**Call for input to report on contemporary forms of slavery as affecting persons belonging to ethnic, religious and linguistic minority communities**

1. Is there evidence of minorities being subjected to contemporary forms of slavery (e.g. forced labour, bonded labour, forced/child marriage, descent/caste-based slavery and related practices) in your counry/community? If so, please provide information relating to the profiles of the victims and the nature and extent of their exploitation and abuse. What additional traits and characteristics, including gender, age, sexual orientation and disabilities, have made them more vulnerable?

**Bonded labour** remains widespread across India, affecting a variety of sectors. The issue of bonded labour is not just an economic problem, but is a reflection of caste-based racism with roots in the historic practice of slavery (*das pratha*). A vast majority of individuals trapped in situations of bonded labour are Dalits, of low caste status or indigenous people.[[1]](#footnote-1)

Studies have found that bonded labour is prevalent in the textiles sector in India, where young women in particular are often subjected to forms of modern slavery, including restriction of movement, removal of mobile phones, and withholding wages and other payments, in return for the prospect of a lump sum of money, which may or may not materialize.[[2]](#footnote-2)

Many young Dalit girls and women have been recruited to work in exploitative conditions in the textile industry under the illegal *Sumungali* scheme.[[3]](#footnote-3) A 2021 report by SOMO and Arisa investigated 29 spinning mills in Tamil Nadu, India - which is a major export hub in the global cotton-based textile and garment industry - and uncovered numerous incidents of child and forced labour, excessive overtime, sexual harassment, violence and hostile and threatening working environments. The study also noted that many women had limited awareness of labour rights and trade unions, with less than 20% of workers reporting that there was a trade union at their workplace.[[4]](#footnote-4)

Bonded labour is also reported to be rampant in granite quarries in South India, where advances and loans from quarry owners or contractors, often with interest as high as 48% a year, create a situation of debt bondage and are used to bond workers to the quarry for long periods.[[5]](#footnote-5) Dalits account for 77.3% of granite workers in Tamil Nadu and 87.2% in Karnataka.[[6]](#footnote-6)

**Agricultural labourers** are particularly at risk of exploitative working conditions as caste structures tend to be deeply entrenched in rural areas. According to a 2011 census, nearly 71% of Dalits work as farm labourers, but they own only 9% of cultivable land.[[7]](#footnote-7) In addition, climate-related crop failures and price drops have put significant pressure on agricultural labour. Many landless Dalits occupy a precarious position and end up borrowing money at exorbitant interest rates.[[8]](#footnote-8) India has a high rate of suicide among farm workers. In many cases, deaths have been linked to high levels of farm debt and a lack of financial security.[[9]](#footnote-9) A door-to-door survey carried out by the Punjab Agricultural University revealed that, between 2000 and 2018, 7,303 farm labourers have died by suicide in the State, and that as many as 79% of total suicides by farm labourers were due to high rates of indebtedness. In addition, around 83% of the victims were reported to belong to a Schedule Caste.[[10]](#footnote-10)

**Manual scavenging** is undertaken by an estimated 1.3 million Dalits in India, despite the practice being banned. It is a role traditionally ascribed to Dalit women, who are obligated to empty the dry latrines with their bare hands. The International Dalit Solidarity Network (IDSN) has found that over “98% of those Dalits subjected to manual scavenging are Dalit women”.[[11]](#footnote-11) Since Dalits are considered to be polluted by reason of their birth, the task of removing human and animal waste is allocated to them and strictly enforced. They have to work in filthy and abhorrent conditions, putting them at risk of death from asphyxiation and to illnesses such as cholera, hepatitis, meningitis, skin disorders and cardiovascular diseases due to lack of proper safety equipment.

The government has consistently downplayed the issue of manual scavenging. It does not officially record deaths due to manual scavenging (maintaining an artificial distinction between those involved in “manual scavenging” and the “practice of cleaning septic tanks and sewers”).[[12]](#footnote-12) The government has also denied holding data on the caste background of manual scavengers.[[13]](#footnote-13)

Dalit women and girls may be at risk of additional forms of slavery specifically because of their gender.

The Devadasi / Jogini system continues to enslave girls in a form of **forced marriage and prostitution**. The Devadasi system (which is mostly practised in the southern States of Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu) is a Hindu religious practice which offers young girls in marriage to deities, often because they may be unable to afford the dowry to be paid upon her marriage.[[14]](#footnote-14) Devadasis, who are overwhelmingly taken from the Dalit community, are ritually forced to offer sexual services upon attaining puberty. They are effectively treated as “public property” and trapped in sexual slavery.[[15]](#footnote-15)

1. What types of personal, situational and structural factors push minorities into contemporary forms of slavery in your country/community?

Modern slavery in India, which is upheld by the system of caste inequality, is structural by its very nature. In particular, lack of access to land ownership and to education trap those belonging to Scheduled Castes in a cycle of poverty where they are more vulnerable to the exploitation of their labour.

Social domination in India is heavily based on **land ownership**. Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar (1891-1956), a radical thinker who shaped India’s Constitution and fought for the annihilation of caste in Indian society, identified the monopoly of land as one of the material bases for the caste system. Ambedkar understood land ownership as being about more than just economic power. He saw land as a political asset whose ownership can be linked to individual agency, empowerment and dignity.[[16]](#footnote-16) Land rights are thus a key issue in the fight for emancipation for bonded labourers.

Where land is jointly cultivated by Dalits collectives, illegal land grabs by local government officials may diminish their rights even further. [[17]](#footnote-17) For example, in Punjab, where around 32% of the population are Dalits, local revenue authorities hold land auctions biannually. By law, a certain amount of land is supposed to be allocated to individuals belonging to Scheduled Castes. However, since the 1950s, farmers have abused these laws to acquire land by placing proxy Dalit candidates in the local auctions, who are bribed to hand their land over to landowners (*zamindars*)to farm on.[[18]](#footnote-18) The implementation of land reforms laws intended to redistribute land to Scheduled Castes has been weak, because no government is willing to antagonise landowners from dominant castes.[[19]](#footnote-19)

Since Dalit women have the least amount of power and access to resources, they have limited access to land and no control over it. Due to cultural norms, they do not own land even when it is within their family. When a Dalit woman does own land, she may be branded a witch by neighbours in an attempt to dispossess her of her property. Witch accusations are deployed as a means of terrorizing women through physical and mental brutality which can take extremely violent and inhumane forms, such as lynching, being paraded in public naked, ostracization, and even being burnt alive.[[20]](#footnote-20) Witch accusations also double as a land grabbing tactic. It has been observed that “women are targeted and victimized in witch-hunting by land mafias together with the dominated caste to grab land and settle their interest behind the veil of superstition. By declaring them ‘witches, and forcing them out of the house, or getting them banished from the village, it becomes easy to acquire the victim’s relinquished property. Targeting single women with an aim of usurping property is the primary motive of witch-hunting violence.”[[21]](#footnote-21)

Dr. Ambedkar also laid a great emphasis on **education**, seeing a quality education as a powerful means of achieving an egalitarian society, granting each individual a sense of dignity and breaking the restrictive shackles of discriminatory social practices. Dalits are extremely disadvantaged when it comes to access to education. However, school can also reproduce and reinforce caste hierarchies, leading to higher rates of bullying, exculsion and dropouts among Dalit children.[[22]](#footnote-22) Once excluded, many children may end up pushed into work and - if they are girls - they face a higher risk of early marriage.[[23]](#footnote-23)

Dalit women suffer multiple discrimination at the intersection of caste and **gender**. They are often the target of sexual and physical violence.[[24]](#footnote-24) The nature of violence against Dalit women is accompanied by equally systemic patterns of impunity for the perpetrators. According to Yogita Bhayana of People Against Rapes in India (PARI): “Women of Dalit communities hesitate to report rape cases. No one in the police station listens to them in most cases, even if they dare to lodge an FIR. This police apathy is mostly because of them being from the lower cast.”[[25]](#footnote-25) Dalit women fighting for their rights may be particularly targeted. In 2021, **Nodeep Kaur**, a 25-year-old Dalit labour rights activist was arrested, tortured and sexually assaulted while in police custody, after participating in protests against agricultural reforms.[[26]](#footnote-26)

1. Are there wider political, economic, social, religious and cultural factors making persons belonging to minorities vulnerable to these practices?

Dalits have been subjected to caste-based discrimination and oppression for centuries. Dalits who constitute modern-day Scheduled Castes (a legal designation) are considered according to Hindu scripture to be outside the *Varna* system, which divides people into four unequal and hierarchical social groups. Dalits are often assigned tasks too ritually polluting to merit inclusion within the traditional four-fold Varna system.

Though India is a secular republic, since the formation of the Modi government in 2014, there has been a rise in Hindu nationalism and an increase in the attacks against Dalits and religious minorities.[[27]](#footnote-27) The Bharatiya Janata Party, or BJP, is a right-wing nationalist political party, fixated on the spread of its ideology of Hindutva (Hindu nationalism) through the political process. Hindutva has been characterised as a strain of “cultural nationalism … based on the moral and cultural code preached by the ancient Hindu religious epics like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.”[[28]](#footnote-28)

Hindu nationalism is fixated on the strict maintenance of caste and religious hierarchies, with Indian national identity being framed as an explicitly Hindu brahminical identity. This process involves the projection of imagined wrongs or threats to Hindus onto minority communities, thus creating racist sentiments based upon ethnicity. The “external Muslim Other and the internal Dalit other” are both constructions that are relied upon in order to reaffirm the “a monolithic and hegemonic Hindu national identity”.[[29]](#footnote-29)

Slavery is known to thrive at the conjunction of poverty and prejudice. The climate of renewed religious nationalism fostered by the BJP plays into ancient caste prejudices and encourages societal divides, and is actively undermining efforts to abolish the system of caste-based slavery.

1. What has your government done at the local, national or regional level to protect minorities from being subjected to contemporary forms of slavery in your country? Please share examples.

There is legislation which prohibits contemporary forms of slavery in India. Article 23 of the Indian Constitution forbids the use of forced labour, while debt bondage and forced labour are specifically outlawed under both the 1976 Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act. The Minimum Wages Act of 1948 establishes a minimum wage for specific defined occupations and mandates that anyone working over the ‘normal working day’ be paid overtime.

The Scheduled Castes and the Schedules Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989 (as amended in 2016) also specifically criminalizes the compelling of a member of a Scheduled Caste to perform forced labour, manual scavenging or the disposal of animal or human carcasses. The legal safeguards are extensive; but, in practice, due to weak implementation and a lack of oversight, they mean little. It is reported that those responsible for implementation at a local level, as well as judes, lawyers, and police officers, are often individuals from the dominant castes, who do not prosecute offenders.[[30]](#footnote-30) In addition, factors such as the informality of contracts, minimal wages and the illiteracy of those that sign them enable employers to circumvent existing labour laws binding workers into persistent or repeated debt bondage. The conviction rate in the cases filed under Prevention of Atrocities Act is extremely low. Cases are rarely filed by police officers, and even if filed, charge sheets are often not completed on time. Most of the time prosecutors and judges have little appetite to pursue instances of caste based violence or slavery, and. deliberate seek to delay proceedings.[[31]](#footnote-31)

According to Anti-Slavery International: “*In the late 1970s and early 1980s following the enactment of the 1976 Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, thousands of bonded labourers were identified, released and rehabilitated as a result of action by the state and judiciary. However, since the 1990s the process of identification and release has dramatically slowed and government authorities have downplayed the extent of bonded labour in India and failed to recognise new forms of bonded labour*.”[[32]](#footnote-32)

Whilst victims of bonded labour are legally entitled to compensation, as of April 2019, only one survivor had received the full amount of 180,000 rupees ($2,500).[[33]](#footnote-33) Part of the problem is that survivors are only entitled to claim full compensation once their employer has been convicted, which can take many years. According to the National Adivasi Solidarity Council, “*Officials are more reluctant to process bonded labour cases, because they worry that the increased compensation has led to people making false claim*s.”[[34]](#footnote-34)

**Jagdish Ahirwal**, 32, and his wife were rescued from a situation of bonded labour, but three years later have still not received the compensation they are entitled to. They are waiting for an official “release certificate”, without which officials state that their claims of bondage cannot be verified.[[35]](#footnote-35) Even when received, the financial compensation provided to former labourers is often entirely insufficient as a long term solution. Many former labourers are vulnerable to falling back into working in slave-like conditions because their caste means they struggle to find other work.

The Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation [Act](http://www.egazette.nic.in/WriteReadData/2013/E_35_2013_385.pdf) (2013) prohibits the practice of manual scavenging.[[36]](#footnote-36) However, by the government’s own admission, no employer has ever been prosecuted under the Act, even in the case of a manual scavenger’s death.[[37]](#footnote-37) In 2020, the government also announced that it planned to introduce a bill to strengthen the provisions of this Act, including by mechanizing the process of cleaning sewers and septic tanks, and providing a legal basis for compensation to be provided for fatalities. Legislative reforms to address manual scavenging have tended to place emphasis on technological solutions, while ignoring the fact that the practice of manual scavenging is intrinsically linked to issues of caste.

A study carried out to understand the failures of implementation reported that victims were often pressured and intimidated, including being threatened with job loss, if they were to report their working conditions to a public authority.[[38]](#footnote-38) The study also assessed the effectiveness of the Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers (SRMS) scheme, intended to provide rehabilitation and assistance, including financial resources and re-training and re-education opportunities, to former manual scavengers. It reported that “not a single family whose members have died while cleaning the septic tank or the sewer received their due rights mentioned in the SRMS scheme. Not a single family was rehabilitated in an alternative job, on the contrary; the deceased families have had to start engaging in manual scavenging as there was no alternate job available for their sustenance.”[[39]](#footnote-39)

1. What have non-governmental entities, including businesses and educational institutions, done to provide equal access to decent work and quality education in your country? Please share examples.

To promote and encourage students from the marginalised communities to attend educational institutions, State and regional governments provide ‘reservations’ in schools and colleges to the students belonging to Scheduled Castes (Dalits), Scheduled Tribes (Adivasis) and Backward Communities. There are also scholarships and fellowships available for them. Reservation policies have allowed marginalized castes to gain upward economic mobility, and presence in educational institutions previously considered to be the privilege of upper castes. However, disturbingly, India’s affirmative action programme is now being subjected to a slander campaign, with some Hindutva activists suggesting that it “prohibits” merit and entrenches caste divisions.[[40]](#footnote-40)

Over the years, government spending on education has reduced drastically. With the proliferation of private schools and colleges, those belonging to Dalits, Tribals and other marginalised communities are finding it more difficult to gain access to educational institutions. India’s public spending on education amounted to merely 3.1% of GDP in 2019-20. Whereas India’s national education policy has stated since 1968 that the government should be spending a minimum of 6% of GDP on education.[[41]](#footnote-41) Many public schools remain chronically underfunded, while cuts to the education budget have reduced allocations for scholarships given to students from Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Communities.[[42]](#footnote-42)

1. What has been the role of civil society organisations, faith-based organisations, trade unions, and human rights defenders in protecting minorities from being subjected to contemporary forms of slavery? Please share examples.

Networks of civil society organizations, such as the National Campaign Committee for the Eradication of Bonded Labour (NCCEBL), conduct extensive research to help identify and rehabilitate bonded labourers, including through undertaking litigation on their behalf.[[43]](#footnote-43) For example, the Bonded Labour Liberation Front, founded by the social activist Swami Agnivesh, through direct interventions has managed to secure the release of more than 172,000 Indian workers and has helped with the formation of a number of trade unions for current and former bonded labourers, including the All India Brick Kiln Workers, the Stone Quarry Workers and the Construction Workers.[[44]](#footnote-44) Other NGOs focus their efforts on education and housing programmes for former labourers, including engaging with local governments to acquire land.[[45]](#footnote-45)

In 2018, after 11 labourers died in the process of cleaning septic tanks, an organization seeking to eradicate the practice of manual scavenging, Safai Karmachari Andolan, organized a protest. Families of those who died travelled to protest against the death, the denial of compensation to families and the denial of rehabilitation to manual scavengers. A man from Karauli, a manual scavenger since eight years old who attended the protest, commented: “My mother used to take me along to clean. I don’t earn a salary. I just get one roti for cleaning dry latrines outside houses. I am not even allowed inside the house. This is how it is where I come from.” Another protester noted that “it is the institutionalisation of caste that has resulted in this.”[[46]](#footnote-46) However, in general the collective action of bonded labourers is severely constrained by their working conditions, which include intensely long hours, continuous surveillance, lack of external support, lack of information and/or leadership, isolated work locations and, most importantly, the combination of a lack of legal provisions for unionisation in many industries and sectors and indifference by mainstream trade unions to bonded labour.

The space for activism, particularly for anti-caste and anti-slavery activists, is coming under increasing pressure from the goverment’s criminalization of protests and restrictions on freedom of expression. In recent years, many of India’s prominent anti-caste activists have been arrested without bail. This includes the 83-year-old activist and Jesuit priest **Father Stan Swamy**, who had dedicated his life to the defence of Dalit and Advisi rights, and who died while incarcerated on false terrorism charges.[[47]](#footnote-47) Swamy and many other Dalit and Adivasi rights activists are targeted under India’s Unlawful Activities Prevention Act 1967 (UAPA), ostensibly a “terrorism prevention” law, which has in fact been routinely been employed by the Modi government to detain critics of the government, including those involved in social activism. “Unlawful activity” is vaguely defined under the Act, and the law allows authorities to circumvent constitutional rights of fair trial and the presumption of innocence. In 2018, Maharashtra police arrested five Dalit rights activists Surendra Gadling (a Dalit human rights lawyer), Rona Wilson (Public Relations Secretary of the Committee for the Release of Political Prisoners), Sudhir Dhawale (a Dalit human rights activist), Shoma Sen (a Dalit and women’s rights defender and a member of the national network Women Against Sexual Violence and State Repression), and Mahesh Raut (a land rights activist and convener of the People’s Movement Against Displacement) under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA), allegedly for “inciting caste-based violence”.[[48]](#footnote-48) Two months later, four more well-known activists – Sudha Bharadwaj, Vernon Gonsalves, Arun Ferreira and Varavara Rao – were also arrested.[[49]](#footnote-49)

In addition, many local NGOs are heavily dependent on foreign donors to carry out their activities. With the restrictive amendments in 2020 to the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (FCRA), which prohibit the receipt of foreign funds "for any activities prejudicial to the public interest”, local NGOs are likely to face even more administrative and practical difficulties in their advocacy work.[[50]](#footnote-50)

1. What has been the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on minorities, including the related adopted measures and its social or economic effects with regard to contemporary forms of slavery? What actions has your government taken to protect them?

COVID-19 has had a devastating impact on the lives of Scheduled Castes. Not only are Scheduled Castes, by the nature of their employment in the informal sector, often more susceptible to illness, but deplorable working conditions and social discrimination both increased as a result of the pandemic. Medical language and rhetoric around ‘social distancing’ in many cases had the unintended effect of strengthening the caste prejudices.

Though the government made it legally compulsory for salaries and wages to be paid even during the lockdown period, many labourers in the informal sector did not receive wages or financial support from the government, lost their employment, and were compelled to return home, sometimes covering thousands of miles in order to do so.[[51]](#footnote-51)

During the COVID-19 lockdown, manual scavengers were termed as ‘frontline workers’ and many of them died on their duty but never got due compensation as per the norms. While doctors and other medical workers got the compensation as decided for the front-line workers, sanitation workers rarely received the same compensation.

1. What mechanisms exist in your country to report instances of contemporary forms of slavery as affecting members of minorities? How actively are such mechanisms used by members of minorities and to what extent have they been able to access justice and remedies? What are the main obstacles/challenges in this regard?

Former bonded labourers, manual scavengers and other victims of contemporary forms of slavery are routinely denied access to justice and remedies.

States are responsible for enforcing the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976, and do so through their district magistrates, who are directed to form bonded labour "vigilance committees." The central government is also responsible for ensuring that States enforce the Act through providing funds to the Central Sector Scheme for Rehabilitation of Bonded Labourers.[[52]](#footnote-52) Problematically, however, the Scheme links the release of financial assistance for bonded labourers to a successful conviction of the bonder. Specifically, no request for financial assistance can be made by local government authorities without the release certificate for a rescued bonded labourer being attached, which requires listing the date of the bonder’s conviction. Lack of access to legal aid services and caste prejudices within policing institutions means that criminal proceedings are rarely initiated against employers, few are prosecuted, and an even smaller percentage are convicted.

It is not uncommon for several years to pass before the conclusion of a case, whereas the need for financial assistance is often immediate to avoid the risk of former bonded labourers falling back into an exploitative work situation due to poverty, lack of access to credit, employment and caste-based discrimination.

The Self Employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers (SRMS)[[53]](#footnote-53) provides for the comprehensive rehabilitation of former manual scavengers, including cash assistance, the allocation of land, and vocational training. However, bureaucratic hurdles and long delays in receiving financial compensation are common. In addition, the budget allocation for the SRMS has reduced drastically over the years. Many manual scavengers find that they do not meet the official criteria to be identified as such, and fail to be awarded any compensation as a result. For example, if they are provided with ‘protective gear’, manual scavengers may find that they are placed outside the purview of the Act. However, in practice, the ‘protective gear’ offered may be negligible, does not mitigate against the health effects and illnesses of manual scavenging and does not address the inherent dignity, stigma and humanilation of manual scavenging itself.[[54]](#footnote-54)

1. What recommendations do you wish to propose in order to effectively address these ongoing challenges and protect minorities from contemporary forms of slavery?

* **India must ensure that appropriate rehabilitation packages are made immediately available to ex-bonded labourers, ensuring that all victims and families of victims receive the financial compensation they are entitled to without undue delay and administrative hurdles, and without the requirement for their former employer to be convicted of the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976.** Rehabilitation support should also include the provision of education and vocational training to children of freed bonded labourers and children of the current bonded labourers to ensure that their children do not fall into bondage. Education should be recognised as a fundamental strategy to help children to keep away from exploitative work including bonded labour.
* Anti-terrorism and anti-sedition laws like the UAPA are routinely abused by the government to shut down the space for political dissent and civil society activism, and have been used to persecute anti-slavery and anti-caste activists. Under these laws, the accused often do not have the right to bail, and there is little accountability over the investigation and trial process. **The Human Rights Council should scrutinize the use of laws such as the UAPA and the FCRA, taking note of cases where such laws are used to intimidate and restrict the capacity of civil society organizations, and India should be encouraged to repeal these laws.**
* **The United Nations should establish strong partnerships with the affected communities and civil society**, use its convening role to create space for free, informed and empowered participation of the affected communities without fear of reprisal, including a strengthening of focus on the protection of human rights defenders
* **Employers who engage in modern slavery practices must be held accountable.** Local enforcement authorities and the police must lodge FIRs on time, invoking appropriate sections of the Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act (2013) and The Scheduled Castes and the Schedules Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989.
* Land reform is the most essential and fundamental step to get rid of caste oppression. **The State should instruct local authorities to identify and prosecute those responsible for illegal land grabs seeking to dispossess Scheduled Castes of their land without their free, prior and informed consent.** Where land belonging to Scheduled Castes have been transferred to others through acts of forgery, the stolen land should be returned immediately.
* A **decentralised, bottom-up policy approach to eradicating contemporary forms of slavery in policy-making** must be encouraged at all levels (regional, national and international). It is crucial that all stakeholders, and especially the people from Scheduled Caste communities, are consulted in policy processes from formulation to execution. Furthermore, policy approaches must adopt a **gender-based approach, acknowledging the multifaceted forms of discrimination that Dalit women face and the enhanced risks of being exposed to slave-like practices in areas such as manual scavenging and forced prostitution.**
* Discrimination based on descent is deeply embedded in centuries-old beliefs and practices. The media, religious, educational and cultural institutions, and civil society institutions, together with United Nations entities, can contribute to correcting the spread of negative images and perceptions of Scheduled Caste communities. Programmes to combat caste-based discrimination and negative caste stereotypes, including through the media, educational systems, and public outreach, must be integrated into strategies to end modern slavery.

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2. https://www.globalslaveryindex.org/2018/findings/country-studies/india/;

   *Flawed Fabrics: The abuse of girls and women workers in the South Indian textile industry*, Theuws, M & Overeem,, Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations and India Committee of the Netherlands (2014), available at: http://www.indianet.nl/pdf/FlawedFabrics.pdf. [20 December 2017]. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Sumangali in Tamil is “a happily married woman”. The employers used this term and scheme to attract young girls and women from vulnerable families under false pretences, such as being promised money to pay for their wedding, jewellery and so on after three years of work. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. <https://arisa.nl/wp-content/uploads/SpinningAroundWorkersRights.pdf> [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. *The Dark Sites of Granite,* Glocal Research, India Committee of the Netherlands (ICN) & Stop Child Labour, India Committee of the Netherlands (2017), p. 28, available at: http://www.indianet.nl/pdf/pb170823e.pdf. [5 October 2017]. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
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8. https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/indian-farmers-are-staring-suicide-modi-government-looks-other-way/ [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
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12. https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/no-manual-scavenging-deaths-in-last-five-years-govt-tells-house/articleshow/84874821.cms [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
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