CHAPTER III
MAGNITUDE AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF CHILD LABOUR

Introduction

This chapter examines the incidence of child labour and the type of economic activities in which the child labourers are engaged in rural Haryana. The incidence of child labour has been measured as proportion of working children to total child population. A child is defined as an individual in the 0-14 age group. In the present analysis, the population between 0-4 years age group has not been included in total child population as it is not relevant to the definition of child labour as the ratio being measured is based on the universe of children who fall within the definition of child labourers, and this age group is excluded from this segment. Further, all the full time and part time working children in rural Haryana belong to 10-14 age groups. Incidence of child labour in children below 10 years is not found. Hence, the analysis is focused on the incidence of working children in the 10-14 age group. Working children in the present analysis are classified into three categories:

1. Children employed in economic activities; termed as CHILD LABOUR,
2. Children working in household chores; termed as CHILD WORK,
3. Children who are neither working (by any of the above definitions) nor studying; termed as ‘NOWHERE’ Children.

The official definition of child labour includes the first category of working children and refers to those children who are employed in production related activities in which at least a part of the produce is marketed. Those children who work in domestic duties are not included in this definition, even though these children indirectly contribute significantly to the economy of the household. The third set of children neither work nor are engaged in domestic duties and do not even attend school. Such children who neither work as labour nor go to school are known as ‘nowhere’ children. One school of thought believes that in a rural context all out of school children are working somehow or other and hence, can be considered as child workers. According to Neera Burra (1995), a working child is ‘basically a child who is deprived of the right to education and all out of school children are child labourers in one way or the other’ (Burra 1995, p8) and considers ‘nowhere’ children to be a potential pool of child labourers. Mahendra Dev and C. Ravi (2002) are also of the view that
the definition of child labour should be widened and include all the children who are deprived of their right to education and childhood (Ramachandran and Massun, 2002, p.193). Kannan (2002), believes that the ‘discussion on child labour should be focused on out-of-school, children who are working in one form or another to help themselves and/or their families’ (Kannan 2002, p. 395). He defines all out of school children as ‘deprived children’. Lieten (2002) on the other hand argues that by including all out of school children with child labour is like ‘mixing of apples, oranges and bananas’. ‘The fruit bowl, thus, constructed is indeed attractive in the sense that it forcefully draws the public attention to the acute social injustice that still affects the majority of children in India. It, however, also encumbers the search for causal factors and policy solutions’ (Lieten 2003, p.453).

The subsequent sections will study the magnitude of child labour, child work, and ‘nowhere children’ as well as the magnitude of total working children, which is a summation of children working as labourers, children working in domestic duties and ‘nowhere’ children. Further, the variation in the magnitude and incidence of child labour in rural Haryana is analyzed according to social groups and gender.

**Magnitude of Child Labour in 10-14 Years Age Group (UPS)**

NSSO defines the principal usual status (UPS) of a person to be ‘working’ if he/she has been engaged relatively for a longer time during the reference period of 365 days in any one or more of the gainful economic activities. All the full time working children in rural Haryana belong to 10-14 age-group. Incidence of child labour children below 10 years is not observed, which is an encouraging sign. There are other states in India like Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan where incidence of child labour in 5-9 age group is about 3 % each.1 Hence, Haryana has been able to curtail incidence of child labour in this very young age group. The incidence of child labour in the 10-14 years age group at the aggregate as well across social categories is examined in the following section.

At the aggregate level, 2.14% of the children in the 10-14 years age group were employed as labourers. Across the regions, incidence of child labour varies from 1% in the Eastern Haryana Plains to 4.5% in the Western Haryana Plains. As between the SC and the OBC, the former have a higher incidence of child labour than the latter. About 4% of the

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schedule caste children in rural Haryana were employed as labourers. At the regional level, the highest incidence of child labour in the SC group has been recorded in the Western Haryana Plains, where 8% of its child population is employed as labourers, followed by the Eastern Haryana Plains with 3% of children employed in paid work. It is observed that the incidence of child labour amongst the SC group is higher than the average (2%) across all the regions in Haryana. With respect to the other backward caste social group, incidence of child labour is higher than the average only in one region out of four i.e. the Aravalli region, where 3% of the child population are employed as labourers. The least incidence of child labour among the OBC social group is found in the Siwalik region, where only 0.1% of the children are employed. Regarding the incidence of child labour among the ‘others’ social group, 0.3% are employed, the least across the social groups. Siwalik is the only region where children from this social group are engaged in economic activities. In this region 5% of the children are employed.

Table 3.3 presents the share of each social group in total child labour. More than half of the child labour in 10-14 years age group in rural Haryana belonged to the schedule caste group. Their share in total child population is only 22% which is lower than the child labour share (51%) by a substantial margin. With regards to the OBC social group, their share in total child population is 33% which is lower than their child labour share (40%). Consequently, they are over represented in the child labour population with two socially disadvantaged groups' together accounting for 91% of the rural child labour. In case of ‘others’, they formed only 9% of the working children while their share in total child population was about 45%. Hence, we observe that the bulk of working children belong to the SC group followed by the OBC group.

The comparative study, thus, clearly brings out the higher incidence of child labour among the schedule castes as compared to their counterparts among the OBC and the ‘others’. As between the SC and the OBC, the former are worse-off than the latter with a higher than average incidence of child labour across Haryana. Among the OBCs, on the other hand, incidence of child labour is higher than the average in only one region of Haryana. It is, thus, observed, that a considerable portion of SC child labour in 10-14 age groups is in the Western and the Eastern Haryana Plains while majority of the OBC child labour is observed in the Eastern Haryana Plains and the Aravalli regions. The ‘others’ social group has the least incidence of child labour and is recorded only in the Siwalik region of Haryana.
With respect to gender differences, incidence of child labour in 10-14 year age groups in rural Haryana is higher for boys than for girls. About 4% of boys were employed as against 0.4% for girls. Incidence of child labour at the regional level is higher for boys than for girls in all regions except in Aravalli, where it is similar for boys and girls (2%). Difference between the proportion of boys and girls employed as labourers is wide in the Siwalik region, where 5% of boys are employed as compared to 0.1% of girls. Incidence of child labour particularly for boys is very high in the Western Haryana Plains, where about 9% of the boys are engaged in paid work. This region has no girl child labourers. Moreover, not only the incidence of child labour is high among boys than girls but their proportion in total child labour is also higher. It is evident from table 3.6 that about 92% of child labourers are boys at the state level. Similarly, in the Eastern and Western Haryana Plains and Siwalik region all child labourers are boys. Only in the Aravalli region, 50% of the total child labourers are boys and 50% are girls.

With respect to the SC social group, all (100%) of the child labour comprises boys. Similarly, amongst the ‘others’ all the working children are boys. The incidence of child labour amongst the SC boys is found to be high in rural Haryana, with 8% of boys employed as labourers. Across regions, 19% of the boys were employed in the Western Haryana Plains, 7% in the Eastern Haryana Plains while Aravalli had the least incidence of child labour among boys (2.8%). Among the OBC group, incidence of child labour in boys is about 3% while for girls it is 1%. We observed that OBC girls have the highest incidence of child labour among all the social groups. In the Eastern and the Western Haryana Plains only boys were employed as labourers, with the Western Haryana Plains recording the highest incidence (6.7%). In the Aravalli region incidence of child labour among boys and girls is almost equal i.e. 3%, whereas, in the Siwalik region, the proportion of girls employed as labourers was marginally higher as compared to boys although the overall incidence was extremely low for both boys and girls. Table 3.6(b) further indicates that in total child labour among the OBC group, 80% of children were boys while 20% were girls. Siwalik, amongst the regions of Haryana had a higher proportion of girls (about 77%) engaged in economic activities than boys. In the Aravalli region, 50% of the total working children in OBC group were boys and 50% were girls.

To sum up, it can be said that, at the aggregate level the incidence of child labour in the 10-14 year age group is low but amongst the SC group it is fairly high (two times higher
than the average). It is observed that the SC children have the highest incidence when compared to the OBC and the 'others'. The highest incidence of child labour in the SC is found in the Western Haryana Plains followed by the Eastern Haryana Plains. For the OBC children as well, incidence of child labour is the highest in the Western Haryana Plains. For 'others', all the child labourers are found in the Siwalik region. Gender differences are evident, with the incidence of child labour being higher among boys than girls. Further, of the total child labourers, 90% are boys. This phenomenon is true for all the three social groups.

**Magnitude of Child Labour in 10-14 Years Age Group (Subsidiary Status)**

The NSSO measures the subsidiary status of those persons who are classified as non-workers (unemployed or not in labour force) according to the usual principal status. But these non-workers might be pursuing some economic activities for a relatively shorter period of time. Hence, NSSO defines a 'subsidiary status worker' as those who pursued some gainful activity in a subsidiary capacity. This section has been devoted to examine the magnitude and incidence of child labour in rural Haryana based on the subsidiary status.

A striking feature of the rural landscape of Haryana is that children in the 5-9 years age group do not work unlike other states of India.2 By the subsidiary status, working children are found only in the 10-14 age groups, whose number is 11,327 children (Table 3.13). With respect to the incidence of child labour at the aggregate level, it is observed that 0.43% of the children are employed based on subsidiary status. Of all the regions, only Eastern Haryana Plains with 0.74% of working children, records an average higher than the average for the state. The incidence of child labour is higher among the SC (1.13%) as compared to ‘others’ (0.8%). Amongst the SC, at the regional level, the highest incidence is found in the Western Haryana Plains (1.65%) followed by the Eastern Haryana Plains at 1.44%. Among the ‘others’, the incidence of child labour is found only in the Eastern Haryana Plains (1.3%). The incidence of child labour is negligible (0.01%) in case of the OBC social group and is found entirely in the Siwalik region.

The distribution of child labour across social groups at state and regional levels presents the following pattern. Out of the total child labour population, the SC group

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2 Thorat and Sadana (2004): “In states like Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan, incidence of part time child labour in the age-group 5-9 is 2.7% and 2.5% respectively”. Magnitude, Determinants and Activities of Child Labour, in G.K. Lieten, R. Srivastava and S.K. Thorat (eds), Small Hands in South Asia: Child labour in Perspective, New Delhi: Manohar, P.98.
accounts for about 4,800 (43%) children, while the number of the ‘others’ is higher at 6400 (56.7%) and the smallest numbers i.e. 75 (0.67%) are from the OBC group. Thus, across the social groups, children from the ‘others’ contribute a higher proportion to total child labour as compared to the SC and the OBC segment. The Eastern Haryana Plains conform to this pattern, while in the Western Haryana Plains the entire child labour comes from the SC social group.

Regarding differences in gender among the child labour based on the subsidiary status, it is observed that 54% are girls whereas the remaining 45% are boys. The pattern at the regional level does not mirror the state level pattern. In the Western Haryana Plains and the Siwalik region the entire child labour population is that of girls, while in Aravalli it is of boys. Only in the Eastern Haryana Plains, similar to the state’s pattern, an equal proportion of boys and girls work in 10-14 years age group. The pattern of difference in gender varies at the social group level. In the SC group, all working children at state as well as at regional level are girls. The same is true amongst the OBC group. On the other hand, amongst the ‘others’, a majority of working children (80%) are boys at the state and at the regional levels.

The distribution of child labour across regions clearly indicates a very high concentration, at 87%, in Eastern Haryana Plains followed only at 12% by Western Haryana Plains. Across the social groups, 72% of the child labour from the SC group is found in the Eastern Haryana Plains, while the remaining is found in the Western Haryana Plains. The ‘others’ are confined in the Eastern Haryana Plains. We find that across all social groups (except OBC) the working children based on the subsidiary status, are mainly observed in the Eastern Haryana Plains which also have half of the child population of Haryana.

Thus, we find that incidence of child labour for both SC and ‘others’ under subsidiary status is more or less similar. In fact at the state level, ‘others’ contribute a higher proportion to the total working children as compared to SC and OBC segments. Eastern Haryana Plains is the only region which conforms to the state pattern, while in the Western Haryana Plains all child labourers belong to the SC segment.

**Magnitude of Child Labour by Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status (UPSS) in 10-14 Years Age Groups**

In the preceding part, the incidence of child labour has been analyzed based on the usual principal status and subsidiary status separately. In this part, children working on a
regular basis and on a subsidiary basis have been aggregated in order to estimate the magnitude and the incidence of total child labour. Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status, thus, cover those who are employed on more or less regular basis in a year and those who are non-workers by UPS but have been employed in some subsidiary economic activities.

Table 3.9 presents the distribution of child labour by UPS in 10 – 14 years age group. At the state level, 67,395 children were working, with the bulk of the child labour in the Eastern and the Western Haryana Plains. At the aggregated level, the incidence of child labour is 2.57% in this state (Table 3.10). The Western Haryana Plains recorded the highest incidence of child labour at 4.74% followed by the Siwalik region (3.09%). Table 3.10 further indicates that the Eastern Haryana Plains and the Aravalli region recorded a lower than average incidence of child labour, with 2% and 1.6 percent respectively.

Child labour disaggregated by social groups has been presented in tables 3.10 (a), (b) and (c). In terms of levels of the incidence of child labour across social groups, there are no surprises. The highest incidence of child labour is reported amongst the schedule caste social group at the state as well as regional level. In this segment, about 5% of the children at the state level were recorded working. The Western Haryana Plains had the highest incidence of child labour (9.61%) followed by the Eastern Haryana Plains with 4.7% were engaged in gainful economic activities. The least incidence of SC child labour is found in the Aravalli region where 1% of the SC children were labourers. In contrast, the proportion of child labour in total child population amongst the other backward caste and the ‘others’ at the state level, was 1.87% and 1% respectively. The highest incidence of child labour amongst the OBC, at the regional level, is found in the Western Haryana Plains where 3.44% (as against 10% amongst the SC) of the children are employed followed by the Aravalli region where child labour incidence is 1.63 percent. Regarding child labour in the ‘others’ social group, the proportion of children working in subsidiary activities is higher than on a regular basis and it is recorded only in two regions i.e. Siwalik and the Eastern Haryana Plains. In the Siwalik region incidence of child labour is purely on a regular basis (5.43%) i.e. based on

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3 Aggregate child labour (absolute number) do not match the total of the social group children in table 3.9 because, a) ST group is not included in the analysis as its sample size is extremely small, b) For 25% of the households, the social background is not available in the raw data provided by the NSSO. Thus, at the aggregated level the absolute number of child labour includes the ST child labour and also the children whose social background is not available.
Magnitude and Economic Activities of Child Labour

UPS, whereas in the Eastern Haryana Plains, incidence of working children is only in the subsidiary activities (1.32%).

The observation, thus, indicates that the incidence of child labour is the highest in the SC group which is followed by the OBC, and the least is found amongst the ‘others’. Further, a higher proportion of the SC and the OBC children are employed on a regular basis (i.e. by UPS) and a lower proportion on a part time basis (i.e. SS). On the other hand, a higher proportion of children from the ‘others’ segment are employed on a part time basis as compared to regular basis. Not only the incidence of child labour is higher amongst the SC group but its share in the total child labour is also high i.e. about 50% of the child labour belong to the SC group while their share in total child population is only 22%. This indicates that their share in total child labour is higher than their share in total child population in Haryana. The SC and the OBC children together account for 80% of the total working children in rural Haryana, while their share in total child population is about 55%. On the other hand, the share of working children from the ‘others’ is 22% while their share in total child population is more at 45%.

Fig 3.i presents the distribution of child labour between the social groups across Haryana. In the Siwalik, 96% of the working children belonged to ‘others’, while the rest belong to the OBC group. In the Eastern Haryana Plains, about 54% of the working children are from the SC group, followed by the ‘others’ and then the OBC. Most of the SC working children are employed on a regular basis, while all working children of ‘others’ are employed on a part time basis. Further, the share of SC child labour in total child labour far exceeds their share in total child population in this region. In the Aravalli region, 83% of the total working children belonged to the OBC group while the rest belong to the SC group. Additionally, working children from both these groups are employed on a regular basis and are not engaged in any subsidiary activity. In the Western Haryana Plains, 76% of the total working children belong to the SC group and 24% belong to the OBC group, with their share in total child labour being higher than their share in total child population.

Child Labour and Gender Differences: With respect to the difference in the magnitude of child labour between boys and girls, it is observed, that the magnitude of child labour in absolute numbers as well as in proportion to the child population (incidence), is higher among boys than the girls at the state as well as regional level. Incidence of child labour among boys is 4% while for girls it is 0.83% (table 3.9 and 3.10). The Western Haryana
HARYANA
Proportion of Child Labour (10-14 age group)
In Total Child Labour Across Social Groups-UPSS

Fig 3. i
Plate 4
Plains have the highest incidence of child labour among boys at 8.5% followed by the Siwalik region at 5.3%. In both these regions all the working boys are employed on a regular basis (UPS). The Eastern Haryana Plains and the Aravalli region have incidence of child labour among boys at 3.06% and 1.6%, respectively. In these two regions a higher incidence of child labour among boys is observed on a regular basis than on subsidiary basis.

The highest incidence of girl child labour is found in the Aravalli region where 1.7% of the girl children work. These girl children work only on a regular basis and not on a subsidiary basis. In the Eastern and the Western Haryana Plains, incidence of girl child labour is observed only by subsidiary status. The composition of child labour with respect to gender indicates that, 84% of child labour consists of boys and rest are girls at the state level. In most of the regions, except the Aravalli, the gender pattern mirrors the state level pattern. In the Aravalli region, an equal proportion of boys and girls work.

A look at the differences in the incidence of child labour among boys and girls across social group (fig 3.i) indicates that among the schedule castes, incidence of child labour is higher among boys than girls. Table 3.10(a) indicates that at the state level, among the SC segment, incidence of child labour for boys is 8.2% while for girls it is 2.0%. It maybe noted that all the working boys are employed on a regular basis while all the working girls are employed on a subsidiary basis. The highest incidence of child labour in Haryana is recorded in the Western Haryana Plains where about 19.1% of the boys are employed on a regular basis. This region also has the highest incidence of child labour among girls (2.84%) employed in subsidiary activities. In the Eastern Haryana Plains, 7.3% of the SC boys are employed on a regular basis while 2.6% of girls are employed by subsidiary status. Further, in the Aravalli region, 2.8% of the working boys are all employed on a regular basis while there are no working girl children in this region. The male-female ratio amongst the child labour at the state level is 75:25. Boys are in a higher proportion than girls at the regional level as well.

Among the other backward castes, the incidence of child labour is higher among boys (2.7%) than girls (0.8%). Similar to SC social group, among the OBC all the working boys are employed on a regular basis while all the girls are employed according to subsidiary status. The highest incidence of child labour among boys is observed in the Western Haryana Plains where 6.7% of the boys are employed on a regular basis. In the Eastern Haryana Plains as well, about 3% of the boys are employed on a regular basis. In the Aravalli region both
boys and girls work only on a regular basis i.e. by UPS and not by Subsidiary Status. Further, of the total working children in OBC group, a higher proportion are boys (80%) while remaining are girls (20%). In the Eastern and Western Haryana Plains, all the working children are boys while in Aravalli, boys and girls work in equal proportions. Only in the Siwalik region, the proportion of girls engaged in work is higher (77%) than boys and all the working girl children are employed in subsidiary activities.

Among the 'others', the incidence of child labour among boys is higher than the girls as is the case in the rest of the social groups. But the only difference is that higher proportion of boys among 'others' are employed in subsidiary activities than on a regular basis. This is true at the state level. The Siwalik region has the highest incidence of child labour among boys; where about 10% of the boys are employed on a regular basis. In the Eastern Haryana Plains both boys and girls are employed in subsidiary activities rather than on regular basis.

A look at the distribution of working children in Haryana indicates that about 36.6% of the child labour has been recorded in the Western Haryana Plains but its share the in total child population is only 19.5%. Its share in total child labour far exceeds its share in total child population of Haryana. Similarly in the Siwalik region, share of child labour in total child labour is larger (11.3%) than its share in total child population (9.4%) in Haryana. On the other hand, in the Eastern Haryana Plains the share of child labour in total child labour (39.51%) is less than its share in total child population (51.5%). Similarly in the Aravalli region, its share of child labour in Haryana’s total child labour (12.6%) is less than its share in total child population (19.6%) of Haryana.

Distribution of child labour across regions disaggregated by social groups is also presented in table 3.12. About 56% of the schedule caste child labour is recorded in the Eastern Haryana Plains. This region’s share in the total child population (49.9%) is less than its share in the total child labour. The Western Haryana Plains similarly have a higher share in the total child labour (39.7%) as compared to its share in total child population (20.2%) for the SC group. Hence, SC children are more in child labour force in the Eastern and the Western Haryana Plains. On the other hand, the child labour among the other backward castes is concentrated in the Aravalli region, and to some extent in the Western Haryana Plains where its regional share in total child labour exceeds the share in total child population. The Eastern Haryana Plains, although, account for about 40.6% of the total OBC working children but its share in total child population is more than its share in total child
labour of Haryana. Among the 'others', the Eastern Haryana Plains account for 71.7% of the total working children in Haryana though its share in total child population in Haryana is 49.7%. The Siwalik region also has the concentration of child labour belonging to 'others'. Its share in total child population (8.4%) is less than its share in total child labour of Haryana.

To recapitulate the overview on child labour based on usual principal status, subsidiary status and usual principal and subsidiary status, firstly, no children are found to be working in 5-9 years age group based on any three approaches, the incidence of child labour is recorded in the 10-14 years age group. Secondly, the incidence of child labour at an aggregated level in rural Haryana is quite low but at the disaggregated level of social groups, it is substantially high among the schedule caste. In fact, incidence of child labour among the schedule caste children is the highest and is four times the level of the 'others'. Thus, a wide difference in the incidence of child labour is observed across the three social groups. The highest incidence of child labour in the SC as well as the OBC children is found in the Western Haryana Plains which incidentally also have the highest incidence of poverty in Haryana, with the SC population being the poorest amongst the social groups. It has already been indicated in chapter two that this region also has the lowest literacy rate for both adults and children amongst all the regions. Further, the proportion of literate heads of the households is also the lowest in this region as compared to other regions of Haryana.

Incidence of child labour amongst the 'others' social group based on the UPS is recorded only in the Siwalik region. This is despite the fact that Siwalik is the only region where there are no poor amongst the 'others' social group and has the least proportion of marginal farmers as compared to other regions. Moreover, this region also has the highest literacy rate amongst 'others' when compared to other regions. Hence all relevant indicators of economic and social development are in favour of 'others' but still this region has about 9% of the children employed on a regular basis.

The analysis further indicates that among the child labour, 51% are from the Schedule caste group while their share in total child population is low (22%). Share of the OBC children in total child labour is higher (39.9%) than their share in total child population (33.1%). It is observed that the magnitude of involvement in labour force of the SC children is higher than the OBC children. On the other hand the share of 'others' in total child labour is far less than their share in total child population. A higher magnitude of SC children in
child labour population is recorded in all four regions except one. Siwalik is the only region where 96% of the working children are from the ‘others’ social group.

Furthermore, proportion of employed based on subsidiary status indicates that the incidence of child labour among the SC and the ‘others’ social group is more or less similar. In fact, at the state level, ‘others’ contributes a higher proportion to the total working children than the SC and the OBC based on the subsidiary status. Who are these working children, or is it a sample problem? These aspects will be examined in subsequent chapters. The Eastern Haryana Plains is the only region that conforms to the state level pattern while in the Western Haryana Plains child labour by the subsidiary status belongs to the SC social group. Therefore, it is observed in Haryana the SC children not only work on a regular basis but are also employed on a subsidiary basis while children among the ‘others’ work only on a subsidiary basis and their employment on a regular basis is far less than the SC children. Among the OBC social group, incidence of child labour is recorded based on the UPS while based on the subsidiary status it is marginal. Incidence of child labour among the OBC children is observed in all the four regions based on UPS while based on Subsidiary Status it is observed only in the Siwalik region.

Gender differentiation in child labour indicates that the incidence of child labour is higher for boys than girls based on UPS. Based on the Subsidiary Status, incidence of child labour is higher for girls than boys. This is true for all the three social groups. Moreover, based on UPS, a higher proportion of boys work than girls and based on subsidiary status a higher proportion of girls work than boys. This is true for all the social groups except for ‘others’. In this group, proportion of working boys is higher than girls in the subsidiary status. A look at gender differences in child labour among social groups indicates that the incidence of child labour for boys among the SC social group is way higher as compared to the OBC and ‘others’ based on all three measures of employment. Similarly, the incidence of child labour for girls in the SC segment is higher as compared to the OBC and the ‘Others’.

The comparative analysis, thus, clearly brings out a higher incidence of child labour among the SCs and the OBCs as compared to their counterparts among the ‘others’ (non SC/ST/OBC) social group. Thus, it shows that besides poverty, children participation in work is also influenced by the social factor associated with deprivation arising out of caste. The “low caste untouchables” (or “Schedule caste”) are often obliged to work for the so-called “higher castes” under an element of social compulsion as traditionally they are deprived of
sources of income. These relations are traditionally governed by caste considerations. Therefore, the participation in work by the children is influenced both by economic and social considerations. 4

**Magnitude of Child Labour in Household Work in 10 – 14 Age Groups**

In the preceding section we have analyzed the incidence of child labour in paid work based on the Usual Principal, Subsidiary, and, Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status. As can be seen in the NSSO concepts, central to the concept of identifying a worker is the engagement in any economic activity. Hence, children who are engaged in any activity that are marketable in nature i.e. those activities that involve remuneration are identified as workers. But there is a huge chunk of children who are engaged in household chores which are non-market activities and are not remunerated but these activities indirectly contribute significantly to the economic welfare of the household. Children attending domestic duties are not identified in the working/economically active population but the fact remains that their work does impinge on their education.

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</tr>
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</table>

**Table (3.i) - Attendance in School by Child labour and Child Workers in Haryana**


As the data in table 3.i indicates, about twice the numbers (1, 29,894) of children in Haryana are engaged in unpaid household chores as compared to those engaged in paid work. Across all the three social groups as well children working in domestic duties are two times that of those engaged in economic activities. Across social groups as well, children working in unpaid household work are more than double than those engaged as labourers. This is

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5 Aggregate children engaged in household work (absolute number) do not match the total of the social group children in table 3.14 because, a) ST group is not included in the analysis as its sample size is extremely small, b) For 25% of the households, the social background is not available in the raw data provided by the NSSO. Thus, at the aggregated level the absolute number of child labour includes the ST child labour and also the children whose social background is not available.
especially true for the schedule caste and the 'others' group. For the OBC group, the number of children engaged in household chores is one and a half times that of those employed in paid work.

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, total working children is the summation of child labour, child work and 'nowhere' children. 55% of the total working children are engaged in unpaid household work. It is also observed that 95% of the children working in unpaid household work are from 10 to 14 years age group and are mostly girls. Boys are only employed as child labourers on a regular basis while girls are not only employed as labourers (although on subsidiary basis) but they also work in the household chores. Hence it is imperative to analyze the magnitude of working children in unpaid work as majority (94%) of these children do not attend school mainly to supplement the household income and this maybe related to distress and poverty. At the onset of this section it is important to mention that since all the children working in the domestic duties are girls, hence, the following section will be focused mainly on the incidence of girls engaged in household chores.

In rural Haryana, 11% of the girls were engaged in the household chores at the aggregated level (table 3.14a). The Eastern and the Western Haryana Plains recorded the highest incidence of child work, with 14% of the girls engaged in domestic duties while in the Aravalli region about 6% of the girls were engaged in household chores. Amongst the social groups, it is observed that the schedule castes group has the highest incidence of child work. In fact, among the SC social group, child work is four times higher than the OBC and the 'others'. Among the SC group, 19.2% of the girls were engaged in domestic work. In Eastern Haryana Plains 22% girl children were engaged in domestic work which is the highest in the state. Western Haryana Plains with 21.1% of the girls engaged in domestic work stood second. In the Aravalli region, 13.2% of the girls were engaged in unpaid household work. The incidence of child work among the other backward castes social group is lower as compared to the SC group. Among the OBC social group, 6.6% of the girls were engaged in domestic work. Across regions, 12.7% of the girls were engaged in household chores in Western Haryana Plains, 7.8% in the Aravalli region and 6.4% in Eastern Haryana Plains. Among the 'others' social group, proportion of girls engaged in domestic work (6.2%) is similar to the OBC social group. The Eastern Haryana Plains
HARYANA
Proportion of Girls Engaged in Household Chores (10-14 age group)
In Total Girls Engaged in Household Chores Across Social Groups

Fig 3. ii
Plate 5
recorded the highest incidence of child work at 11.0% while the Western Haryana Plains had at 3.1%.

Table 3.15 presents the percentage distribution of working children in unpaid household chores across the social groups. In Haryana, more than half (52.1%) of the children (all girls) engaged in household chores belong to the SC group. This is followed by the 'others' at 26.4% and then the OBC, the least at 21.5%. At the regional level, this pattern varies from the state’s pattern in only one region, namely, Western Haryana Plains. Here, the OBC social group has a higher share of girls engaged in household chores than the ‘others’ (Fig 3.ii). Share of SC girl children engaged in household chores is still the highest (as compared to the other two social groups) in Western Haryana Plains.

Share of children in domestic duties across regions indicates that the Eastern Haryana Plains have the highest proportion of girls engaged in household chores followed by the Western Haryana Plains. This pattern holds true for all the social groups except for the OBC group. Among the OBCs, the second highest proportion of girls engaged in domestic work are found in the Aravalli region.

**Magnitude of Neither Working nor Studying Children in Group 10-14 Age-Group**

Children who are neither working nor studying are widely described in the literature as ‘nowhere’ children. These children, it seems, are not even found to be working in household chores that is why they are not counted by the NSSO in their working in domestic duties category. One school of thought believes in a rural situation, “a child who does not go to school is a working child. Collection of water, fuel, maintenance of the house and taking care of younger siblings, all constitute an important element in his or her life. While these activities do not necessarily fall under the definition of hazardous activities, in as much as they interfere with the normal development of the child and the child’s ability to reach his/her true potential, they constitute exploitation of the child. In the context of rural India, therefore, a non-working, non-school-going child simply does not exist”. (Ramachandran & Massun, p.6). One can hypothesize that these children might be at home helping in household chores or on the family farm for short period of time. But the fact remains that these children in the school-going age group are not going to school. Hence, the issue is not whether they are working or not but it is about their education. In the broader context these unaccounted children like the accounted children (as child labourers or as working in the household
chores) are deprived and denied the opportunity to acquire skills and lead a better quality of life as adults.

The following section examines the incidence of 'nowhere' children at the aggregated as well as at the social group level. It is observed that at an aggregated level about 7.5% of the children in rural Haryana were neither studying nor working. Across regions, incidence of 'nowhere' children varies from 10% in the Aravalli region to 6% in the Western Haryana Plains. Eastern Haryana Plains which is one of the developed regions in Haryana recorded an above average (7.5%) incidence of 'nowhere' children. Across the social groups, other backward castes recorded a marginally higher (7.9%) incidence of 'nowhere' children as compared to the schedule castes (7.3%) at the state level. Across regions, among the OBC social group, Aravalli (11.5%) and Eastern Haryana Plains (9.2%) had a higher incidence of 'nowhere' children as compared to the states average. Among the SC group, the highest incidence of 'nowhere' children is recorded in the Western Haryana Plains where 10.3% of the SC children were not in school. This region is followed by Aravalli where 8% of the SC children were neither working nor attending school, while Eastern Haryana Plains had about 7% of such children. With regards to the social group designated as 'others', close to 3.9% of the children were found to be neither working nor studying. Siwalik (1.6%) and Western Haryana Plains (3%) had a lower incidence of 'nowhere' children as compared to the state's average while the Eastern Haryana Plains had an above average (4.2%) incidence of 'nowhere' children. (See Table 3.17, 3.17a, 3.17b and 3.17c).

It is found that the incidence of 'nowhere' children is higher than that of child labour and children engaged in domestic duties. 7.5% of the children in rural Haryana seem to be apparently doing nothing i.e. they neither go to school nor do they work. Within the social group, the incidence of 'nowhere' children is higher than the overall average in the SC and the OBC social groups while, 'others' have the lowest incidence of 'nowhere' children amongst all the social groups. Across regions, at the aggregated level, the highest incidence of 'nowhere' children is observed in the Aravalli region. Similarly for the OBC social group, the highest incidence of 'nowhere' children is recorded in this region. As against this, the incidence of 'nowhere' children in the SC segment is the highest in the Western Haryana Plains while for 'others' it is the highest in the Eastern Haryana Plains (Fig 3.iii).

Table 3.19 lays out the share of 'nowhere' children in each social group to total 'nowhere' children. This table also gives the share of children in each social group to total
HARYANA
Proportion of 'Nowhere' Children (10-14 age group)
In Total 'Nowhere' Children Across Social Groups

Fig 3. iii
Plate 6
children. Firstly at the state level OBC has the highest proportion (47.5%) of ‘nowhere’ children across the social groups. Secondly, OBC is the only social group in which their share in total ‘nowhere’ children exceeds their share in the total child population. Majority (47.5%) of the ‘nowhere’ children in Haryana belonged to the OBC social group while their share in total child population was only one third. As compared to this, half of the child population is formed by the children from the ‘others’ segment while their share in ‘nowhere’ children is only one-third. Across regions, the Eastern Haryana Plains and the Aravalli regions conform to the state pattern where OBC is the only social group whose share in ‘nowhere’ children is greater than their share in the child population. In the Western Haryana Plains, about 60% of the ‘nowhere’ children belong to SC group while their share in total child population is only 23.6%. In the Siwalik region, share of ‘nowhere’ children in total ‘nowhere’ children is greater than the share in total child population only for the ‘others’ segment.

Regarding gender differences in ‘nowhere’ children, it is observed that at the aggregated level, the incidence of ‘nowhere’ children is higher for boys (8.2%) than girls (6.8%). The male-female ratio is 58:42 at the state level. Aravalli is the only region that records a higher incidence of ‘nowhere’ children among girls as compared to boys. Similarly, across the social groups (except one), a higher proportion of boys as compared to girls are neither working or studying in Haryana. In the OBC and the ‘others’ social group a higher proportion of boys neither study nor work at the state as well as the regional level. In fact, among the ‘others’ the male-female ratio is 75:25. The exception is provided by the schedule caste social group where a higher proportion of girls (8.2%) as compared to boys (6.5%) are neither studying nor working. The male-female ratio is 38:62 at the state level. Across regions, all ‘nowhere’ children among the SC social group are girls in the Aravalli region (with incidence of 13.3%) while in the rest of the regions incidence of ‘nowhere’ children is higher among boys than girls. ‘Nowhere’ children in these regions are distributed evenly between boys and girls, among the SC social group.

Magnitude of Working Children in 10-14 Years Age Group

So far we have examined the incidence of child labour separately for children employed on a regular basis by UPS and on subsidiary basis by SS and also combined by UPSS status. As against this, incidence of child work based on the alternative criteria which examine the work status of children officially designated as outside of labour was also
Magnitudes and Economic Activities of Child Labour

studied. These children who are engaged in domestic work which officially are considered to be non-remunerative (non economic/non-productive) are equally important activities. The household chores also, indirectly if not directly, contribute to the economic welfare of the household. Further, incidence of 'nowhere' children i.e. those who are neither studying nor working was also examined. These children are neither counted in the 'labour-force' nor they are found to be 'working in household chores' that is why they are not included by the NSSO in their 'working in domestic duties' category. Hence, the three segments of children that, so far, have been examined are: (i) children who work as labourers, (ii) children who are engaged in domestic work, (iii) children who do not work (according to the above two categories) but they don't even study. The assumption in the literature made for the last category of children is that children who do not go to school are working children (Kannan: 2002, p.395). The linking factor among the three categories of children are that majority of these school going age children are out of school and thus deprived of their education. In this sense all three categories of children are deprived of the opportunity to acquire skills, hence entering their adult life without human capital i.e. education.

In the following section, all three categories of children i.e. child labour category, children working in domestic work and 'nowhere' children are clubbed together and are termed as children that are 'working' in some way and at some level of intensity (time). Incidence of 'working' children has been examined to ascertain their incidence in total child population. Magnitude of 'working' children assumes alarming proportion in Haryana if examined by clubbing all the three categories. As table 3.20(i) indicates nearly two lakh and seventy four thousand children (age group 10-14) at an aggregated level were working in one form or the other in rural Haryana. In terms of proportions in total child population, 14% of the children in rural Haryana were working one way or the other. Across regions, the highest incidence of working children has been observed in the Eastern Haryana Plains where about 15% of the children work followed by the Aravalli region with about 14.5% of the children at work in some form. In the Western Haryana Plains and the Siwalik region, the incidence of working children is lower as compared to the state's average. Additionally, at

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Aggregate working children (absolute number) do not match the total of the social group children in table 3.20(i) because, a) ST group is not included in the analysis as its sample size is extremely small, b) For 25% of the households, the social background is not available in the raw data provided by the NSSO. Thus, at the aggregated level the absolute number of child labour includes the ST child labour and also the children whose social background is not available.
the aggregated level amongst the total working children in Haryana, the share of 'nowhere' children (53%) is the highest followed by children engaged in domestic work (36%) and child labour (15%). Across regions as well 'nowhere' children account for the highest proportion in the total working children.

Table 3.20a, 3.20b and Table 3.20c present the proportion of children clubbed as 'working'. Among the schedule castes about 23% of the children in Haryana were at work. Western and the Eastern Haryana Plains, at the regional level, accounted for one-third of the SC children working in some form. In the Aravalli region, 17% of the SC children were at work. Further, we find that in the total working children among the SC social group, the proportion of children engaged in domestic work has been the highest (50%) followed by 'nowhere' children (34%) and child labour (16.4%). Across regions, Eastern and Western Haryana Plains follow the state level pattern of the distribution of the three categories of working children amongst the total working children. In the Aravalli region, a higher proportion of SC working children are neither studying nor working ('nowhere' category) as compared to the children engaged in domestic work.

In the other backward castes social group, the incidence of working children (12.7%) in Haryana is lower as compared to the SC segment. Across regions, the highest incidence of (17.8%) has been observed in the Aravalli region followed by the Eastern Haryana Plains (13.8%). Siwalik and Western Haryana Plains have a lower incidence of working children as compared to the state's average. Amongst the OBC, the share of 'nowhere' children (65%) in total 'working' children is the highest followed by those engaged in domestic work (22%) and child labour (14%). Across regions as well, the share of 'nowhere' children in the clubbed category designated as 'working' children is the highest. The only exception is the Aravalli region where a higher proportion of the OBC 'working' children are engaged in domestic work as compared to children who are neither studying nor working ('nowhere' category).

The least proportion of children who are working in some form has been observed amongst the 'others' social group. About 7.8% of the children are estimated to be 'working' in rural Haryana. Across regions, the Siwalik and the Eastern Haryana Plains have a higher incidence of 'working' children as compared to the state's average while Western Haryana Plains have a lower incidence (4.3%). In the 'others' segment, the share of 'nowhere' children in total 'working children' is higher (51%) than the share of children engaged in
domestic work (36%) and child labour (13%) categories at the state as well as at the regional level.

Hence, at the aggregated level, magnitude of ‘working’ children in Haryana is substantial (2,74,000) with about 14% of the children working in some form. Across social groups, magnitude of working children in Haryana is the highest among the SC segment followed by the OBC and ‘others’. Across regions, incidence of working children is higher in the developed region of Haryana i.e. the Eastern Haryana Plains as compared to the lower developed region (Siwalik). This picture holds true at the aggregated level and for the ‘others’ social group. As against this, incidence of working children among the SC is the highest in the Western Haryana Plains and for the ‘OBC’ this is higher in the Aravalli region.

Across social groups it is found that the total number of working children for SC (97,340) is the highest as compared the OBC (80,000) and ‘others’ (60,953). Table 3.21 indicates that between the social groups, the share of SC ‘working’ children is the highest followed by the OBC. ‘Working’ children from the ‘others’ segment is the least in proportion in Haryana. Siwalik and the Aravalli are the only two regions where the proportion of the SC working children is lower than the other two social groups. In the Aravalli region, majority of the working children belong to the OBC segment while in the Siwalik region ‘others’ account for 60% of working children followed by the OBCs (fig 3.iv). Further, it is observed that the SCs have a higher incidence of ‘working’ children as their share in total working children is the highest as compared to their share in total child population. This pattern is mirrored across regions as well except in the Siwalik region where 60% of the working children belong to the ‘Others’ segment whereas their share in child population is lower than their share in working children. Moreover, across these social groups we find that in the SC segment, the proportion of child workers is the highest (50%) followed by ‘nowhere’ children (34%) and child labour (16.4%). On the other hand, amongst the OBC and ‘others’ segment, the proportion of ‘nowhere’ children in total working children is higher than the children engaged in domestic work and child labour.

Table 3.20, Table 3.20a, Table 3.20b and Table 3.20c also present the incidence of ‘working’ children, derived by clubbing the three categories of child labour, children engaged in domestic work and ‘nowhere’ children, separately for boys and girls. In terms of differences between boys and girls, at the aggregated level, number of girls engaged in work is larger in Haryana. We find that in the total ‘working’ children, number of girls (1,
HARYANA
Proportion of Working Children (10-14 age group)
In Total Working Children Across Social Groups

Fig 3. iv
Plate 7
Magnitude and Economic Activities of Child Labour

58,108) is higher than the boys (1, 16,427). This is observed for all the four regions and across all the three social groups except in the Siwalik region where boys from the OBC and the ‘others’ social group work in a larger number than the girls. It is observed that among boys, the proportion of those who are neither studying nor working is higher than the rest of the categories i.e. child labour and domestic work. On the other hand, a higher proportion of girls (56 %) in total working girls are engaged in household chores as compared to ‘nowhere’ category (39.2%). Furthermore, it is evident from table3.20 that girls have a higher incidence of child labour than boys. Data indicates that 17.3% of the girls work as against 11.3% of boys in Haryana. Proportion of girls working in some form in girl child population is higher than the boys in all the four regions except in Siwalik. The highest incidence is found in Eastern Haryana Plains where about 19.6% of the girl children work. The highest incidence among boys is also observed in the Eastern Haryana Plains where 11.7% of the boys are classified as child labourers and ‘nowhere’ children. Among girls, the Aravalli region recorded the second highest incidence with 18.9% of the girls working in some form.

About one-third of the girls and 14.6% of the boys work in some form, in 10-14 years age group, amongst the schedule caste social group in Haryana. Western Haryana Plains recorded the highest incidence of ‘working’ children among girls at 33% followed by Eastern Haryana Plains (31%). Western Haryana Plains also recorded the highest incidence of ‘work’ among boys (31%). For boys, Eastern Haryana Plains has the second highest incidence of child labour. The Aravalli region has 26% of working girls as against only 2.8% of working boys. Amongst the other backward caste, unlike the SC social group the difference between the proportions of girls working in some form as compared to boys is not wide. Table 3.21(b) indicates that 14.6% of the girls and 11.2% of boys were working among the OBC group in rural Haryana. The Aravalli region recorded the highest incidence of ‘working’ children among girls (22.6%) while Western Haryana Plains had the highest incidence of ‘working’ children among boys (13.7%). Eastern Haryana Plains and the Siwalik region had incidence of ‘working’ children for both boys and girls which was lower than the state’s average. Hence we observe that the incidence of ‘working’ children among OBC group is found mostly in Aravalli and Western Haryana Plains for girls and only in Western Haryana Plains for boys. Among ‘others’ social group, 8.7% of the girls, and, 7% of the boys were working in rural Haryana. Eastern Haryana Plains had the highest incidence of ‘working’ girls (13%) while Siwalik had the highest incidence of ‘working’ boys (20.6%).
Table 3.21 further indicates that, among working boys share of OBC is higher than the SC as well as ‘others’ while among working girls share of SCs is higher than both ‘others’ and the OBC group. At the regional level we observe that in the Western Haryana Plains majority of the ‘working’ children belong to the Schedule caste group. In the Siwalik region among working boys, 61% are from the ‘others’ group, while among ‘working’ girls all are from the OBC group. In the Aravalli region, about 93% of the ‘working’ boys belong to the OBC group followed by SC. For the OBC social group their share in ‘working’ children (boys) far exceeds their share in total child population of the region.

Additionally, at the aggregated level, the Eastern Haryana Plains had about 57% of the state’s child labour followed by the Aravalli region. Together these accounts for about 70% of the state’s child population while their share in the state’s ‘working’ children is 76%, which exceeds the child population share by 6 percent points. Hence, we observe that the concentration of child labour is in the Eastern and the Aravalli regions of Haryana.

To sum up the overview on the magnitude of children working as labourers and in domestic work, it can be said that child work is an important phenomenon in rural Haryana. The extent of importance depends on what we call as work: little important if we only count children reported working full time or part-time for a wage or in the family business (2.6%), important if we add those performing household chores (8%), very important if we also include those that are reported doing nothing, but which in the literature they are suspected to be actually working (14%). To elucidate, in the child labour category, full-time and part-time work is negligible among young children aged 5 to 9 but affects a larger proportion of pre-adolescents (4.03% of boys and 0.88% of girls) aged 10 to 14 years age group. In the child work category about 5% of the children (11% of girls and 0.02% of boys) are engaged in domestic work. Incidence of ‘nowhere’ children is higher than that of child labour and children engaged in domestic duties. 7.5% of the children (6.8% of boys and 8.2% of girls) in rural Haryana seem to be apparently doing nothing i.e. they neither go to school nor do they work.

Gender differences in the magnitude exist in the three categories of working children. We observe that amongst the child labourers, a higher proportion of boys are employed on a

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7 The component of ‘nowhere’ children among boys in total working boys is higher in case of OBCs and ‘others’ and that is why their proportion in total working boys is higher as compared to SCs. In case of the SC social group the component of ‘child labour’ is higher as compared to the OBCs and ‘others’. Thus, SC boys instead of being ‘idle’ are compelled to join the labour force.
regular basis than the girls while a higher proportion of girls employed on a subsidiary basis, than boys. Hence, boys are only employed as child labourers on a regular basis while girls not only are employed as labourers (although on a subsidiary basis) but they also work in the household chores. Even amongst the ‘nowhere’ children gender difference is evident at the aggregated level. A higher proportion of girls as compared to boys in total ‘nowhere’ children are apparently doing nothing i.e. they neither go to school nor work. In the literature ‘nowhere’ children in the rural setting are assumed to be working in some form. With respect to the total ‘working’ children, girls not only have a higher incidence as compared to boys, they also account for 60% of the ‘working’ children.

A look at the population disaggregated by social groups, we observe that the magnitude of working children in Haryana is the highest amongst the SC segment followed by the OBC and ‘others’. Furthermore, girls among the SC social group work in a higher proportion as compared to the OBC and ‘others’. In fact, one-third of the SC children (girls) work in some form as compared to the OBC girls and girls from the ‘others’ segment. The schedule caste social group not only has the highest proportion of working children in their child population but they also form the bulk of the total working children in rural Haryana. Moreover, across the three social groups we find that in the SC segment, the proportion of child workers engaged in domestic work is the highest (50%) followed by ‘nowhere’ children (34%) and child labour (16.4%). On the other hand, amongst the OBC and the ‘others’ segment, the proportion of ‘nowhere’ children in total working children is higher than the child work and child labour category. Thus, it is observed that as compared to ‘others’ the magnitude of working children amongst the discriminated against and isolated groups of the schedule caste is 1.6 times. A higher incidence is observed in all the three categories of child work (except ‘nowhere’ category) for the SC as compared to the rest of the social groups. Further, a larger proportion of girls work from the SC segment as compared to their counterparts from the OBC and the ‘others’ segment.

Incidence of working children at the aggregated level is the highest in the Eastern Haryana Plains for both boys and girls. At the social group level, incidence of working children (boys and girls) amongst the SC is the highest in the Western Haryana Plains, for OBCs it is in the Aravalli region while for ‘others’ it is in the Eastern Haryana Plains (girls) and Siwalik (boys). Incidentally, Western Haryana Plains has the least diversification in its economy and one of the highest incidences of poverty in Haryana. This region also has the
lowest literacy rates when compared to other regions of Haryana. Similarly, in Eastern Haryana Plains, where we observe the highest incidence of working children among the girls from the ‘others’ social group, literacy rate is lower when compared to other regions of Haryana.

**Economic Activities Engaging Child Labour**

The objective of this section is to examine the type of economic activities undertaken by child labour in Haryana. The economic activities of both full-time and part-time child labourers are analyzed at three broad levels:

1. **Employment Status**: Employment of child labour in rural areas is disaggregated into three types of activities, viz., working in household enterprise, hired labour and as regular salaried employee.

2. **Industrial Categories**: Industrial categories are based on the National Industrial Classification of 1998. A three digit code is given for each industrial category by the NIC. However for convenience the industries have been recoded as follows.

   A. Agriculture
   B. Fishing
   C. Mining and Quarrying
   D. Manufacturing
   E. Electricity, Gas and Water supply
   F. Construction
   G. Wholesale and Retail trade, Repair of Motor Vehicles, Motorcycles and Personal Household Goods
   H. Hotels and Restaurants
   I. Transport, Storage and Communication
   J. Financial Intermediation
   K. Real estate, Renting and Business Activities
   L. Public Administration and Defense, Social Security
   M. Education
   N. Health and Social Work
   O. Other Community, Social and Personal Service Activities
   P. Private Households with Employed persons

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Q. Extra Territorial Organization and Bodies

It may be noted that children are found to be working in only four of the above industrial categories. Thus the present analysis would be restricted to those four industrial categories, which are:

A) Agriculture
D) Manufacturing
F) Construction
G) Wholesale and Retail Trade, Repair of Motor Vehicles.

3. Occupational Structure: National Classification of Occupation gives us the share of boys and girls employed in 'exact' function or occupation in rural areas. The National Classification of Occupations (NCO)-1968 consists of 8 divisions (at one-digit level), 95 groups (at two-digit level) and \( \leq 5 \) families (at three-digit levels). The relevant occupation division Occupation Groups and Families are:

1) **Division 6**: Farmers, Fisherman, Hunters, Loggers and Related Workers

   Group 61: Cultivators
   
   *Families 610*: Cultivators (owners)

   Group 62: Farmers, other than cultivators
   
   *Families 621*: Livestock Farmers

   Group 63: Agricultural labourers
   
   *Families 630*: Agricultural labourers

2) **Division 7-8-9**: Production and Related Workers, Transport Equipment Operators and Labourers.

   
   *Families 730*: Sawyers, Plywood makers and Related Wood Processing Workers

   Group 81: Carpenters, Cabinet and Related Wood Workers
   
   *Families 819*: Carpenters

   Group 84: Machinery fitters, Machine Assemblers and Precision Instrument makers (except electrical).
Note: The analysis in this section would largely be focused on the economic activities performed by boys in the 10-14 age groups. As it has been seen in the earlier section, incidence of full time child labour among girls is negligible (at about 0.4%) as compared to boys (2.2%). Further in the total child labour, about 92% are boys, while only 8% are girls. Economic activities of the girls would be mentioned in the specific section while the rest of the analysis would be focused on boys.

I. Employment Status of Child Labour (UPS)

The NSS provides data by economic categories and gives the distribution of working children over self-employed (helpers) in owner/operated enterprise, casual labour and salaried workers. The NSS data thus help us to locate the incidence of child labour in the non paid household activities and wage employment. As table 3.22 indicates, at the aggregated level, about half of the working children in Haryana are wage labourers. The rest of the working children are distributed in household enterprise (32%) and regular salaried (24%) economic groups. Siwalik and Eastern Haryana Plains, at the regional level, conform to the state pattern. In these two regions majority of the boys work as labourers either for daily wages or for regular salaries. In fact, Eastern Haryana Plains have a relatively larger proportion of children (64%) working as regular salaried employee. Notably this is the only region with a high presence of working children in this segment of employment status. In Western Haryana Plains, half of the child labour works as helpers in their own enterprise while the other half works as daily wage labourers. The Aravalli region has a relatively large proportion of children (about 60%) working in household enterprise and of these 71.5% are girls while the rest are boys. A majority of boys work as wage labourers in this region.

For the schedule caste segment, a relatively larger proportion (65.7%) of the working children (mainly boys) across Haryana are engaged as casual labour, 28.4% are regular salaried while only 5.9% are work in household enterprise. Against this all the SC
working children in the Aravalli region are involved in household enterprise. Strikingly all the SC working children in the Western Haryana Plains are involved in casual labour. No generalization can be made here on the activity pattern in these two regions because the number of sample cases could be small and this would not be representative for the whole region. Eastern Haryana Plains have a split of working children between casual and regular salaried labour of 44.1% and 55.9%. In the other backward caste segment of child labour across Haryana, household enterprise accounts for 46.1% of working children much higher than the SC segments (5.9%). Distribution across casual labour and regular salaried is divided 22% and 32% respectively. The proportion of children working as casual labour is the lowest in this social group, as compared to 66% for SC’s. Across regions, all OBC working children in the Western Haryana Plains work in household enterprise. In Siwalik and Eastern Haryana Plains, 76% of the children work either for daily wages or for regular salary. In the Aravalli region OBC girls work in household enterprise while boys work mainly as wage labourers. Hence half of the children (girls) in the Aravalli work in household enterprise while the other half (boys) work for daily wages. The sample population of child labour from the ‘others’ segment work as casual labour. We also find that ‘others’ only have a presence in the Siwalik region.

It is observed that at the aggregated level, children in Haryana work in higher proportions as labourers (for daily wages or regular salaries) as compared to those working as non-paid helper in household enterprises. The proportion of child labour engaged in household enterprise in Haryana is higher among the OBC as compared to the SC social group. Across regions as well, OBC’s are engaged in a higher proportion as helper in household enterprises. As against this the SC child labour are engaged in wage labour activities which are characterized by a high degree of casualization, exploitation and low levels of wages and skills.

Gender differences in the activity pattern are evident both at the state and at the regional levels. All working girls help in the household enterprise while boys work in much more diversified activities with household work being relatively frequent, but not more than wage or regular salaried labour. Female presence is only from the OBC category in the household enterprises.
II. Distribution of Child Labour in Farm/Non-Farm Sector (UPS)

At the aggregated level, the sectoral distribution of child labour in Haryana indicates that half of the children are engaged in the farm sector while the other half in the non-agricultural or rural non-farm sector (Table 3.24). Across regions, Aravalli is the only region which conforms to the state level pattern of sectoral distribution of working children. In Siwalik (99%) and Eastern Haryana Plains (80%), majority of the working children are engaged in the rural non-farm sector whereas in Western Haryana Plains 89.5% of the working children are engaged in the farm/agricultural sector of the economy. The sectoral distribution of child labour in the schedule caste segment varies from the aggregated level. A higher proportion (61%) of the SC child labour is engaged in the farm sector as compared to rural non-farm sector (39%). Western Haryana Plains is the only region that has a majority of SC child labour working in the farm sector. On the other hand, Eastern Haryana Plains and Aravalli have a higher proportion of child labour engaged in the rural non-farm sector of these regions. The pattern of sectoral distribution of child labour in the other backward caste differs from the SC social group. Majority (75%) of the OBC child labour in Haryana are engaged in the rural non-farm sector. Eastern and Western Haryana Plains have a similar pattern that is observed at the state level. In the Aravalli region on the other hand, half of the child labour is engaged in the farm sector while the other half work in the rural non-farm sector. The sample population of the child labour from the ‘others’ social group all work in the rural non-farm sector. Their presence is only in the Siwalik region of Haryana.

Distribution of Employed Children across Industrial Categories (UPS)

This sub-section examines the distribution of child labour across the industrial categories. According to the NSS sample data, 37.6% and 13.8% of child labourers (at the aggregated level) were engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry, respectively. In the rural non-farm sector about 26.4% of the full time working children in Haryana are engaged in manufacturing which are usually small household manufacturing units. Construction (5.5%) and maintenance and repair of motor vehicles (20.7%) are the other sectors, where more than in agriculture, the physical and mental well being of the child may be at risk. In absolute figures, we are referring to a total child labour force of 26,904 in the rural non-farm sector of Haryana.
Distribution of children working by industrial categories across regions reveals that in Siwalik and Aravalli a substantial portion of working children are engaged in high risk sectors like construction and maintenance and repair of motor vehicles. These regions do not have any child labour in the agricultural sector. Likewise, in Eastern Haryana Plains half of the child labour is engaged in the manufacturing sector, 22.4% in maintenance and repair of motor vehicles while only 16.4% and 4.3% are engaged in animal husbandry and agriculture respectively. On the other hand, in the Western Haryana Plains, 70.6% and 18.8% of child labour are engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry while only 10.5% are engaged in the manufacturing sector. Table 3.25(a) shows the break-up of the schedule caste child labour across industrial categories. We see that a majority of children (43.3%) work in agriculture, about (28.4%) are engaged in the manufacturing sector while 17.8% work in animal husbandry. Construction (4.6%) and maintenance and repair of motor vehicles (5.9%) are the other sectors that the SC child labourers work in. Across regions, in Western Haryana Plains all the sample population of working children are engaged in agriculture while in Aravalli region the concentration of SC child labourers is solely in maintenance and repair of motor vehicle. A majority of children (56%) work in manufacturing sector in the Eastern Haryana Plains, about a third (35%) are involved in animal husbandry and the balance 9.1% work in the construction sector.

Table 3.25(b) lays out the distribution of other backward caste child labour across major industries. One-third (33.4%) of the OBC children work in the maintenance and repair of motor vehicles, 21.8% work in the manufacturing sector while 18.6% work in construction. Agriculture (19.9%) and animal husbandry (6.4%) are the other sector that OBC children are engaged in. Hence we find that a substantial proportion of OBC working children in Haryana are engaged in the construction, repair of motor vehicles and manufacturing sector which involve working processes that can be hazardous to the children. Across regions, Eastern Haryana Plains has a predominance of OBC category in repair and maintenance of motor vehicles (84.1%) while in Western Haryana Plains all the sample working children are engaged in the manufacturing sector. In the Aravalli region working children is distributed evenly between agriculture and construction sector. Further in this region boys are only involved in the construction sector while girls are concentrated entirely in the agriculture sector. Table 3.25(c) indicates that children from the ‘others’ social group
are employed only in the Siwalik region with a complete presence in the maintenance and repair of motor vehicle.

Thus, we observe that in Haryana, at the aggregated level, full time child labour is distributed evenly between agriculture and the non-agricultural sector. Within the agricultural sector a higher proportion of working children are engaged in crop production as compared to animal husbandry. The rural non-farm sector has a more varied distribution with a majority (50%) of child labour employed in the manufacturing sector; about 40% in repair and maintenance of motor vehicles while the least (10%) in construction sector. Across the social groups, a higher proportion of SC children work in the agriculture sector while among the OBC’s and ‘others’ the presence is much higher in the rural non-farm sector. Across regions, in Eastern Haryana Plains a higher proportion of SC children work in animal husbandry as compared to the OBC children. In the manufacturing and construction sector, the entire child labour belongs from the SC social group, whereas OBC children work only in the maintenance and repair of motor vehicles. In the Aravalli region, OBC children work in the agriculture and the construction sector while the SC children work in the maintenance and repair of motor vehicles. In Western Haryana Plains, SC children are engaged in agriculture while OBC are engaged in the manufacturing sector. Child labour from the ‘others’ social group is found only in the Siwalik region where they work in the maintenance and repair of motor vehicles.

III. Occupational Structure of the Full-Time Child Labour

The term ‘occupation’ connotes the exact function or work that an individual performs irrespective of the industrial classification of the establishment where that person works. In the earlier sub-section we examined the distribution of child labour across broad industrial categories. The following section is going to examine the exact work that the children are engaged in the various occupations of the economy. It is not surprising that these children (who are uneducated and very young) were mostly employed in traditional occupations like farming and production and related work. Table 3.26 indicates that at the aggregated level a third (30%) of the children in Haryana worked as agricultural labourers, 14% work as livestock tenders while only 8% worked as helpers in cultivating households in the farm sector. In the non-farm sector, about 20% of the children worked as motor vehicle mechanics or helpers to the drivers 15.4% work as carpenters and an equal proportion (5%) are plywood makers and construction workers respectively. Across regions, majority (70%)
of the child labourers in Siwalik worked as helpers to the motor vehicle drivers. In the 
Aravalli region, an equal proportion of children worked as motor vehicle mechanics and 
construction workers. In the developed region of Haryana i.e. Eastern Haryana Plains the 
occupational pattern of the children is diversified. Majority (51%) of the working children are 
carpenters, 22% are mechanics while 20.2% are livestock farmers. Hence, about 80% of the 
total child labour in this region is engaged in its rural non-farm sector. In Western Haryana 
Plains a majority (71%) of the working children work as agricultural labourers, followed by 
livestock farmers (18.8%) while 10.5% are plywood makers.

Occupational structure of the full time child labour across social group is the 
following. In the schedule caste social group, a majority (43.3%) of the child labour are 
employed as agricultural labourers, a third are employed as carpenters while 17.8% are 
livestock farmers. Mechanics (5.9%) and well diggers/construction workers (4.6%) are the 
other occupation that the SC child labour in Haryana are employed in. Across regions, 
majority of the sample child labour in Aravalli are mechanics while in Western Haryana 
Plains majority are agricultural labourers. In Eastern Haryana Plains 56% of the SC child 
labour is employed as carpenters while about 35% are livestock tenders and the rest are 
construction workers. Majority of the OBC child labour as mentioned before work in the 
rural non-farm sector. In the rural non-farm sector, about a third (31.7%) of the child labour 
work as mechanics, followed by plywood makers (21.2%), and as construction workers 
(18.1%). Most of the OBC child labour in the agriculture sector is employed as helpers in 
cultivating households. Against this all the sample population of child labour in Aravalli 
region worked as construction workers while in Western Haryana Plains all worked as 
sawyers/plywood makers. In Eastern Haryana Plains, majority (76.8%) of the OBC child 
labour worked as mechanics. Regarding the ‘others’ social group, majority of the sample 
population of child labour is employed as helpers to the drivers.

**Employment Status of Working Children across Occupation**

This sub-section further analyses a disaggregated analysis of work pattern of children 
by cross-classifying their occupation with reference to their employment status. If we 
compare the employment status of the working children namely household enterprise, casual 
labour and regular salaried certain obvious facts emerge. Children who work at home are 
clearly better-off than those children who have to go out of their homes and work as 
labourers. These children are more prone to exploitation, and missing out on education
increases their chances of physical and mental under-development. Table 3.27 presents a cross-classification of child labour in Haryana by occupation and employment status. At the **aggregated level**, majority of the child labour in Haryana who are employed as cultivators, as livestock tenders (animal grazing) and plywood makers work as helpers at home. Many of these activities are relatively light in nature and most of the times have limited working hours. On the other hand, majority of the agricultural labourers, construction workers and motor vehicle drivers work as casual labourers for daily wages. These are the occupations that are characterized by a high degree of casualization and low level of wages and skills. Children working as carpenters and mechanics work for regular salary mean that these children would be working on a regular basis probably for long hours and hence affecting their education negatively. Across regions, Western Haryana Plains, Siwalik and the Aravalli region conform to the state level pattern where cultivators and plywood makers work as non-paid helpers at home whilst agricultural labourers and helpers to the motor vehicle drivers work for daily wages. In Eastern Haryana Plains majority of the children who graze animals work for daily wages (Table 3.28). Similarly child labour engaged in construction work in this region is employed on daily wages like grown ups. Children employed as carpenters and mechanics, work for regular salary similar to the state level pattern.

As we have mentioned before, majority of the SC child labourers in Haryana work as agricultural labourers followed by working as carpenters and livestock tenders. Table 3.27(a) indicates that SC child labour employed in the above three occupations work for daily or regular wages. A very small proportion of SC children (5.9%) who work as mechanics are non-paid helpers at home. Hence, we find that majority of the SC child labour in Haryana are casual or regular salaried labourers who are employed as agricultural labourers, carpenters or livestock tenders. In Eastern Haryana Plains majority of the SC children working as carpenters are regular salaried employees while those engaged in animal grazing work for daily wages. In the Aravalli region sample children working as mechanics are mostly helpers in the family business (Table 3.28a). Child labour from the OBC social group work as non-paid helpers at home in the agriculture sector (in cultivation and animal grazing) whilst they work for wages in the rural non-farm sector⁸. As against this, the SC child labour work for daily wages in the agricultural as well as the non-farm sector. Thus, the OBC children

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⁸ Child labour from the OBC social group who worked as plywood makers were helpers at home which is the only exception to the general pattern observed at the state as well as the regional level.
working as cultivators, animal tenders and plywood makers, work as helpers at home at the state as well as at the regional level. Children working as mechanics and construction workers (which are a substantial proportion of total child labour in this group) work for wages; daily or regular at the state as well as at the regional level. Regarding the employment pattern of the ‘others’ social group majority of the sample of child labour work as helpers to motor vehicle drivers for daily wages in the Siwalik region of Haryana (Table 3.28c).

On the whole, majority of the child labour is employed as agricultural labourers who work for daily wages. The next important occupation in which child labour is engaged is carpentry for regular wages. A significant proportion of child labour also work as mechanics and helpers to the drivers on regular and daily wages respectively. Children working as helpers in cultivating households and animal tenders work as unpaid helpers at home. Further it is observed, that the sample of children working as agricultural labourers in Haryana belongs to SC category whilst the OBC child labour work as unpaid helpers on their own farms. Among the children engaged in animal grazing, a higher proportion is from SC segment (who work for wages) as compared to the OBC segment (who work as helpers at home). On the other hand a larger proportion of OBC children in Haryana work as mechanics and construction workers as compared to the SC children. Furthermore, the sample of children working as carpenters all belongs to the SC segment. Working children from ‘others’ social group in Haryana are employed as motor vehicle drivers for daily wages.

IV. Economic Activities of Part-time Working Children: (88)

The following section has been devoted to examine the distribution of part-time working children by their employment status, broad industrial categories and the exact occupation that they work in. Table 3.29 highlights the distribution of working children by employment status in the subsidiary status across social groups. The data reveals that all the SC child labour is involved in wage labour activities, while their counter-parts in the ‘others’ category is involved in household enterprise. In the Eastern Haryana Plains, SC’s comprised the complete wage labour segment while ‘others’ work solely in household enterprise. In Western Haryana Plains only the wage labour segment exists and this is comprised completely of SC’s. Part-time working children in Haryana and its regions are solely engaged in the agricultural sector (42.8% in growing of crops and 57.2% in animal husbandry). SC child labour are employed solely in crop production on a part-time basis, whilst the ‘others’ are all engaged in animal grazing.
The exact occupation that the part-time child labourers in Haryana are involved in is the following. At the aggregated level 56.8% of the part-time child labourers work as animal grazers while 43.2% work as agricultural labourers. In the Eastern Haryana Plains a higher proportion (65.1%) of children are engaged in animal husbandry as compared to those working as agricultural labourers (34.9%). On the other hand, in the Western Haryana Plains all part-time child labourers work as agricultural labourers. Across social groups all the SC child labourers at the state as well as regional level work as agricultural labourers for daily wages. On the other hand, child labour from the ‘others’ category help in grazing of animals owned by their households. Hence, we find that part-time child labour from ‘others’ segment is engaged in better economic activities such as helper in household enterprise. As against this, SC child labour is engaged in wage labour agricultural activities which are exploitative and intense in nature.

**Summing Up**

It is observed that, at the aggregated level, the incidence of child labour in the 10-14 year age group is low but the children in Haryana work in higher proportions as labourers (for daily wages or regular salaries) as compared to those working as non-paid helpers in household enterprise. Amongst the SC group, the incidence of child labour is fairly high (two times higher than the average) with the SC children recording the highest incidence of child labour when compared to the OBC and the ‘others’. The proportion of child labour engaged in household enterprise in Haryana is higher among the OBC as compared to the SC social group. The lower participation of SC working children in household enterprise and a higher participation in wage labour is a result of their inadequate access to agricultural land and capital. Across regions as well, OBC’s are engaged in better category of economic activities such as helper in household enterprise, while SC child labour are engaged in wage labour activities which are characterized by a high degree of casualization, exploitation and low levels of wages and skills.

Further, in Haryana at the aggregated level, child labour is distributed evenly between agriculture and the non-farm sector. The rural non-farm sector has a more varied distribution with a majority (50%) of child labour employed in the manufacturing sector, about 40% in repair and maintenance of motor vehicles while (10%) in the construction sector. These sectors involve working processes that can be hazardous to children. Furthermore, majority of the working children in the agriculture sector are employed as agricultural labourers who...
work for daily wages whilst in the rural non-farm sector, child labour is employed as carpenters who receive regular wages. A significant proportion of child labour in the rural non-farm sector also work as mechanics and helpers to the drivers on regular and daily wages, respectively. Children working as helpers in cultivating households and animal tenders work as unpaid helpers at home.

The sample of children working as agricultural labourers in Haryana belongs to the SC category whilst all the helpers working in the cultivating households belong to the OBC segment. Among the children engaged in animal grazing, a higher proportion is from the SC segment as compared to the OBC segment. In the rural non-farm sector, a larger proportion of OBC children in Haryana work as mechanics and construction workers, as compared to the SC children. The sample of children working as carpenters belong to the SC social group while, child labour from ‘others’ social group in Haryana are employed as helpers to the motor vehicle driver. Regarding the economic activities pursued by child labour on a part-time basis, it is observed that child labour from ‘others’ segment is engaged in better economic activities such as helper in household enterprise, while SC child labour are engaged in wage labour agricultural activities which are exploitative and intense in nature.

Gender differences in the activity patterns are evident both at the state and regional levels. All full time working girls help in the household enterprise while boys’ work activities are much more diversified with helping in household business being relatively frequent, but not more than wage or regular salaried labour. Female presence is only from the OBC category in the household enterprise segments. Gender differences in the pattern of part-time working children are different from the full time working children. All part time working girls were worse off than boys as all girls were agricultural labourers while all boys work at home, grazing animals.

It is evident from the analysis that a large proportion of child labourers in Haryana worked as agricultural labourers and in occupations (manufacturing, construction and repair of motor vehicles) identified as hazardous by the NSSO. These occupations involve processes that are hazardous in nature and can harm the mental and the physical well being of the child more so when they are employed in these establishments as wage employees. It is found that the majority of the child labour in Haryana is employed as wage labourers/employees rather than in household enterprise. Hence, a predominance of wage employment in the employment structure indicates that a large proportion of the working children are more prone to health risk than those who work within the family.