

## **EDUCATIONAL MARGINALISATION AND EMPLOYMENT (5-19 YEARS): CASE STUDY OF MAHARASHTRA**

Akanchha Singh

Center for the Study of Regional Development

### **ABSTRACT**

The paper attempts to look at the nature, causes and extent of child labour, adolescent employment and educational marginalization India, with special focus on Maharashtra. It tries to explain the reason behind 'inactive' or 'nowhere children', a category which is used to denote children who are absent from both employment sector as well as educational institutions. Explanatory factors like per capita GDP, literacy rate and work participation rate have been used for the same. Analysis shows that states like Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand and Assam have the largest percentage of working children. At the same time percentage of population of 'Nowhere' Children and adolescent population is negatively related to literacy rate, gross state domestic product per capita and work participation rate. Besides, various factors like urbanisation, level of manufacturing and economic structure of the state also inform the distribution of nowhere children'.

**Keywords:** Nowhere children, Child Labour, Work Participation Rate, Educational Marginalisation, Employment

### **INTRODUCTION**

ILO report (2013) on 'Progress against Child Labour- Global estimates 2002-2012' highlights that the Asia Pacific region has the largest number of Child Labour 78 million (in the 5-19 age group).

Maharashtra is one of the most economically developed states in India and also is very large in terms of its population. The state houses the financial capital of the country. It has one of the largest industrial economies in the country.

The Children of today are leaders of tomorrow. By virtue of being the future of the country they deserve to have a better treatment Childhood is a crucial phase of a man's life. It is the duty of every responsible individual to ensure that children in his or her surroundings live their

childhood to the fullest extent. This would further enrich the lives of the children and contribute to their overall growth.

Maharashtra, according to 2011 census, has more than 40 million population living under the age of 18 years. Incidentally the child (and adolescent population) accounts for more than 33 percent population of the state. Thus it is important to look into the status of children and adolescents.

It is a fact that every year huge sums of money is allocated for the development of children. However the data used for the study reveals a different story altogether. About twenty per cent of the population (below 18 years of age) is missing from schools and is neither a part of the “active workforce” of the state. The International Labour Organisation terms such children as “nowhere children”. Close to five per cent of the school going population is economically active. This implies that these children juggle between work and school. However the data is inadequate to reveal if these working children are regular in attendance.

It gives data only on the enrolment.

Low attendance in school translates into poor performance which leads to drop-out at an early stage. Lack of education brings bleak employment prospects, this leads to low income, less savings and hence the next generation also suffers.

All India level data on drop-out rate reveals that 39 per cent of children who drop out from school, do so for the “need to earn” in contrast to a meagre 4 per cent who are “disinterested in studies”.

Childhood is the time to learn, a beautiful phase in a man’s life gets jeopardized owing to economic compulsions. It is therefore mandatory for the government to take note of the crisis that is unfolding. The problem of education has to be dealt with on priority basis, an attempt should be made to bring more and more children within the ambit of school system.

## **AIM**

Aim of the study is to look at the nature, causes and extent of child labour and children’s employment and educational marginalization India, with special focus on Maharashtra.

## **OBJECTIVE**

To study

- the reason behind ‘inactive’ children and adolescents in the population

- Look at the state-wise pattern of children and adolescents who are working as well as attending educational institution
- Analyse the state-wise pattern of 'inactive' children and adolescents
- Look at the residential (rural/urban) and gender dimension (male/female) of the above parameters with focus on Maharashtra.

## **DATABASE**

Census Tables: C-12: Population (Age 5-19) attending Educational Institution by Economic Activity and Sex, 2011

Data is provided under two broad categories

- a) Population attending educational institution
  1. Working
    - i) Main, marginal workers residence wise (Rural/ Urban) & Sex wise (Male Female)
  2. Non- working
    - i) Residence wise (Rural/ Urban) & Sex wise (Male Female)
- b) Population not attending Educational Institution
  1. Working
    - i) Main, marginal workers residence wise (Rural/ Urban) & Sex wise (Male Female)
  2. Non- working
    - i) Residence wise (Rural/ Urban) & Sex wise (Male Female)

Data on literacy- Calculated from Census 2011

State Gross Domestic Product- Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation

State wise Work Participation Rate- Calculated from Census 2011

**Limitation of data:** Not all states report data on child labour adequately. So there can be an element of underreporting.

The term 'inactive' and 'nowhere' in the context of children and adolescents is used interchangeably in the paper.

The World Health Organisation definition of Children (5-10 years) and adolescents (10-19 years) has been used.

## **METHODOLOGY**

1. From the data listed above various indicators have been designed by calculating percentages, ratios and making logarithmic transformations wherever required.

Some indicators have been used for purely representational purpose. They are used as variables to show pattern across states of India and districts of Maharashtra.

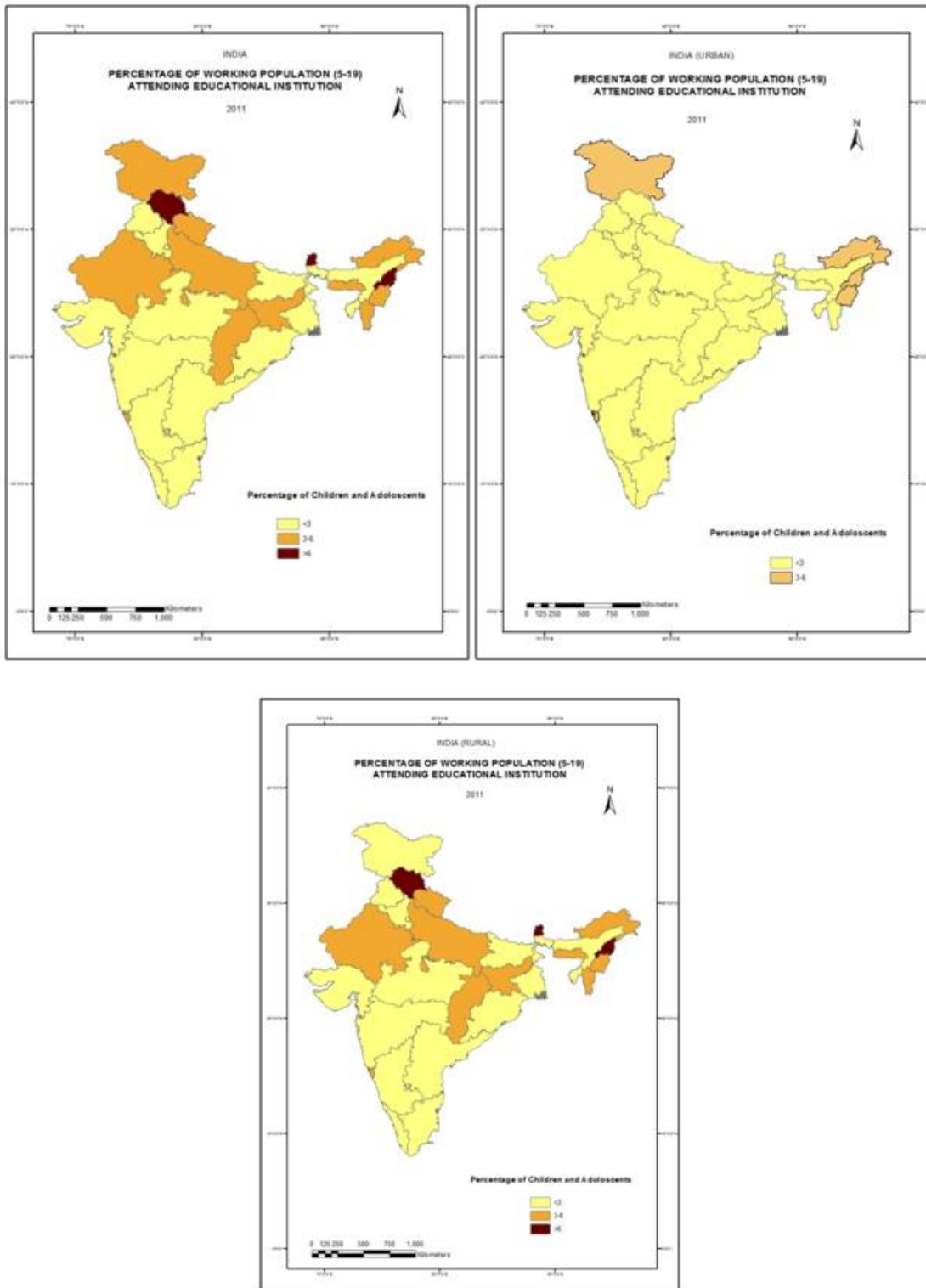
2. To explain the reason behind 'inactive' children and adolescents Ordinary Least Square Regression techniques is used.

Dependent Variable- Percentage of Population (5-19) neither attending Educational Institutions nor working

Explanatory Variables

- a) Per capita State Gross Domestic Product
- b) Literacy Rate
- c) Work Participation Rate

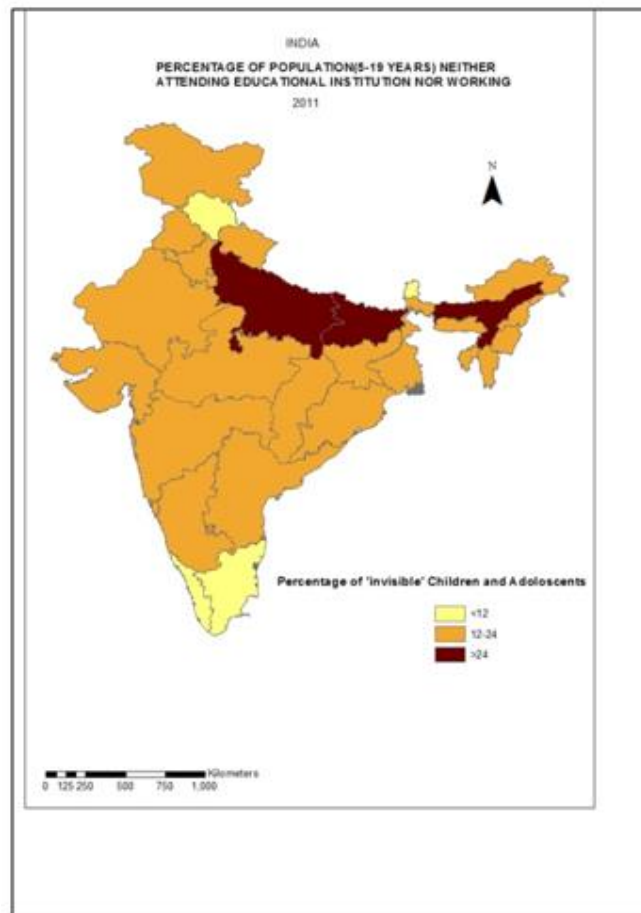
3. Correlation between various indicators has been attempted to explain the existing pattern.

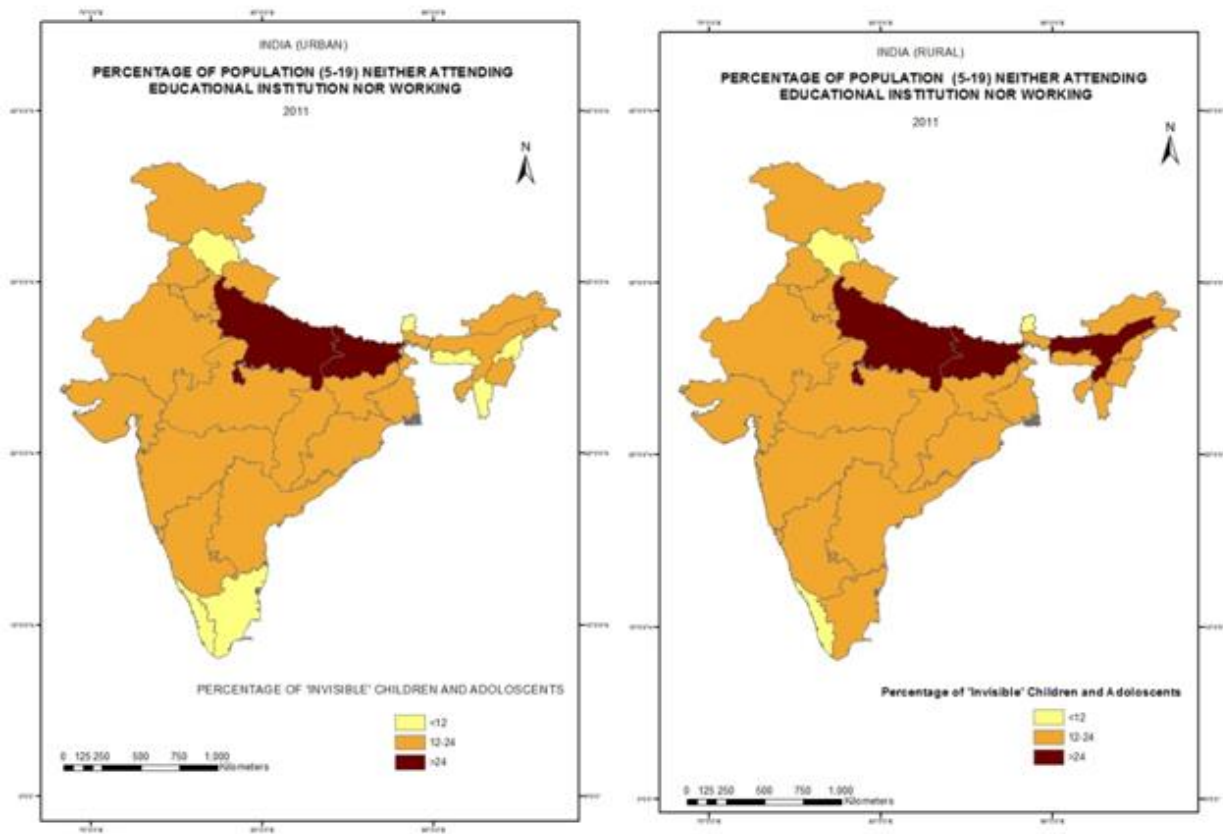


The above maps show us three different scenarios. The variable ‘Percentage of Working Population attending Educational Institutions’ has been mapped for all three categories: Overall, Rural and Urban.

Himachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Sikkim have the highest overall ‘Percentage of Working children who are attending Educational Institutions’. States in the North East have relatively higher percentage of children who combine both work and school. Apart from that, economically backward states like Jharkhand, Chhatisgarh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttarakhand also have higher percentage of Children and Adolescents who juggle between both work and education on a daily basis.

Strikingly, we see that in Urban areas there are fewer children who combine both work as well as education. None of the states fall in the highest bracket(of greater than 6 per cent). Thus, in urban areas Children and Adolescents are either attending educational institutions or working or doing neither.





### **‘Invisible’ Children and Adolescents**

The ‘invisible’ or ‘inactive’ children and adolescents refer to those who are neither attending educational institutions nor working. They are effectively out of the working population as well as school and college attending population. The state-wise pattern is almost the same for three cases: Overall, Urban and Rural.

Bihar has the largest percentage of nowhere children close to about 30 per cent. It is followed by Uttar Pradesh (26 per cent), Assam (25 per cent), West Bengal (23 per cent). Besides, Odisha, Rajasthan, Jammu and Kashmir, Arunachal Pradesh and Gujarat have greater than 20 per cent Children and Adolescents who are out of both work as well as education.

There is no stark variation across places of residence (rural and urban areas). The pattern is more or less consistent. Thus, we cannot really tell if it is primarily an urban or rural phenomenon.

To understand the various factors which inform the decisions of children to work, study, combine both or do neither simple correlation and regression exercise is attempted. For the

purpose of showing correlation, nine sets of variables were been taken. However, only two significant results emerged.

Strong correlation exists between:

- a) Level of Urbanisation vs. Percentage of working Population (15-19 years) attending Educational Institution= 0.8
- b) Percentage of Scheduled Class vs. Percentage of Adolescents not attending educational institution= 0.7

**Regression Result**

. regress NANW lngsdpcapita WPR Literacyrate						
Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	539.55674	3	179.852247	Number of obs =	30	
Residual	152.848349	26	5.87878264	F( 3, 26) =	30.59	
				Prob > F	= 0.0000	
				R-squared	= 0.7793	
				Adj R-squared	= 0.7538	
Total	692.405089	29	23.8760375	Root MSE	= 2.4246	
NANW	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
lngsdpcapita	-4.023399	1.169018	-3.44	0.002	-6.42635	-1.620448
WPR	-.2905354	.0665616	-4.36	0.000	-.4273546	-.1537161
Literacyrate	-.243942	.0695165	-3.51	0.002	-.3868352	-.1010489
_cons	95.20177	10.90368	8.73	0.000	72.78893	117.6146

Dependent Variable

Percentage of Children and Adolescent neither working nor attending educational institutions

Explanatory variable

- a) State Gross Domestic Product per capita (x<sub>1</sub>)
- b) Work Participation Rate (x<sub>2</sub>)
- c) Literacy Rate (x<sub>3</sub>)

$$Y_i = b_0 + b_1x_{1i} + b_2x_{2i} + b_3x_{3i} + u_i$$

$$Y = -4.02 \text{ log(GSDP per capita) } -0.29 \text{ (Work Participation Rate) } -0.24 \text{ (Literacy Rate) } + u_i$$



Rationale for using explanatory variable

State Gross Domestic Product per capita is used as a proxy for income variable. Work Participation rate has been used to capture the overall demand for labour in the economy and Literacy Rate measures the overall educational attainments.

It is assumed that economically well off states will have less number of 'invisible' children and adolescents.

If the Work Participation Rate in the economy is high, it shows greater demand for labour in the economy. Thus, in order to benefit from the increasing demand for labour, children and adolescents would prefer being a part of the work force or enrol in educational institutions to have better employment prospects in future.

Literacy rate is a crude indicator overall socio-economic attainment of a place. At the same time, literacy is a circular variable. High literacy rate would mean more adolescents would be either working or would be enrolled in educational institutions. If more children and adolescents are attending educational institutions, automatically the literacy rate would be higher.

$$Y_i = b_0 + b_1 X_{1i} + b_2 X_{2i} + b_3 X_{3i} + u_i$$

$$Y = -4.02 \log(\text{GSDP per capita}) - 0.29 (\text{Work Participation Rate}) - 0.24 (\text{Literacy Rate}) + u_i$$

The  $b_1$  coefficient suggests that if we increase GSDP per capita by one per cent, percentage of children and adolescent neither working nor attending educational institution is expected to decline by 0.04 per cent *ceteris paribus*.

$b_2$  suggests that if Work Participation Rate increases by one per cent, the percentage of children and adolescents who are neither working nor attending educational institution will decrease by 0.29 per cent *ceteris paribus*.

$b_3$  suggests that for one per cent of additional literacy in state, the percentage of children and adolescent who are neither working nor attending educational institution decreases by 0.24 per cent *ceteris paribus*.

### **R<sup>2</sup>: a measure of goodness of fit of the estimated regression equation**

The coefficient of determination, denoted by  $R^2$ , is an overall measure of goodness of fit of the estimated regression equation. It gives us the percentage of the total variation in the dependent variable  $Y$  (TSS) that is explained by all the regressors (ESS). Thus,  $R^2 = \text{ESS}/\text{TSS}$ .  $R^2$  therefore

lies between 0 and 1. The closer it is to 1, the better is the fit, and the closer it is to 0, the worse is the fit.

However, one disadvantage of  $R^2$  is that it is an increasing function of the number of regressors. Thus, there is a temptation to add more and more explanatory variables to get a higher and higher  $R^2$  value. Thus, another measure of goodness of fit is introduced for the purpose ( $R$ -bar-squared), which takes into account the number of explanatory variables.

Adjusted  $R^2$  is often used to compare two or more regression models that have the same dependent variable. In this exercise both  $R$  squared and  $R$  bar squared have high values of 0.77 and 0.75 respectively. This implies that 77 % of the total variation in dependent variable is effectively explained by the regressors.

### **Testing hypotheses about the population regression coefficients**

As per our expectation, we do find that  $t$  values are very high and  $p$  values are all near zero.

The stata results give us the  $p$  (probability) values, which are the exact level of significance of the  $t$  values. We know that a low  $p$  value suggests that estimated coefficients are statistically significant. This further suggests that the variable in question has a statistically significant impact on the regressand, holding all other regressor values constant. In this case all the explanatory variables are significant in explaining variations in the dependent variable. This conclusion is corroborated by the  $F$  test.

### **F test**

When we want to test the hypothesis that all the slope coefficients in our regression coefficient are simultaneously equal to zero,  $F$  test is used.

Thus,  $H_0 =$  all regressors in the model have no impact on the dependent variable. Alternatively, the model is not helpful to explain the behaviour of the regressand.

$H_1 = H_0$  is not true.

In other words,  $F$  test is used to test the overall significance of the regression. The  $F$  value provides us with the overall fitness of the model.

$$F = \text{ESS}/\text{df} / \text{RSS}/\text{df}$$

ESS= Explained Sum of Squares

RSS= Residual Sum of Squares

The F value we get from Stata results should be compared to F value from table.

If the computed F value is greater than its critical or benchmark F value at the chosen level of alpha, we can reject the null hypothesis and conclude that at least one regressor is statistically significant. In this case F value is fairly large 30.59, so we can conclude that it is greater than its critical value at alpha=5 per cent, thus we reject the null hypotheses. We conclude that at least one regressor is statistically significant in explaining the variations in the dependent variable 'Percentage of children and adolescents neither working nor attending educational institution'.

### **Maharashtra: District Wise Analysis**

#### **Urbanisation**

Maharashtra, is one of the most urbanised states in India with a staggering 43% of the state's population living in urban areas, next only to Tamil Nadu. The urban population of the state constitutes roughly 15 % of the country's total urban population.

The state also has a very high income per capita (Rs 1.2 lakh), which is about 40% higher than the national average per capita income.

It is interesting to note that the state's income is largely derived from manufacturing and service sector rather than agriculture. This, however, is not to say that the state completely ignores the agricultural sector. In fact, there is a growing bias towards commercial crops like sugarcane, sunflower, cotton etc. This has given a trigger to a range of vibrant agro-processing industry in the state.

Maharashtra has been historically divided into the following regions-

- a) Konkan division (Thane, Raigadh, Sindhudurg and Ratnagiri)
- b) Nashik division (Nandurbar, Dhule, Nashik, Jalgaon and Ahmednagar)
- c) Aurangabad division (Aurangabad, Jalna, Beed, Latur, Osmanabad, Nanded, Hingoli and Parbhani)
- d) Nagpur division (Nagpur, Wardha, Chandarpur, Gondiya, Gadchiroli and Bhandara)
- e) Amravati division (Amravati, Akola, Buldana, Washim, Yavatmal and Amravati)
- f) Pune division (Pune, Satara, Sangli, Kolhapur and Solapur)

It is observed that Maharashtra's high per capita income is not at par with the state's attainments in the social sector. This implies that there is an uneven distribution of the state's economic gains.

#### **Literacy Attainments**

The literacy rate in Maharashtra has been consistently higher than the country's average. According to the census of India, 2011, the state has a literacy of 83% (male-90%, female-75.5%)

### **Educational attainments**

Maharashtra's Human Development report reports universal enrolment in primary education in the state. However there are significant differences in educational attainment across the state. Low child enrolments is noticed in tribal districts (Nandurbar and Aurangabad)

There is reported seasonal migration from tribal districts to other districts of Maharashtra for sugarcane harvesting which results in low school enrolments.

However, there is significant evidence to suggest that schemes like Mid-day meal, free bus passes, distribution of cycles to girls went a long way in increasing the enrolment of children in schools.

Enrolment is usually taken as an important indicator of access to education , however it may not, and in case of the state of Maharashtra it does not, reflect the actual participation of children in the education system. **Enrolment in school does not translate into regular attendance.** At times, children are enrolled in schools and are also a part of the workforce. These children juggle between work and education, often due to abject poverty prevailing at home which necessitates their participation in economically productive activities. They work for a small part of the year or during certain seasons (as marginal workers) while at other times they are in school. Some other children, despite enrolment, are perpetually absent from school as they work for a significant part of the year (as main workers).

**Maharashtra's Human Development Report suggests that it has significantly lower drop-out rate (1.3%) and "out of school "children when compared to the scenario at the national level (4.3%).**

Drop-out rate and Out of School children are lower at the elementary level of education compared to the situation at higher levels. Reports suggest that at the all-India level, 33 per cent of children in the secondary school going age were out of school in the year 2007–08.

In case of Maharashtra the figure was one-fourth of the all India average.

ASER, 2010, reveals that **Konkan, Nashik and Aurangabad divisions have a higher percentage of children who are not in school.** The Maharashtra Human Development Report states that it is quite plausible that **as children get old there are compelling factors which pull them out of the schooling system. These compelling factors result from "increased**

**opportunity costs” attached to a child’s time as he has now become an economically productive asset for his poor family.** Then there could be other factors which prove to be a barrier in a child’s access to education beyond the primary level like distance of school from home, infrastructural deficiencies in school (such as separate toilet facility for girls etc.). Then there is also a factor of migration which disturbs a child’s schooling cycle. This migration can be intra as well as inter-state.

Overall, the **proportion of out of school children is highest for the Scheduled Tribes** in Maharashtra across all social groups. Tribal children are over represented among “out of school” children (53 per cent) and never enrolled (21%).

Drop-out rate in Maharashtra show a rural bias. The NSSO reports parental disinterest in study as a major cause in high drop-out rates in rural Maharashtra. In urban areas, however, the main cause of dropping out from school is attributed to financial needs.

Seasonal migration is another important factor behind high drop-out rates and long term absence from school.

In case of Maharashtra, the state Human Development Report asserts that, **there is irregular attendance during December to April and July to August which are mainly the growing and harvesting seasons.** In Bid district for instance, children are engaged in cotton farms, this takes a toll on their school attendance.

In Amravati, migration to earn livelihoods alone accounted for more than 50 per cent of the drop out cases.

It is known that tackling poverty would require long term measures and migration of children needs to be curbed immediately if their education has to be ensured. In this backdrop experts have suggested that it would be viable if children are provided livelihood opportunities in their local area. It would serve dual purpose of arresting migration and simultaneously augment family income.

However, not all children who are out of school be necessarily engaged in work. In case of **Maharashtra, only 19% of the students out of school are working.** Then there are male-female differentials in work participation rate. It is higher for male children (almost twice- 24%) as compared to their female counterpart (11%).

### **Where do these children find employment?**

In the case of Urban Maharashtra, school going children usually seek work in industries, hotels and restaurants. For example, in Gondia, a majority of the child labour is employed in **rice mills,**



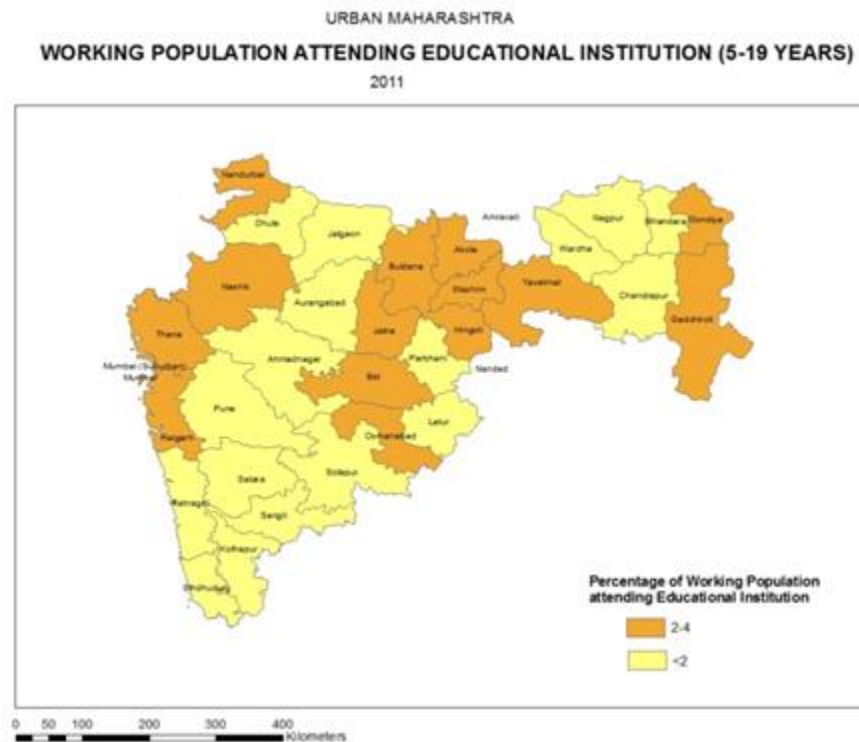




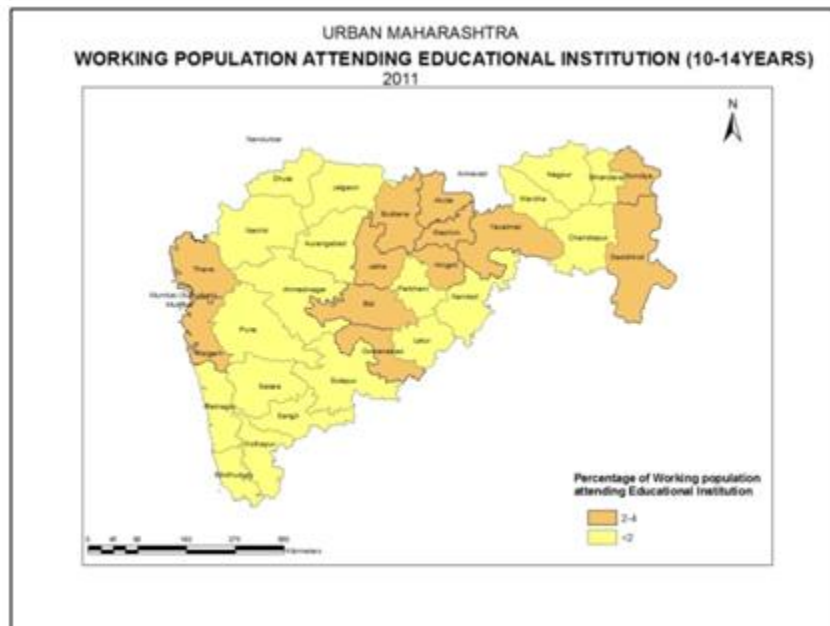
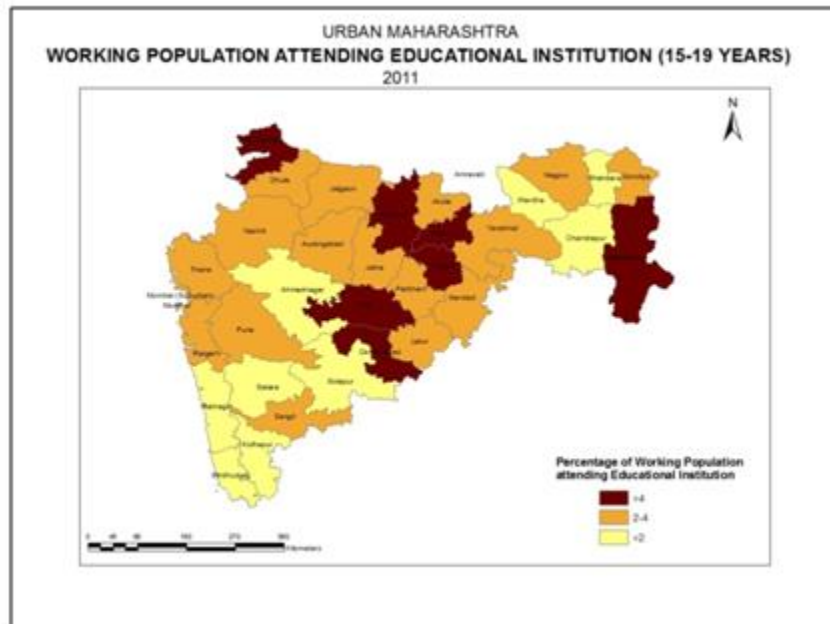
It is evident that in rural areas a larger percentage of workers are attending educational institution.

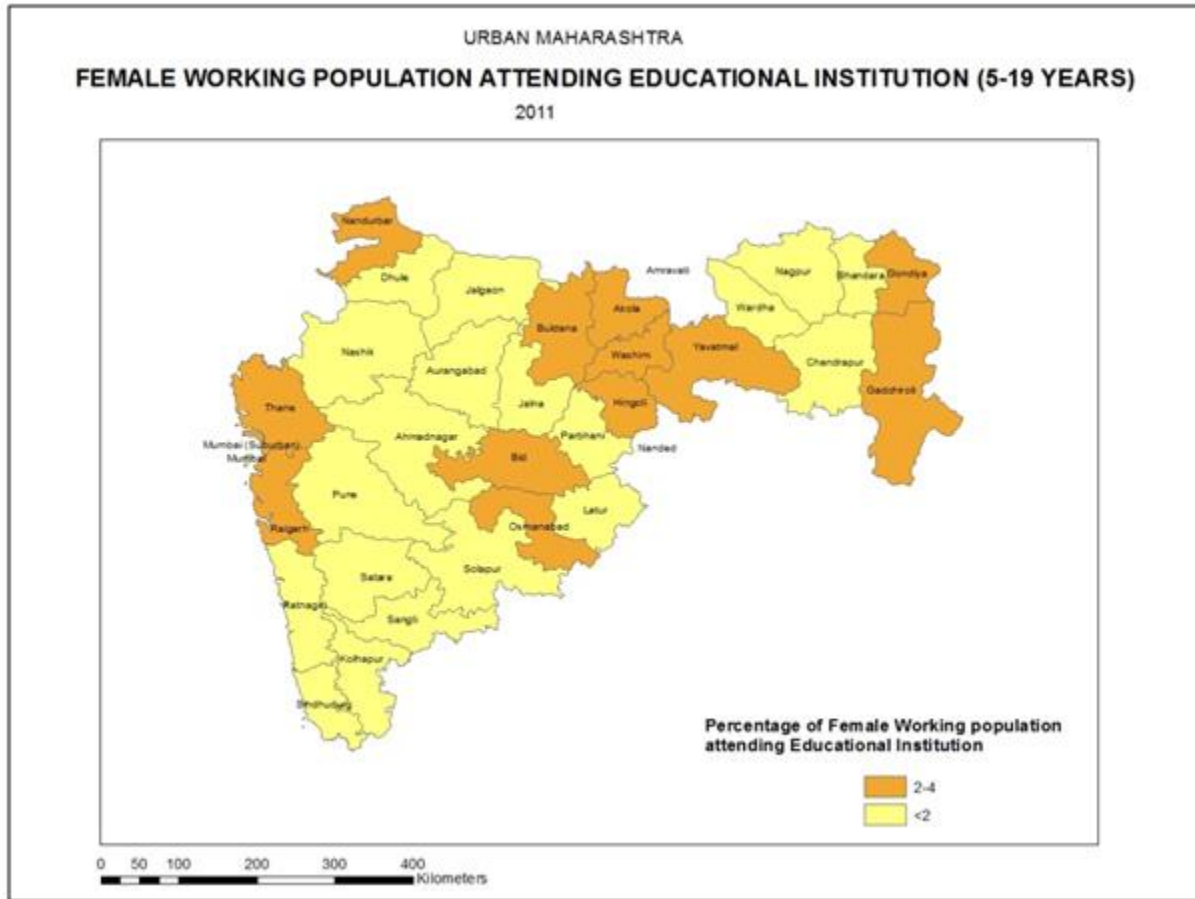
Map 3, 4 and 5 compare the percentage of working population in educational institutions across all age group, in urban area. The three age group chosen for the purpose are: **5-19 years, 10-14 years (children) , and 15-19 (adolescents)**. It is observed that the highest percentage of workers attending educational institution is seen in the age group 15-19 years, i.e. the adolescent category. **After crossing the age of 15, a person is no longer a child and it is legal for them to get employed. This is also the age group in which a person becomes highly productive. Thus he can be made to work for long hours at a stretch. Employers therefore find it advantageous to employ adolescents. Moreover, they do not bargain much regarding wages as compared to mature employees.**

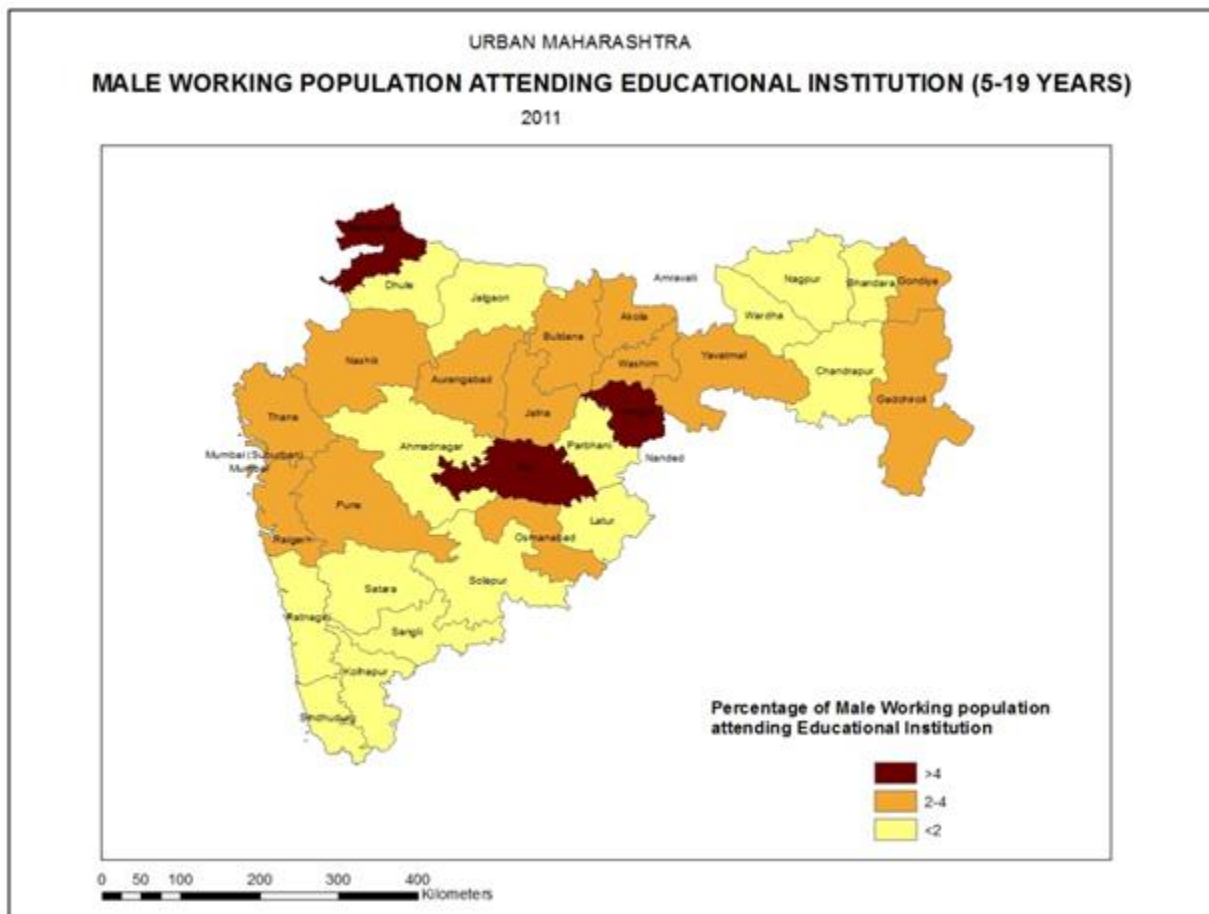
Seven districts have greater than four per cent workers attending educational institution. These districts are Nandurbar, Bid, Osmanabad, Buldana, Washim, Hingoli and Gadchiroli.











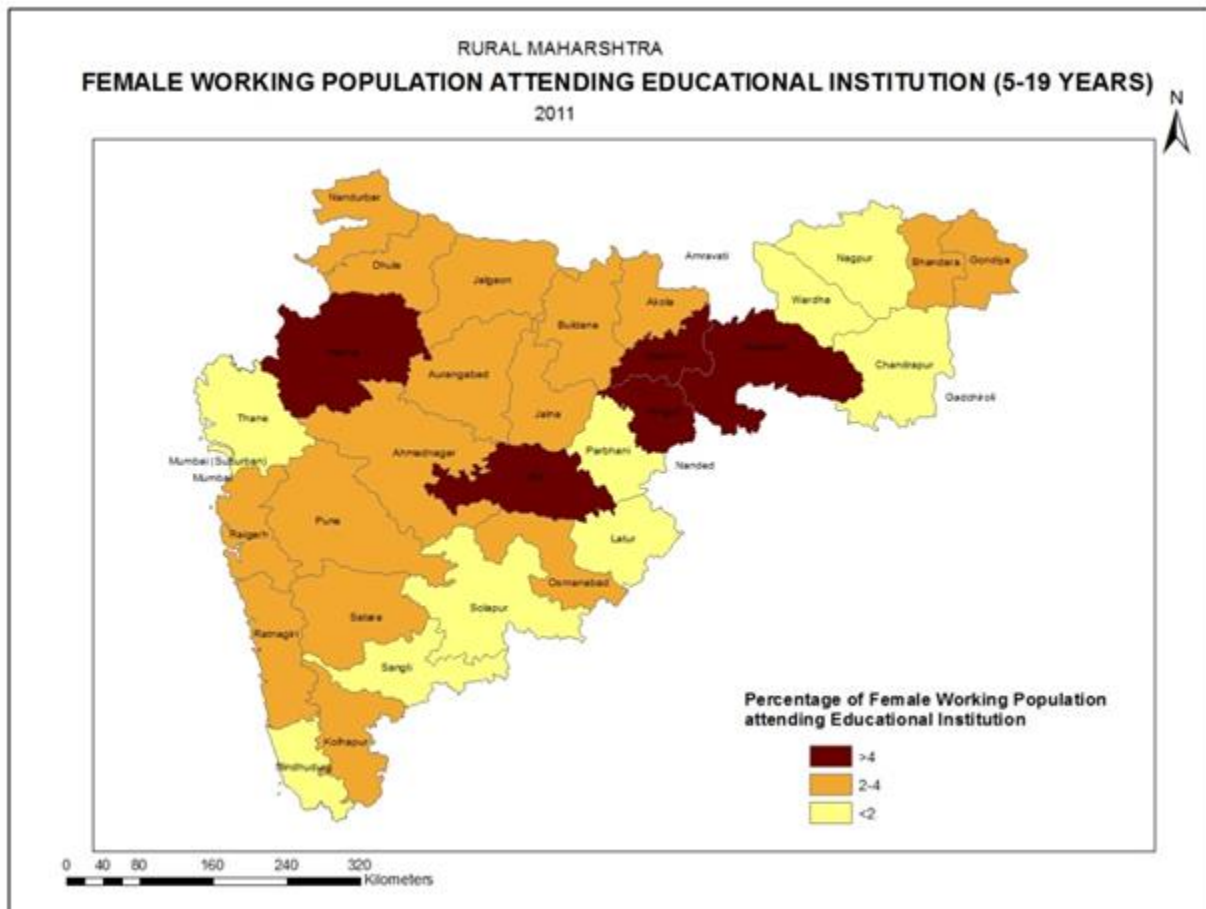
Map 6 and 7 compares the percentage of working population attending educational institution across gender in urban Maharashtra. It is observed that the male working population attending educational institution greater than four per cent is found in three districts :Bid, Nandurbar, and Hingoli while twelve districts have percentages varying between 2-4 per cent.

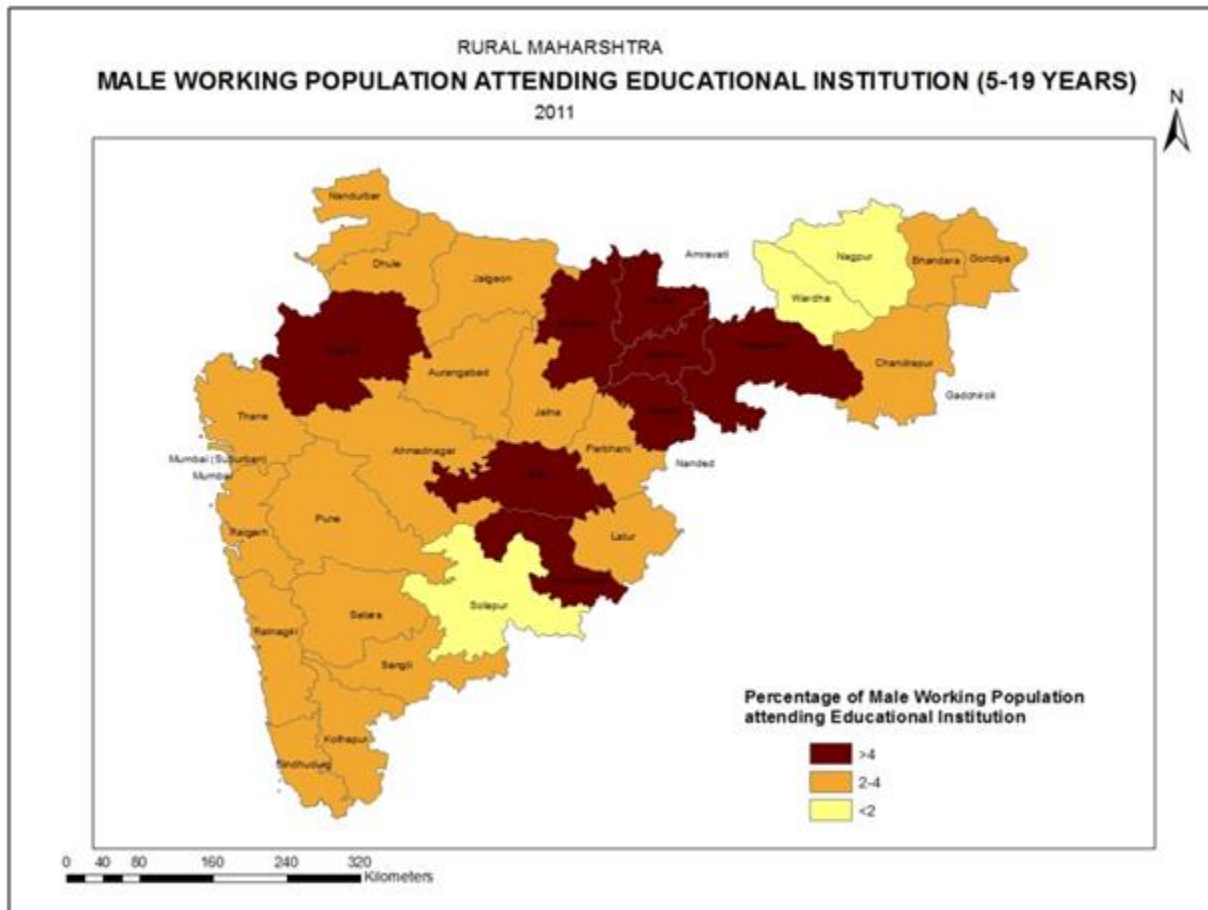
Female percentage of working population attending educational institution is low compared to their male counterpart. None of the districts have more than four per cent female population attending educational institution. Twelve districts have percentages ranging between 2-4 percent.

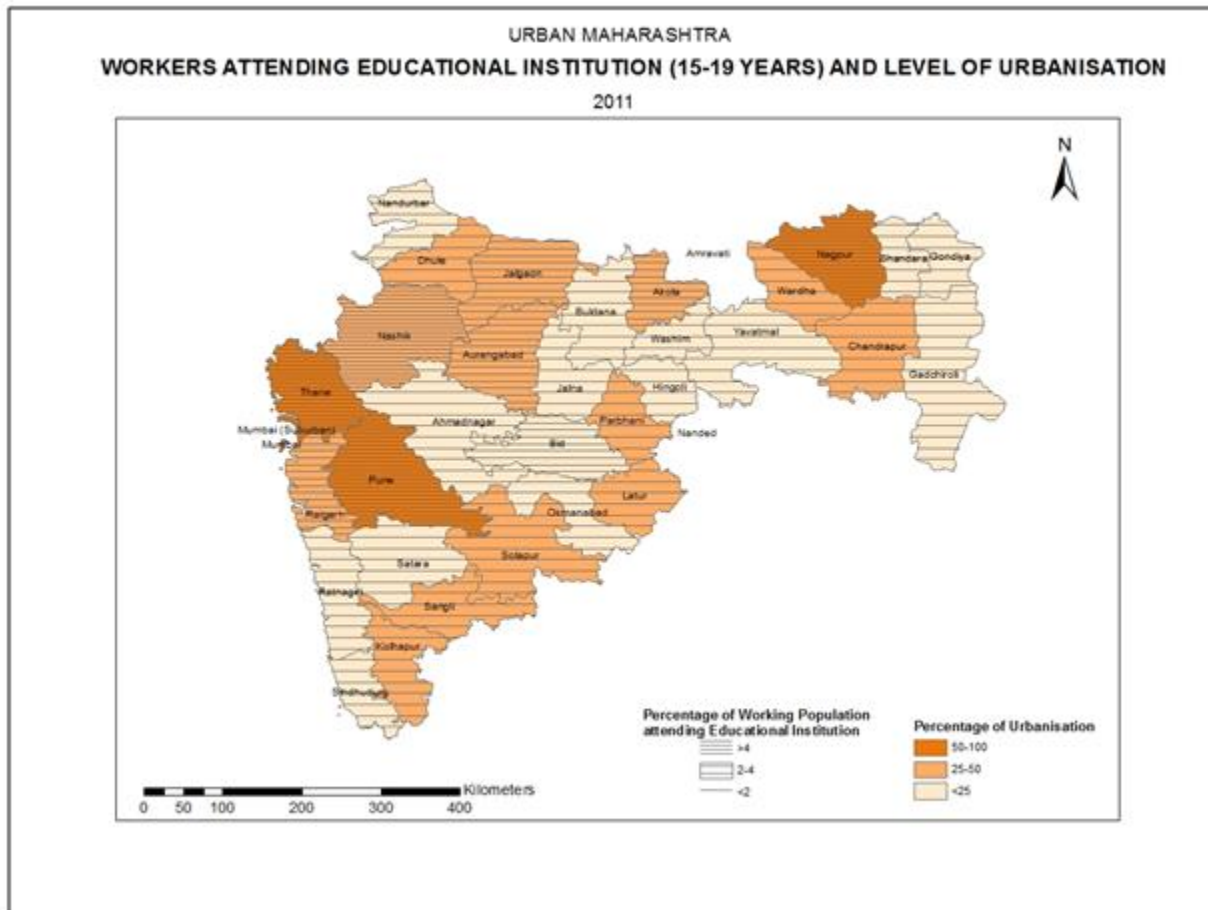
A comparison of Male and Female working population attending educational institution in rural area shows a higher percentage for rural male compared to urban male. However the pattern is the same most of the districts have percentage greater than two barring three districts Nagpur, Wardha and Solapur.

Map 8 and 9 compares the percentage of working population attending educational institution across gender in Rural Maharashtra. It is observed that only those districts have a very high

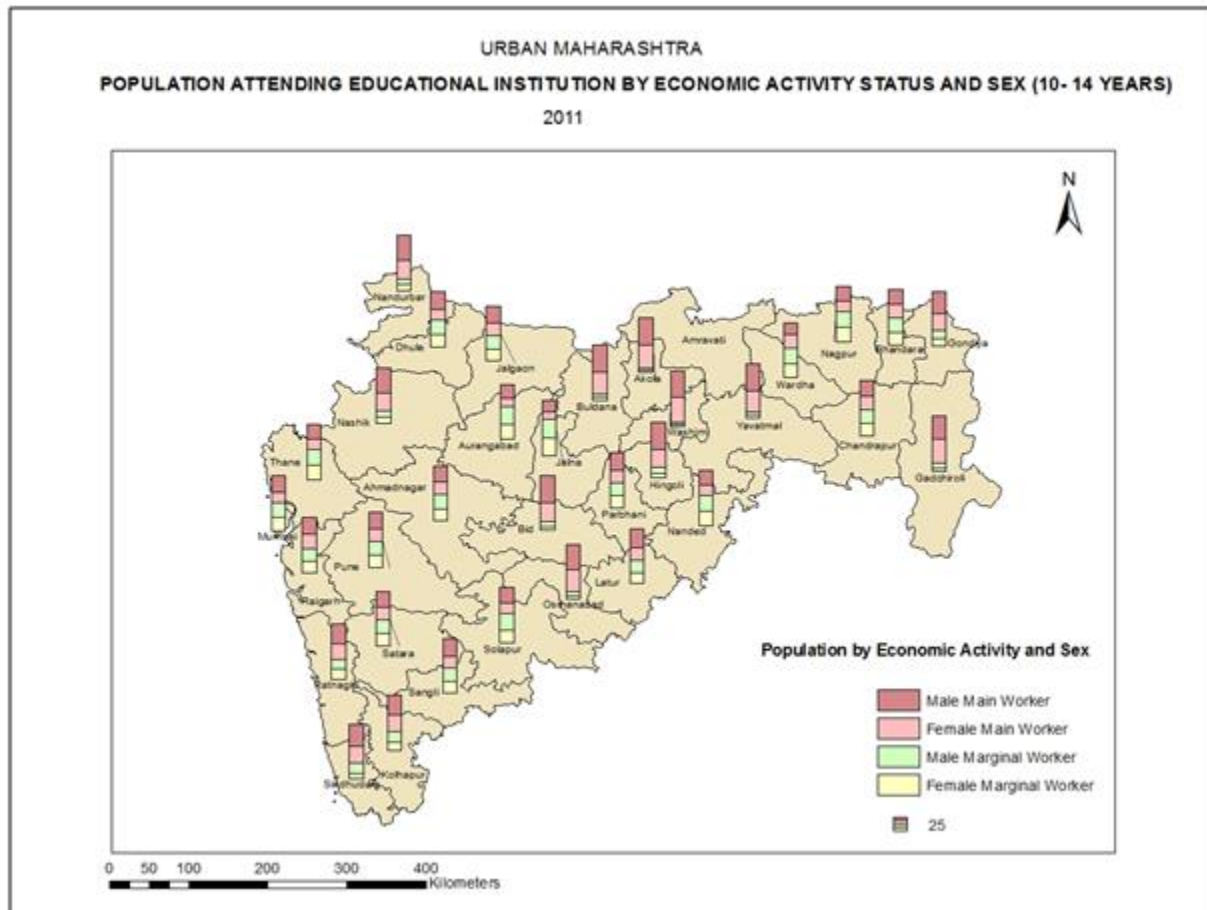
percentage of female workers attending educational institutions where the percentage of male is high. There is a one to one correspondence between male and female in this case. In rural areas, female are usually employed as marginal labour in agricultural sector.







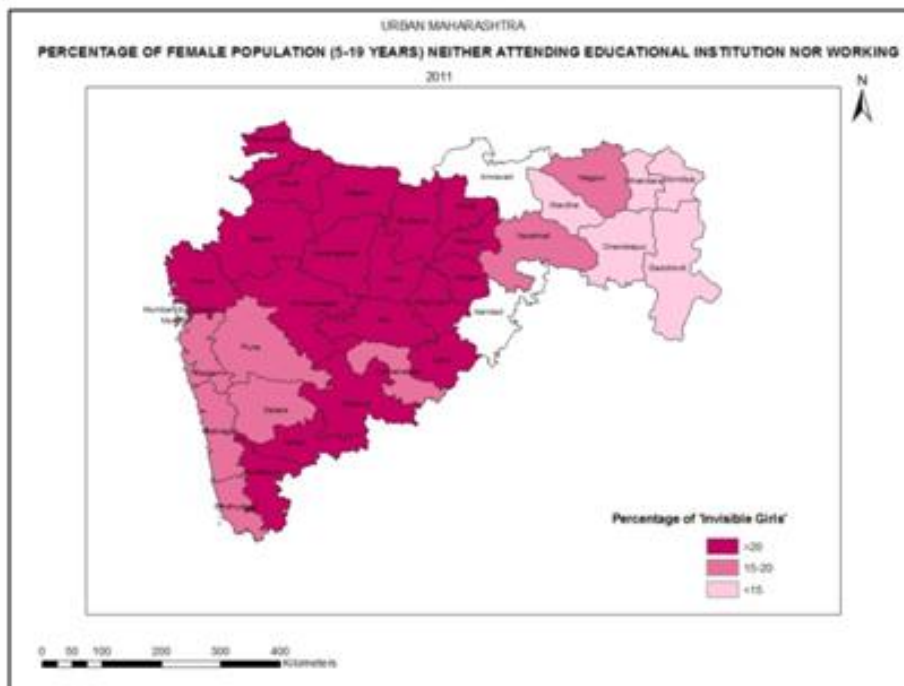
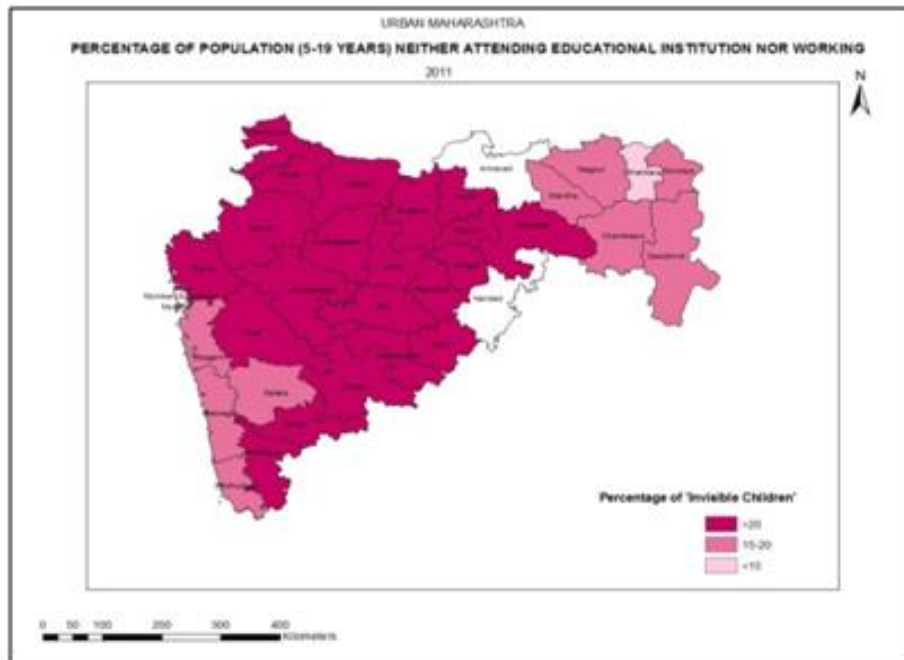




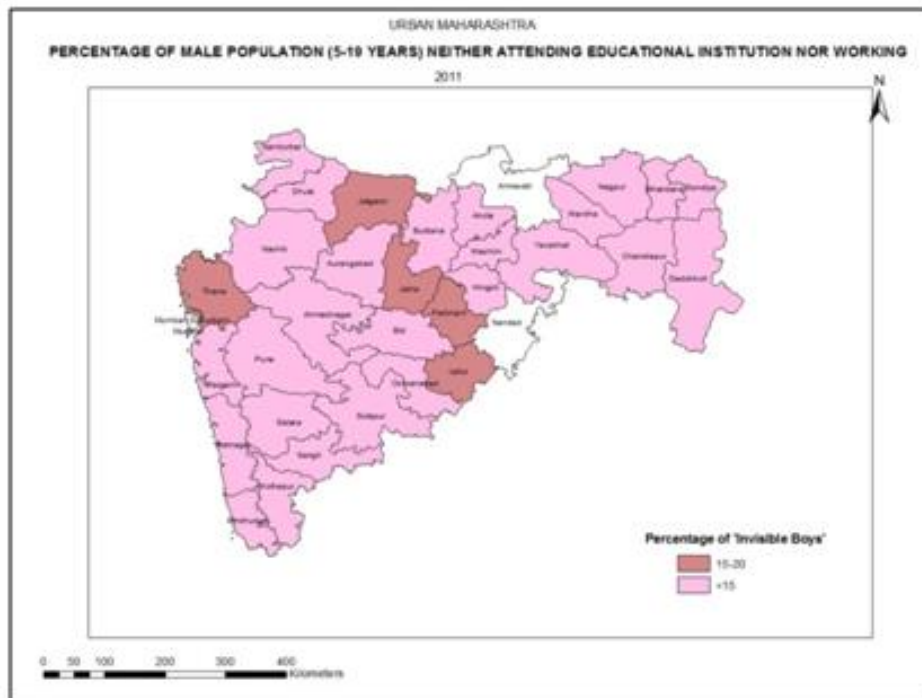
Map 10 shows a high degree of positive correlation between urbanisation and percentage of working population attending educational institution owing to the fact it is largely an urban phenomena. Urban areas are supposed to be engines of growth. Urban areas produce greater opportunity in terms of informal employment. There are greater avenues to work as part time labourer in urban areas throughout the year which is missing in rural area.

Map 11 compares the percentages of population attending educational institution by economic activity status and sex for 10-14 years. **The incidence of child labour is highest in Maharashtra in the age group 10-14 years.** It compares the proportion of male main, male marginal, female main and female marginal workers through a compound bar diagram of equal height (showing 100 percent in this case). Usually the highest proportion is occupied by male main workers, this proportion becomes very large in the Marathawada area. The proportion of female working as marginal labour varies significantly across districts- it is higher in Konkan, Nashik and Aurangabad divisions. Comparison between male and female workers shows that

female usually work as marginal labour mainly in rural Maharashtra, where the nature of employment is seasonal depending upon the stage at which the crop is.

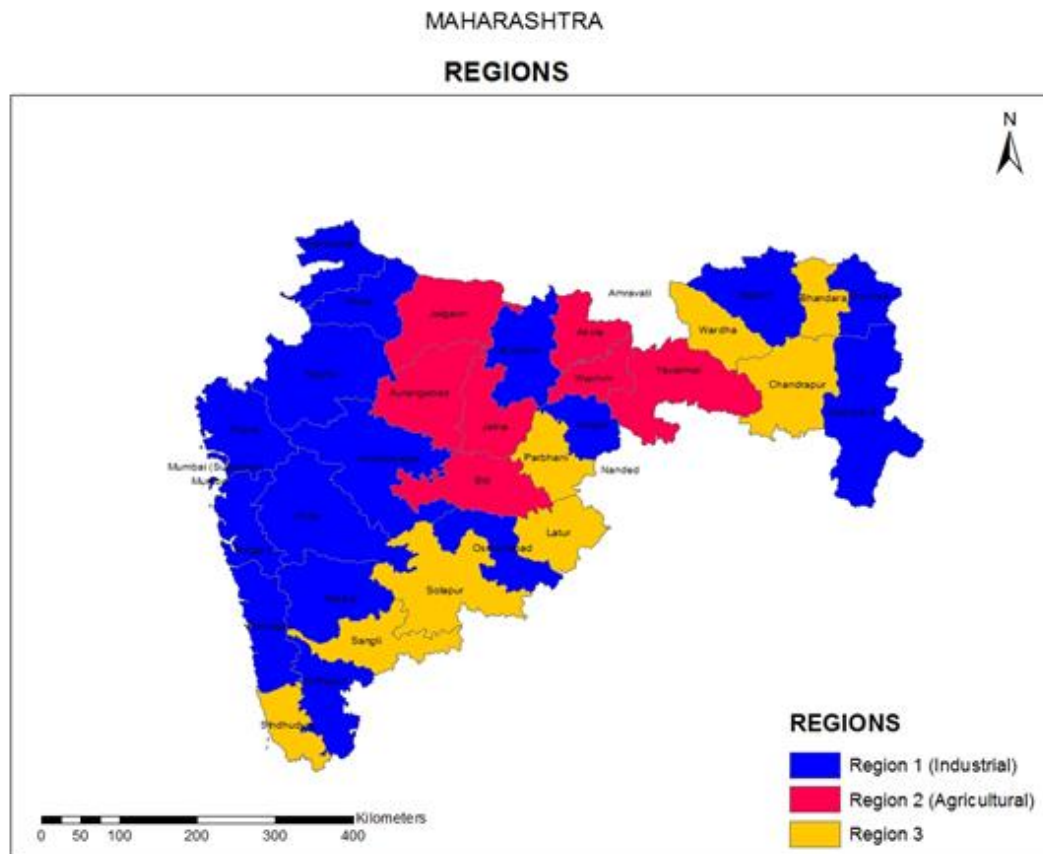






The above maps 12, 13 and 14 compare the percentage of “Nowhere Children” across sexes. ‘Nowhere children’, the term was coined by International Labour Organisation(ILO) to denote children who were neither in schools and nor economically active. It is evident that the percentage of “nowhere children” is disproportionately skewed towards female, who usually work in household industries and their contribution remains unrecognized.

### **Regions**



Three main regions emerge out of the study which is illustrated by map 15. There are predominantly two regions where a higher proportion of working population is attending educational institution this comprises the Konkan, Nashik, Amravati and Nagpur regions. However there is a difference in the type of economic activity that is pursued in these regions. While Konkan and Nashik divisions are industrial belts, Amravati is predominantly agricultural. The third region which comprises the Aurangabad division and parts of Nagpur region shows no clear pattern. It is also a fact that this region is consistently under drought, hence there is no large scale agricultural activity to engage in. Also, this region is characterized by large scale out-migration.

### **Findings and Conclusions**

#### **MAHARASHTRA**

1. Rural areas in Maharashtra, that is, districts with highest Net Sown Area to Total Geographical Area also have the highest proportion of working population attending educational institution.

2. If one considers the Age group wise scenario, adolescent age group (15-19 years) has the highest level of working population attending educational institution, owing to the fact that it is the most productive age group out of the total that is considered (5-19 years).
3. In urban area: percentage of male working population attending educational institution is higher. However, it is same for both sexes in the rural Maharashtra.
4. There is a high positive correlation between the degree of urbanisation and the percentage of working population attending educational institution (15-19 years) in Maharashtra, which shows that urban areas offer greater prospects for part time and informal employment.
5. Similar association between percentage of workers engaged in manufacturing sector and percentage of working population attending educational institution(15-19 years), which goes on to suggest that a large proportion of working population attending educational institutions work mostly in manufacturing units.
6. For marginalized communities the relationship is weak because most of the children are full time workers not attending educational institution.
7. Among those who are working and attending educational institutions -SCs are mainly marginal workers which show their poor socio economic status.
8. In the industrial belt (Konkan and Nagpur Division) there is a preponderance of marginal activity.
9. Districts where agriculture is the mainstay, mostly have main workers; if at all there is marginal activity, it is done by female workers.
10. 'Nowhere children', i.e. neither in schools and nor economically active are disproportionately female who work from home and their contribution remains unrecognized.
11. As children get old there are compelling factors which pull them out of the schooling system. These compelling factors result from "increased opportunity costs" attached to a child's time as he has now become an economically productive asset for his poor family.
12. Age, sex, social group, and Below Poverty Line (BPL) status play a significant role in a child's schooling.
13. It is interesting to note that in rural areas, girls are more likely to be child workers, while in urban areas the likelihood of boys working as child labour is high.

### **INDIA**

1. States like Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand and Assam have the largest percentage of working children.

2. The Percentage of population of 'Nowhere' Children and adolescent population is negatively related to literacy rate, gross state domestic product per capita and work participation rate.
3. Himachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Sikkim have the highest overall '**Percentage of Working children who are attending Educational Institutions**'. States in the North East have relatively higher percentage of children who **combine both work and school**. Apart from that, economically backward states like Jharkhand, Chhatisgarh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttarakhand also have higher percentage of Children and Adolescents who juggle between both work and education on a daily basis.
4. We see that in **Urban areas there are fewer children who combine both work as well as education**. None of the states fall in the highest bracket (of greater than 6 per cent). Thus, in urban areas Children and Adolescents are **either attending educational institutions or working or doing neither**.

#### **'Invisible' Children and Adolescents**

5. The 'invisible' or 'inactive' children and adolescents refer to those who are neither attending educational institutions nor working. They are **effectively out of the working population as well as school and college attending population**. The **state-wise pattern is almost the same for three cases: Overall, Urban and Rural**.
6. Bihar has the largest percentage of 'nowhere' children close to about 30 per cent. It is followed by Uttar Pradesh (26 per cent), Assam (25 per cent), West Bengal (23 per cent). Besides, Odisha, Rajasthan, Jammu and Kashmir, Arunachal Pradesh and Gujarat have greater than 20 per cent Children and Adolescents who are out of both work as well as education.
7. There is no stark variation across places of residence (rural and urban areas). The pattern is more or less consistent. Thus, we cannot really tell if it is primarily an urban or rural phenomenon.

#### **REFERENCES**

- M. Venkatanarayana. "Out-of-School Children: Child Labourers or Educationally Deprived?" *Economic and Political Weekly* 39, no. 38 (2004): 4219-221. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4415553>.
- Rao, K. Hanumantha, and M. Madhusudhana Rao. "Employers' View of Child Labour." *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations* 34, no. 1 (1998): 15-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27767569>.

- Lieten, G. K. "Children, Work and Education - II: Field Work in Two UP Villages." *Economic and Political Weekly* 35, no. 25 (2000): 2171-178. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44094>
- Weiner, Myron. "Can India End Child Labour?" *India International Centre Quarterly* 16, no. 3/4 (1989): 43-50. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23002067>.
- Piush Antony, and V. Gayathri. "Child Labour: A Perspective of Locale and Context." *Economic and Political Weekly* 37, no. 52 (2002): 5186-189. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4413014>.
- Lieten, G. K. "Children, Work and Education-I: General Parameters." *Economic and Political Weekly* 35, no. 24 (2000): 2037-043. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4409389>.
- "Compulsory Schooling." *Economic and Political Weekly* 32, no. 1/2 (1997): 5. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4404948>.
- Weiner, Myron. "Child Labour in India: Putting Compulsory Primary Education on the Political Agenda." *Economic and Political Weekly* 31, no. 45/46 (1996): 3007-014. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4404768>.
- Tripathi, Shilpa. "CHILD LABOUR AND EDUCATION IN INDIA: Promise and Performance." *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 71, no. 2 (2010): 469-80. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42753709>.
- Burra, Neera. "Cultural Stereotypes and Household Behaviour: Girl Child Labour in India." *Economic and Political Weekly* 36, no. 5/6 (2001): 481-88. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4410263>.
- DC, Nanjunda, and Steven Wind. "CHILD LABOUR IN INDIA A Nexus among the State, Education and NGO ?" *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 70, no. 3 (2009): 825-38. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42742764>.
- Lieten, G. K. "Child Labour in India: Disentangling Essence and Solutions." *Economic and Political Weekly* 37, no. 52 (2002): 5190-195. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4413015>.
- C. S. L. "Children without Childhood." *Economic and Political Weekly* 15, no. 23 (1980): 1007. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4368748>.
- Maurya, O. P. "Child Labour in India." *Indian Journal of Industrial Relations* 36, no. 4 (2001): 492-98. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27767746>.
- Kiran Bhatt. "Educational Deprivation in India: A Survey of Field Investigations." *Economic and Political Weekly* 33, no. 27 (1998): 1731-740. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4406962>.

Kiran Bhatta. "Educational Deprivation in India: A Survey of Field Investigations." *Economic and Political Weekly* 33, no. 28 (1998): 1858-869. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4406990>.

National Commission for Protection of Child Rights Report, 2014

Children in Maharashtra: An Atlas on Social Indicator, UNICEF, Planning Department, Government of Maharashtra

Industrial State Profile of Maharashtra 2013-14, MSME, Ministry of MSME, Government of India

Uma S. Kambhampati & Raji Rajan (2008) The 'Nowhere' Children: Patriarchy and the Role of Girls in India's Rural Economy, *The Journal of Development Studies*, 44:9, 1309-1341, DOI: 10.1080/00220380802264978