2.8%
TNA	Salem	5,189	5,029	10,218	1.8%	1.8%	1.8%
TNA	Namakkal	3,906	1,818	5,724	2.5%	1.7%	2.2%
TNA	Erode	4,832	3,006	7,838	3.1%	1.8%	2.4%
TNA	The Nilgiris	1,158	937	2,095	2.5%	1.3%	1.8%
TNA	Dindigul	8,156	3,088	11,244	3.7%	2.4%	3.2%
TNA	Karur	1,875	753	2,628	1.9%	1.1%	1.6%
TNA	Tiruchirappalli	4,419	3,621	8,040	1.9%	1.8%	1.8%
TNA	Perambalur	2,380	403	2,783	2.9%	2.4%	2.8%
TNA	Ariyalur	2,542	222	2,764	2.1%	1.5%	2.1%
TNA	Cuddalore	9,266	3,192	12,458	3.0%	2.2%	2.8%
TNA	Nagapattinam	2,989	911	3,900	1.4%	1.5%	1.4%
TNA	Thiruvarur	3,321	646	3,967	2.0%	1.6%	1.9%
TNA	Thanjavur	3,603	1,508	5,111	1.4%	1.1%	1.3%
TNA	Pudukkottai	4,402	836	5,238	1.9%	1.6%	1.8%
TNA	Sivaganga	3,564	1,746	5,310	2.3%	2.5%	2.4%
TNA	Madurai	6,166	6,225	12,391	3.0%	2.1%	2.5%
TNA	Theni	2,263	2,215	4,478	2.3%	2.0%	2.2%
TNA	Virudhunagar	4,823	3,326	8,149	2.9%	2.1%	2.5%
TNA	Ramanathapuram	4,541	1,592	6,133	2.8%	2.2%	2.6%

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TNA	Thoothukkudi	2,918	2,109	5,027	1.9%	1.4%	1.7%
TNA	Tirunelveli	5,353	3,555	8,908	2.0%	1.4%	1.7%
TNA	Kanniyakumari	997	4,367	5,364	1.9%	1.8%	1.9%
TNA	Dharmapuri	5,318	951	6,269	2.3%	2.1%	2.3%
TNA	Krishnagiri	9,242	1,651	10,893	3.4%	2.1%	3.1%
TNA	Coimbatore	3,170	9,031	12,201	2.7%	2.4%	2.5%
TNA	Tiruppur	4,069	5,815	9,884	3.0%	2.5%	2.7%
PON	Yanam	-	82	82		0.8%	0.8%
PON	Puducherry	632	1,082	1,714	1.2%	1.1%	1.1%
PON	Mahe	-	74	74		1.1%	1.1%
PON	Karaikal	155	148	303	0.9%	0.9%	0.9%
A&N	Nicobars	131	-	131	2.5%		2.5%
A&N	North & Middle Andaman	271	1	272	1.4%	0.3%	1.4%
A&N	South Andaman	697	572	1,269	4.4%	2.5%	3.2%



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