

INCIDENCE OF CHILD LABOR IN INDIA (1971-2011)

By Krishnan Nandela

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Introduction:

Child labor in India existed since times immemorial. In Arthashastra, Kautilya (Vishnugupt) or Arya Chanakya prohibits the sale and purchase of children below 08 years of age. It only indicates that slavery, bonded labor and all kinds of sub-human treatment to labor existed in India since the ancient times. In the 17th century India, the Dutch factories were established in Bengal. About 700 to 800 weavers were employed in the Dutch silk factory at Kasim-bazar in Bengal. Industrial development assumed some pace in the late 19th century when the first textile mills came to be established. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the workers movement assumed momentum in Europe and India and labor legislation became a reality with the first Factories Act of 1872. The International Labor Organization (ILO) was set up in 1919 in the aftermath of the First World War. The ILO also took note of the poor conditions in which both adult and child workers were being employed in the factories of the world. The first session of the ILO adopted a convention to fix the minimum age of employment to be 14 years. Between 1919 and 1965, there were ten conventions on minimum age. The final convention number 138 on minimum age for admission to employment was adopted by all the member countries in 1973.

In India, a number of legislations are enacted to regulate and protect child labor in the country. However, the first legislation that attempted to deal comprehensively with the problem of child labor is the "Child Labor (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986.

Child labor in India is estimated to be 17 million strong and Mumbai has a share of 30 thousand child laborers. The subject therefore needs to be explored with due urgency and seriousness.

Dominance of agriculture in employment of child labor

Sukhpal Singh has pointed out the high incidence of women and child labor under contract farming. Cotton seed farming in **Andhra Pradesh** and vegetable farming in **Punjab** mainly draws on child and women labor. Feminization and Childrenization of agriculture are the two main processes identified by the author. Both women and child labor is cheaper as compared to adult male labor. They are obedient, docile and have poor bargaining power. India is found to be one of the major employers of child labor in the Asian region. In India, 80 % of the child workers are employed in the agricultural sector. Girls as young as six works from 8.30 am to 6 – 7 pm in the cotton seed farms of Andhra Pradesh and they are employed for a continuous period of 6 – 9 months. There is no social security worth the name for these children. The author finds that child labor under contract farming is marred by legal and public apathy. Sadly, the author observes that banning child labor is not the solution. There is a need for improving the working conditions of child labor. The education and skills of child labor needs to be attended to so that they and their families are freed from the vicious circle of poverty and exploitation.

As per the World Children Report 1997 presented by the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), 250 million children were involved in child labor in the developing countries. Out of these, 61 per cent were found in Asia, 32 per cent in Africa and seven per cent in Latin America. In India, agriculture accounts for 80% of the incidence of child labor with 20% in the manufacturing sector. Amongst the States, Andhra Pradesh accounts for the highest incidence of child labor in India. In 2001, one per cent of child workers or about 0.12 million children were found in hazardous employment according to the Annual Report 2009 on “Children and Work”. In December 2014, the US Department of Labor issued a list of goods produced by child labor in 74 countries. Twenty three goods attributed to India were produced by child labor in the manufacturing sector (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Child_labour_in_India).

According to MC Naidu and KD Ramaiyah (2006), poverty, unemployment of adult workers, illiteracy, under-nutrition, oversized families and ignorance are some of the causes that

contributes to child labor. Economists believe that the opportunity cost of children amongst poor families is very low. Children are considered to be assets because income earned from engaging children in employment is far more than the cost involved in raising the child. Further, employers are keen in employing child labor due to obvious advantages such as regularity, docility, obedience, low wages etc.

NSSO data for the year 2007-08 says that about 5 million children are employed in India which is two per cent of the child population in the age group 5-14. The Government of India classifies child workers into main and marginal workers. Main workers are those who work for six months and marginal workers are those who work for less than six months. The Census 2001 defined child labor **‘as a person who is involved in any economic activity, paid or unpaid and is less than 17 years of age’**. Article 24 of the Constitution of India prohibits child labor and the Right to Education Act, 2009 has made free and compulsory elementary education to children in the age group 6 – 14 years. According to Zubeida Basheer (2014), the main causes of child labor are unemployment, poverty and overpopulation with poverty as the primary cause.

Pyali Chatterjee (2015) in her study on “Child Rag-pickers in India and Violation of their Human Rights” says that rag-picking and scavenging are considered hazardous work under the Child and Adolescent Labor (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986. With 17 million child workers out of the 215 million children employed in the world, India becomes the largest employer of children. The UNICEF has put the figure of child workers to be 12% of the child population (5 – 14) in India. Rag-picking children are found in Raipur, Patna, Mumbai and New Delhi.

The main causes of child labour are poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and overpopulation with poverty as the primary cause for the incidence of child labour in India. The size of the family has a direct link with the incidence of child labour. Several studies undertaken in India on child labour have indicated that girl children in particular from bigger families were found to be working as child workers in various parts of the country. The families who supplied child

labourers also belonged to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes of India. Social and economic backwardness of the people in India is the root cause of child labour.

In order to mitigate the problem of child labour, NGOs should play a greater role in identifying and rehabilitating child labour. In addition, provision of shelter homes by the Government, family planning measures, Employment-programs for the SC/ST population, vocational training and awareness programs for street children can be organized.

As per the Seventh All India Education Survey 2002, there were 17 million child laborers in the country. Nineteen per cent of the child laborers work as domestic help. Ninety per cent of the child laborers are concentrated in the rural areas and hence 85% of them are working in the unorganized and informal sectors of the Indian economy. The share of agriculture is 80% in child labor. Factors such as poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, ignorance and excessive population have contributed to the problem of child labor. Lack of access to schools is an important factor contributing to child labor. There are about two million child commercial sex workers in the age group 5 – 15 and about 3.8 million commercial sex workers in the age group 15 – 18 and about half a million children are forced into commercial sex work every year (Source: Child Labor and Human Rights by Tulan Oza, Book: Human Rights & Duties, (Ed), Bharati, Ananda and Chutia Thagendra, Pg. 364-365).

Kambhampati US and Rajan R (2006) have observed that growth in national or State GDP increases the demand for child labor and therefore the supply of child labor also increases along with the increase in national income.

As per the Census of India 2001, the number of child workers in the year 2001 was 1, 25, 91, 667 or about 12.6 million. Uttar Pradesh was found to be the leading employer of children with about 2 million child workers, followed by Andhra Pradesh with 1.36 million, Bihar 1.11 million, Rajasthan 1.26 million and Madhya Pradesh 1.065 million. These five States accounted for almost 50% of the child workers in India. The number of child workers in 1971 as per the

Census figures was 10.76 million. The figure rose to 13.6 million in 1981 and thereafter declined to 11.28 million child workers in 1991. However, in 2001 the figure again rose to 12.6 million.

The 2011 Census of India reported that the number of child laborers in the 5 to 14 age-group was 10.1 million and the child population in the same age-group was 259.64 million. The child labor population was therefore **3.9** per cent of the children population in India in the year 2011. Thus in the post liberalization era, the employment of child workers has more or less stagnated with a fairly good decline in the decade 2001-2011.

Child Labour (NSSO 66th Round – 2009-10)

The NSSO captures the economic activity status of persons in terms of Usual Status approach or Current Status approach. A person is included as employed in the Usual Status approach if he/she had pursued gainful economic activity for most of the time in the preceding one year prior to the date of the NSSO survey. This is known as Usual Principal Activity Status (UPS). If a person had been employed for a relatively shorter time span in the preceding one year prior to the date of the NSSO Survey, he/she is accounted under the head, Usual Subsidiary Activity Status (USS). Principal and Subsidiary Activity Status together constitute Usual Principal and Subsidiary Activity Status Approach (UPSS).

According to the UPS approach, in the 5 – 18 age-group 7.17 % of the children were employed. In the 5 – 14 age-groups, 1.3 % of the rural children were employed. These figures were 4.95 and 0.88 % for the urban children for the same age groups. Under the UPSS approach, the figures were higher for both rural and urban children. Amongst the rural children, 8.93% were employed in the 5 – 18 age-group whereas in the 5 – 14 age groups only 2.23 % were employed. Amongst the urban children, the figures were 5.49 and 1.11 respectively for the same age groups.

Bonded child labor

The Tamil Nadu Commissioners' Report of 1995 observed that there were more than ten lakh bonded laborers in Tamil Nadu out of which 10 per cent were **bonded child laborers** with a higher percentage amongst girls. SC/ST/MBC constituted 76% of the total bonded laborers. Until 31st March 2004, bonded laborers identified and released accounted for 2,85,379 out of which 2,65,417 bonded laborers were rehabilitated by the Government (source: Ministry of Labor, GOI). Andhra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu in southern India and Uttar Pradesh in northern India are the four States with the highest concentration of bonded labor. The existence of bonded labor across the country was also corroborated by the Expert Group appointed by the NHRC under the chairmanship of Mr. SR Sankaran in the year 2000. The Deccan Development Society reported 553 children and 783 adults to be working as bonded laborers in the Medak district of Andhra Pradesh. The Human Rights Watch (1996) identified the existence of bonded child labor in the States of Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh working in sectors such as agriculture, brick kilns, stone quarries, carpet weaving, bidi rolling, rearing of silk cocoons, production of silk saris, silver jewellery, synthetic gemstones, precious gem cutting, diamond cutting, leather works etc. These children were in debt-bondage. Recently, on 05 May 2019, the Times of India reported on the rescue of 39 bonded laborers which included 17 children from the sugarcane fields of Veeradipati Village in Pudukottai district of Tamil Nadu. These workers were working on the field for four to seventeen years.

http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/69168908.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst).

On 19th February 2019, TOI reported on the rescue of nine bonded laborers from a bore-well unit in Bangalore. (<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/bengaluru/9-bonded-labourers-rescued-from-borewell-unit/articleshow/68051869.cms>). On 18th May 2019, nine bonded child laborers which included seven girls were rescued from a meat shop in the National Capital Region.

<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/delhi/nine-children-working-as-bonded-labourers-rescued-from-meat-processing-units-in-delhi-nepcr/articleshow/69391172.cms>).

On 16th May 2019, TOI reported on the rescue of 50 bonded laborers consisting of 24 women and seven children working in three brick kilns in the Thanjavur District of Tamil Nadu. (<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/trichy/50-bonded-labourers-rescued-from-3-brick-kiln-near-thanjavur-in-tamil-nadu/articleshow/69359822.cms>).

The Bonded Labor system has survived in India in spite of the 'The Bonded Labor System (Abolition) Act of 1976. In the late 1990s, under the direction of the Supreme Court of India, the NHRC has found 13 States in India to be prone to bonded labor. The Central and State governments along with a host of NGOs have made efforts to identify, release and rehabilitate bonded laborers in India. Nonetheless, bonded labor continues to exist because of the existence of a preponderant unorganized and informal sector both in the urban and rural areas of India.

Trends in the distribution of child labor in the pre-reform period (1971-1991)

1. 1971-81 –A Period of Widespread Increase in Child Labor.

During the decade 1971-81, only States such as Kerala, Sikkim and Punjab experienced a decline in the child labor along with two Union Territories of Lakshadweep and Pondicherry. Kerala accounted for a decline of 16.95 per cent in child labor in 1981 as compared to 1971. Sikkim accounted for the greatest decline of 45.33 per cent during the decade with Punjab at 6.80 per cent. The Union Territories of Lakshadweep and Pondicherry experienced decline of 42.37 and 3.20 per cent. There were only 97 child laborers in Lakshadweep in 1971 and that figure came down to 56 in 1981.

Amongst the States experiencing the largest increase in child labor, Jammu and Kashmir assumed the top position with a 266 per cent increase during the decade, followed by 57 per cent in Maharashtra. Amongst the Union Territories, Delhi experienced the greatest increase with 261 per cent followed by Andaman and Nicobar Islands with 128 per cent and Chandigarh with 82 per cent. Other States with substantial increase in child labor were Karnataka, Rajasthan,

Haryana and Himachal Pradesh with about 40 per cent each, Madhya Pradesh with 52%, Meghalaya with 47% and Orissa with 47 per cent increase during the decade 1971-81.

During the decade 1971-81, child labor in the country was up by 26.85 per cent. There was a secular increase in the incidence of child labor during this decade across the country barring a few States and Union territories as mentioned before (See Table 1).

2. 1981-91 – A Period of Secular Decline in Child Labor.

During the decade 1981-91, Andhra Pradesh had a decline of 14.83 per cent as against an increase of about 20 per cent in the previous decade. Haryana experienced a decline of 43.51 % as against an increase of about 40% in the previous decade. Himachal Pradesh also experienced a decline of 43.35 % as against an increase of about 40% in the previous decade. Amongst the States, Kerala and Sikkim experienced a sustained decline during the two decades with Kerala going down by 62.52 percent in 1991 over the 1981 figure and Sikkim going down by 34.61 % over the 1981 figure.

Amongst the States, only West Bengal and Nagaland experienced a sustained increase in child labor during the two decades. Child labor in West Bengal increased by 18.35 % in 1981 and 17.58 % in 1991 whereas in the case of Nagaland, the increase was 18.27 % and 1.42 % during the two decades. Nagaland saw a marginal increase in 1991 and West Bengal had an almost matching increase in child labor in 1991 as compared to 1981. Mizoram was the only State with a 160% jump in child labor during the decade 1981-91.

During the decade 1981-91, there was a secular decline in child labor in most of the States and Union Territories in India. As a result, India experienced an overall decline in child labor in the year 1991 by 17.27 per cent as against an increase of 26.85 % in 1981(See Table 1).

Trends in the distribution of child labor in the post-reform period (1991 and thereafter)

1. 1991 to 2001 – A Period of Widespread Increase in Child Labor.

In the post reforms period, surprisingly, child labor had increased secularly throughout the country with good performers on the child labor front only being the exceptions. Bihar, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh had experienced a decline in the child labor in the 1980s by 14.48 %, 43.51 and 43.35% respectively. Haryana and Himachal Pradesh made remarkable achievements in the 1980s by almost halving the incidence of child labor. However, in the 1990s, all the three States experienced an increase in the incidence of child labor by 18.60%, 131% and 91%. Haryana and Himachal Pradesh had completely failed in preventing children from entering in employment as the incidence of child labor in these two States had gone up by more than 100% on an average. The two northern States had a sad story to tell about child labor as far as the 1990s are concerned. Manipur and Meghalaya saw a decline of 18.42 and 22.89 % decline in child labor in the 1980s. However, in the 1990s, these States saw an increase in the incidence of child labor 74.84 and 55.75 per cent respectively. The States of Nagaland, Punjab, Rajasthan and Sikkim also performed horribly in controlling child labor in the 1990s with 178, 24, 63 and 194 % increase in the incidence of child labor. The States of Tripura, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram also experienced increase in the incidence of child labor on an average by more than 50% in the 1990s.

The New Economic Policy of 1991 seems to have overlooked the problem of child labor in the country. There was a stupendous increase in the incidence of child labor in the States across the country, particularly those States in which child labor had actually declined in the 1980s. As per the 2001 Census, as a result, the incidence of child labor had gone up by 12.24 % during the decade 1991-2001 set against a decline of 17.27 % during the decade 1981-91(See Table 2).

2. 2001-2011 – A Decade of Impressive Achievement in abating Child Labor in India

The decade 2001-2011 has been spectacular in terms of reducing the extent of child labor in India. Except of the Union Territories of Delhi, Daman & Diu and Lakshadweep, all the States and other Union Territories did exceptionally well. As a result, during the decade, there was a 65% decline in child labor in the year 2011 as compared to the year 2001. The absolute number of child laborers declined from 12.666 million in 2001 to 4.353 million in 2011. The States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Nagaland, Orissa, Tripura, West Bengal and the Union Territory of Dadra Nagar Haveli experienced a decline of about 70 and more per cent during the decade. Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Chattisgarh, Rajasthan and Sikkim achieved more than 80% decline in child labor. Punjab and Mizoram had a decline of about ninety per cent and above during the period under reference. The State of Goa clearly defaulted on the scourge of child labor. Goa experienced a rise of 67% in the number of child laborers during the decade (See Table 2).

3. Kerala Out-performs the rest in reducing child labor in India

Kerala has performed very well in reducing the number of child laborers over the entire period under reference i.e. from 1971 to 2011. During these four decades, the decadal percentage decline was 17% in 1981, 62% in 1991, 25% in 2001 and about 17% in 2011. There has been therefore a consistent decline in the extent of child labor in Kerala in the entire four decade period and Kerala is the sole State in the country to do so. The absolute number of child laborers in 1971 in Kerala was 111 thousand and in the year 2011, this number came down to 21.75 thousand (See Table 2).

4. Cumulative Decline in Child Labor (1971-2011)

The cumulative decline in child labor in India during the four decade period ending in the year 2011 was 59.52 per cent. The absolute number of child workers declined from 10.7539 million

in 1971 to 4.3532 million in the year 2011. Kerala, Orissa and Sikkim recorded the highest decline of 80 per cent and more. Andhra Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Tripura recorded more than 70 per cent decline in child labor during this period. Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Uttar Pradesh performed below the national average with the least decline happening in Nagaland with a 19.41 % reduction. Assam and Bihar were able to reduce child labor by 58 and 57% respectively during the period. Gujarat, Haryana, Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir and Arunachal Pradesh were able to reduce child labor by 51, 61/61, 63 and 69 % respectively during the four decade period. The industrially advanced State of Maharashtra was able to manage just about 50% reduction in child labor during the 40 year period. The absolute number of child workers in the State of Maharashtra in the year 2011 was 4,96,916 or 0.496 million.

Amongst the Union Territories, Daman and Diu brought down child labor by 89.53 %, Andaman and Nicobar Islands experienced a reduction of 74.65 %, Dadra and Nagar Haveli by 66%, Pondicherry by 62% and Lakshadweep by 71 %. Delhi and Chandigarh, the other two major Union Territories were found to be on the opposite side with each going up in terms of child workers by 271 and 188% per cent respectively (See Table 3).

**Table 1 - Distribution of Child Labor in India
(1971 & 1981 Census) in the 5-14 years age group.**

SNO	State/UT	1971	1981	Percentage Change	1991	Percentage Change
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1627492	1951312	+19.90	1661940	-14.83
2.	Assam *	239349	**	-	327598	-
3.	Bihar	1059359	1101764	+4.0	942245	-14.48
4.	Gujarat	518061	616913	+19.08	523585	-15.13

5.	Haryana	137826	194189	+40.90	109691	-43.51
6.	Himachal Pradesh	71384	99624	+39.56	56438	-43.35
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	70489	258437	+266.63	**	-
8.	Karnataka	808719	1131530	+39.91	976247	-13.72
9.	Kerala	111801	92854	-16.95	34800	-62.52
10.	Madhya Pradesh	1112319	1698597	+52.70	1352563	-20.37
11.	Maharashtra	988357	1557756	+57.61	1068427	-31.41
12.	Chhattisgarh	-	-	-	-	-
13.	Manipur	16380	20217	+23.42	16493	-18.42
14.	Meghalaya	30440	44916	+47.55	34633	-22.89
15.	Jharkhand	-	-	-	-	-
16.	Uttaranchal	-	-	-	-	-
17.	Nagaland	13726	16235	+18.27	16467	+1.42
18.	Orissa	492477	702293	+42.60	452394	-35.58
19.	Punjab	232774	216939	-6.80	142868	-34.14

20.	Rajasthan	587389	819605	+39.53	774199	-5.54
21.	Sikkim	15661	8561	-45.33	5598	-34.61
22.	Tamil Nadu	713305	975055	+36.70	578889	-40.63
23.	Tripura	17490	24204	+38.39	16478	-31.92
24.	Uttar Pradesh	1326726	1434675	+8.13	1410086	-1.71
25.	West Bengal	511443	605263	+18.35	711691	+17.58
26.	Andaman & Nicobar Island	572	1309	+128.85	12	-3.36
27.	Arunachal Pradesh	17925	17950	+0.14	12395	-30.95
28.	Chandigarh	1086	1986	+82.87	1870	-5.84
29.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	3102	3615	+16.53	4416	+22.15
30.	Delhi	7120	25717	+261.20	27351	+6.35
31.	Daman and Diu	7391	9378	+26.88	941	-89.97
32.	Goa	-	-	-	4656	-
33.	Lakshadweep	97	56	-42.27	34	-39.29
34.	Mizoram	***	6314	-	1641	+160.0

					1	
35.	Pondicherry	3725	3606	-3.20	2680	-25.68
	Total	10753985	13640870	+26.85	11285349	-17.27
<p>Note: * 1971 Census figures of Assam include figures of Mizoram. ** Census could not be conducted. *** Census figures 1971 in respect of Mizoram included under Assam. **** includes marginal workers also.</p>						

Table 2 - Distribution of Child Labor in India

(1991, 2001 & 2011 Census) in the 5-14 years age group.

SNO	State/UT	1991	2001	% Change	2011	% Change
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1661940	1363339	-17.96	404851	-70.30
2.	Assam	327598	351416	+7.27	99512	-71.68
3.	Bihar	942245	1117500	+18.60	451590	-59.60
4.	Gujarat	523585	485530	-7.27	250318	-78.90
5.	Haryana	109691	253491	+131.10	53492	-78.90
6.	Himachal Pradesh	56438	107774	+90.96	15001	-86.08
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	**	175630	-	25528	-84.46
8.	Karnataka	976247	822615	-15.74	249432	-69.68
9.	Kerala	34800	26156	-24.84	21757	-16.82
10.	Madhya Pradesh	1352563	1065259	-21.24	286310	-73.12
11.	Maharashtra	1068427	764075	-28.48	496916	-34.97

12.	Chhattisgarh	-	364572	-	63884	-82.48
13.	Manipur	16493	28836	+74.84	11805	-59.06
14.	Meghalaya	34633	53940	+55.75	18839	-65.07
15.	Jharkhand	-	407200	-	90996	-77.65
16.	Uttaranchal	-	70183	-	28098	-59.96
17.	Nagaland	16467	45874	+178.59	11062	-75.89
18.	Orissa	452394	377594	-16.53	92087	-75.61
19.	Punjab	142868	177268	+24.07	90353	-94.72
20.	Rajasthan	774199	1262570	+63.08	252338	-80.01
21.	Sikkim	5598	16457	+193.98	2704	-83.57
22.	Tamil Nadu	578889	418801	-27.65	151437	-63.84
23.	Tripura	16478	21756	+32.03	4998	-77.02
24.	Uttar Pradesh	1410086	1927997	+36.72	896301	-53.51
25.	West Bengal	711691	857087	+20.42	234375	-72.65
26.	Andaman & Nicobar Island	1265	1960	+54.94	999	-49.03
27.	Arunachal Pradesh	12395	18482	+49.10	5766	-68.80
28.	Chandigarh	1870	3779	+102.08	3135	-17.04
29.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	4416	4274	-3.21	1054	-75.33
30.	Delhi	27351	41899	+53.19	26473	-36.81

31.	Daman and Diu	941	729	-22.52	774	+6.17
32.	Goa	4656	4138	-11.12	6920	+67.23
33.	Lakshadweep	34	27	-20	28	+3.70
34.	Mizoram	1641 1	26265	+60.04	2793	-89.36
35.	Pondicherry	2680	1904	-28.95	1421	-25.36
	Total	11285349	12666377	+12.24	4353247	-65.63
<p>Note: * 1971 Census figures of Assam include figures of Mizoram. ** Census could not be conducted. *** Census figures 1971 in respect of Mizoram included under Assam. **** includes marginal workers also.</p>						

**Table 3 -Distribution of Child Labor in India
(Cumulative Change between 1971 & 2011 Census)
in the 5-14 years age group.**

SNO	State/UT	1971	2011	% Change
1.	Andhra Pradesh	1627492	404851	-75.12
2.	Assam *	239349	99512	-58.42
3.	Bihar	1059359	451590	-57.37
4.	Gujarat	518061	250318	-51.68
5.	Haryana	137826	53492	-61.19

6.	Himachal Pradesh	71384	15001	-78.99
7.	Jammu & Kashmir	70489	25528	-63.78
8.	Karnataka	808719	249432	-69.16
9.	Kerala	111801	21757	-80.54
10.	Madhya Pradesh	1112319	286310	-74.26
11.	Maharashtra	988357	496916	-49.72
12.	Chhattisgarh	-	63884	-
13.	Manipur	16380	11805	-27.93
14.	Meghalaya	30440	18839	-38.11
15.	Jharkhand	-	90996	-
16.	Uttaranchal	-	28098	-
17.	Nagaland	13726	11062	-19.41
18.	Orissa	492477	92087	-81.30
19.	Punjab	232774	90353	-61.18
20.	Rajasthan	587389	252338	-57.04
21.	Sikkim	15661	2704	-82.73
22.	Tamil Nadu	713305	151437	-78.77
23.	Tripura	17490	4998	-71.42
24.	Uttar Pradesh	1326726	896301	-32.44
25.	West Bengal	511443	234375	-54.17
26.	Andaman & Nicobar Island	572	999	74.65
27.	Arunachal Pradesh	17925	5766	-67.83
28.	Chandigarh	1086	3135	+188.67
29.	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	3102	1054	-66.02

30.	Delhi	7120	26473	+271.81
31.	Daman and Diu	7391	774	-89.53
32.	Goa	-	6920	-
33.	Lakshadweep	97	28	-71.13
34.	Mizoram	***	2793	-
35.	Pondicherry	3725	1421	-61.85
	Total	10753985	4353247	-59.52

Note: * 1971 Census figures of Assam include figures of Mizoram.

** Census could not be conducted.

*** Census figures 1971 in respect of Mizoram included under Assam.

**** includes marginal workers also.

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Bio:

Krishnan Nandela is working as an Associate Professor and Head, Department of Economics at Dr. TK Tope Arts & Commerce Night Senior College for the last 25 years. He has published 10 text Books on Economics for professional courses like BMM, BMS etc through Vipul Publications. He has also published several articles in ISSN and ISBN journals and seminar publications. The author can be reached at krishnannandela34@gmail.com.

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