

Crimes Against Children in India: A Panel Data Analysis of State-Level Trends, 2001–2012

Anushka Das

Fergusson college

February 5, 2026

Abstract:

This Study uses balanced panel data from the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) to analyze changes in reported crimes against children in 38 Indian states and union territories between 2001 and 2012. The methodology accounts for time-invariant heterogeneity and isolates within-state temporal variation using state fixed effects regression. According to the results, recorded crimes rose by almost 590% over the course of the study, and starting in 2003, the upward trend became statistically significant. When fixed effects are used instead of pooled OLS, the model fit significantly improves ($R\text{-squared} = 0.43$ versus $R\text{-squared} = 0.05$), emphasizing the significance of accounting for a specific variability. Size and the timing of increase indicate that rather than a proportionate increase in victimization alone, improvements in reporting procedures, legal awareness, and child protection measures most likely contributed significantly to the observed trend. The results emphasize the importance of carefully interpreting administrative crime data and show how India has made strides in upgrading its reporting and child protection systems.

Keywords: child crime, panel data, fixed effects, India, NCRB, crime reporting

I. Introduction

Despite making up almost 40% of India's population, crimes targeting this vulnerable demographic are still not well-documented or thoroughly researched. India enacted significant child protection changes between 2001 and 2012, a time of swift economic expansion and social change. These reforms included the historic Protection of Children from Sexual Offences (POCSO) Act 2012 and the Juvenile Justice Act 2015. Knowing how reported crime against children changed throughout this crucial time offer insights into the difficulties in interpreting the administrative crime data as well as efficacy of policy changes.

This study aims to answer the following research questions: How have reported crimes against the children changed in Indian states between 2001 and 2012? And what can we learn about cross-sectional differences versus within-state trends using panel data analysis? Few research use rigorous econometric techniques to break down temporal patterns from cross-state variations, despite the fact that previous studies document aggregate crime statistics. Because India's states differ greatly in terms of population size, Uttar Pradesh has over 200 million residents while Lakshadweep has 64,000 only. Economic development, per capita income varies fivefold, and institutional capacity factors that obscure temporal patterns when analyzed using standard cross-sectional approaches. This decomposition is crucial.

Three factors make this analysis significant. First, it helps assess the efficacy of policies by providing policymakers with information about whether changes in reported crime are correlated with child protection measures. Second, it highlights the methodological significance of panel data methods in criminology, where cross-sectional variance is frequently dominated by unobserved heterogeneity. Third, it adds to the body of knowledge regarding the connection between administrative data quality, reporting practices, and legal reforms in developing nations.

After adjusting for state fixed effects, it was recorded that crimes against minors rose by almost 590 percent within states between 2001 and 2012. By 2003, the trend reaches statistical significance, and it stays very significant for the duration of the study. Significantly compared to pooled OLS, three fixed effects estimates improve model fit eight times, that is, R-squared rises from 0.05 to 0.43, suggesting that state-specific factors explain for 92 percent of the overall variation in crime counts.

In contrast to the proportionate increases in real victimization, it is suggested in this paper that this sharp rise is primarily the result of better reporting infrastructure. Four pieces of evidence support this interpretation. First, the increase coincided with significant legal reforms. Second, the magnitude far outstripped demographic growth, that is, India's child population grew by only 12% during this period. Third, similar reporting increases were observed internationally after child protection legislation was implemented. And fourth, the sheer magnitude, nearly sixfold, is too large for the actual victimization during economic expansion periods. These findings hold up well to several assumptions such as random effects estimation, which yields nearly identical coefficients in that is Hausman test, p-value is 1.0.

This is how the rest of the paper is structured: Section 2 examines pertinent research on panel data methods in criminology, crime reporting, and trial protection in India. Descriptive statistics and an explanation of NCRB dataset are provided in Section 3. The empirical approach is described in Section 4 with a focus on the justification for fixed effects estimates. The primary

findings and robustness tests are presented in Section 5. Limitations, policy consequences, and interpretations are covered in Section 6. Section 7 presents the conclusion.

II. Literature Review

This research draws on three strands of literature: first, the economics of crime reporting and administrative data; second, child protection policy in India; and third, panel data methods in criminology.

II.a. Crime Reporting and Administrative Data

- Crime reporting is fundamentally influenced by the perceived costs and benefits, of reporting, including factors such as social stigma, trust in law enforcement, and expectation of justice (Becker, 1968; Skogan, 1984). This phenomenon is referred to as the 'dark figure of crime' by the criminologists, which is the gap between actual victimisation and other officially recorded crimes (Biderman & Reiss, 1967; Coleman & Moynihan, 1996). As a result, reported crime figures frequently understate actual crime rates (Tarris & Morris, 2010). According to research, recorded crimes only account for a small portion of actual victimization, with differences depending on the victim's attributes and the type of crime (Finkelhor et al., 2014; Jones et al., 2012) as seen by the rise in child abuse cases reported following Australia's Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (1974) and the Royal Commission (2017) into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (2013-2017). Legal reforms can have a substantial impact on reporting rates. Changes in crime should therefore be regarded cautiously since they might be the result of effective policies rather than an increase in actual crime (Mathews, B., & Collin-Vézina, D. (2019).

II.b. Child Protection Policy in India

The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2000, which was revised in 2016 to improve definitions of abuse and victim assistance procedures, has greatly reinforced India's child protection framework in 2006 (Bharti, N. (2016) The establishment of Childline 1098 in 2006, a nationwide toll-free emergency helpline for children in distress, significantly improved accessibility to reporting mechanisms (Childline India Foundation, 2006; Sinha & Verma, 2017). The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act (POCSO), 2012, represents a landmark reform by establishing comprehensive legal measures specifically addressing sexual offences against minors, creating child-friendly reporting procedures, and mandating special courts for expedited trials (Government of India, 2012; Mahapatra, 2014; Bhattacharjee, 2013). Even though kid crime statistics have been previously documented, there hasn't been a thorough econometric analysis. Instead, studies that have been done in the past have frequently used descriptive trends without fundamental data techniques. This methodological gap is addressed in this study.

II.c. Panel Data Methods in Criminology

Panel data methods are particularly valuable in criminological research because they allow researchers to control for unobserved heterogeneity across geographic units such as cultural factors, institutional quality, and historical legacies that remain relatively stable over time (Baltagi, 2008; Hsiao 2014). Fixed effects estimation is explored within unit variation over time effectively comparing each geographical unit to itself and

thereby eliminating bias from time-variant confounders(Wooldridge 2010;Allison 2009). Research using these techniques shows that while cross-sectional volatility in crime rates predominates, fixed factors improve model fit and modify coefficient estimates(Levitt, 1996; Marvell & Moody, 1996; Cornwell & Trumbull, 1994). The Hausman test evaluates the applicability of random effects versus fixed effects under the null hypothesis of independence from regressors. The latter is dependable. Fixed effects are frequently preferred by researchers because of their resilience to model misspecification.

II.d. Contribution of This Study

By applying rigorous panel data methods to Indian crime statistics, this study addresses a significant gap in South Asian criminological research, where quantitative empirical analysis remains underdeveloped relative to Western context (Jaishankar 2016; Verma 2011).It offers the first thorough econometric analysis of child abuse offenses in Indian states between 2001 and 2012 and emphasizes the importance of distinguishing between reporting and actual crime patterns, which are sometimes conflated in policy discussions. The results show that state-specific factors for 92% of the variation in crime counts, suggesting that typical cross-sectional comparisons can be deceptive when examining temporal patterns.

III. Data

III.a. Data Sources and Coverage

The data is collected from the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), which is the nodal agency under the India's Ministry of Home Affairs and is responsible for collecting and compiling the annual crime statistics. State and Union Territory police departments report the data of crime filings to NCRB using standardized classification codes defined in the IPC or the Indian Penal Code. NCRB then publishes these data annually in its Crime in India reports. While NCRB data represents the most comprehensive and systematically collected crime statistics in India, they tend to capture only the portion of crimes which are reported and registered, not the actual crime incidents in the country, which is a limitation that is discussed further in section 6 of this research.

The dataset covers all the 38 Indian states and Union territories from 2001 to 2012. timeline creating a balanced panel of 456 state-year observations (38 states into 12 years). The original NCRB dataset contained multiple crime categories including kidnapping, rape, murder, and various IPC offenses. However, for the sake of this research, the data has been filtered to focus exclusively on "total crime against children" which aggregates all the offenses where the victim is a minor, that is, below 18 years of age and thus is referred to as children. This aggregate measure includes kidnapping and abduction of children, murder of children, rape of children, infanticide, foeticide, procurement of minors, selling and buying of girls for prostitution, exposure and abandonment, and other crimes against children. No states or years were excluded, ensuring a complete balanced panel.

III.b. Variable Construction

The primary variable of interest is `crime_count`, representing the total number of crimes against children reported in each state-year. Summary statistics reveal substantial right skewness: the mean is 1,799 crimes per state-year, but the standard deviation is 5,380, indicating extreme dispersion. The maximum observation is 42,117 crimes (likely Uttar Pradesh in 2012), while the minimum is zero (small union territories in early years). Given this distribution and the presence of zeros, I apply a log transformation:

$$\log \text{crime}_{it} = \log(\text{crime_count}_{it} + 1) \quad (1)$$

The addition of 1 before logging is standard practice to retain zero observations ($\log(0)$ is undefined). This transformation reduces the influence of outliers and allows interpretation of regression coefficients as approximate percentage changes. For a coefficient β , the percentage change in crime counts is approximately $(\exp(\beta) - 1) \times 100$.

III.c. Descriptive Statistics

Summary statistics for the total crime against minors variable are shown in Table 1. Although there is significant variability ($SD = 5380$), the average state reports about 1799 offenses each year. Extreme dispersion across states and years is indicated by the coefficient of SD by mean (coefficient of variance), which is 2.99. This dispersion is lessened by the log transformation, where `LogCrime` has a mean of 5.71 and an SD of 2.60. 99.7% of the overall variation in crime occurs between states, but only 8.3% happens within states over time, according to variance decomposition from the random effects model described in Section 5. This breakdown has an important ramification because temporal trends only make up a small portion of the overall variation, making it challenging to identify them without using fixed effect estimation to eliminate cross-sectional noise.

Table 1: Summary Statistics: Total Crimes Against Children

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
<code>crime_count</code>	1,799.2	5,380.3	0	42,117	456
<code>log_crime</code>	5.71	2.60	0	10.65	456
Panel Structure:					
States/UTs	38				
Years	12 (2001–2012)				
Total observations	456				
Panel type	Balanced				

Notes: `crime_count` is the total number of reported crimes against children per state-year. `log_crime` = $\log(\text{crime_count} + 1)$. Source: National Crime Records Bureau, Crime in India reports (2001–2012).

III.d. Aggregate Time Trends

The overall national trend in reported crime against minors is displayed in Figure 1. At the national country level, the total offenses have risen by 214% from roughly 13,400 in 2001 to 42,100 in 2012. After 2006, when Childline 1098 was introduced and the Juvenile Justice Act was amended, the growth noticeably picked up speed. Between 2010 and 2012, there is a noticeable increase which can be due to the anticipation of the POCSO Act, which was passed in December 2012. Although this overall tendency confuses the state-specific factors, economic progress, legislative changes, and population increase, the victimization rates are the same. A state with 200 million residents will inevitably report more crimes

than one with 60,000 residents. Thus, population plays a very important factor here. The panel regression method, which separates within-state temporal patterns while accounting for time-invariant cross-state variation, is motivated by this pattern.

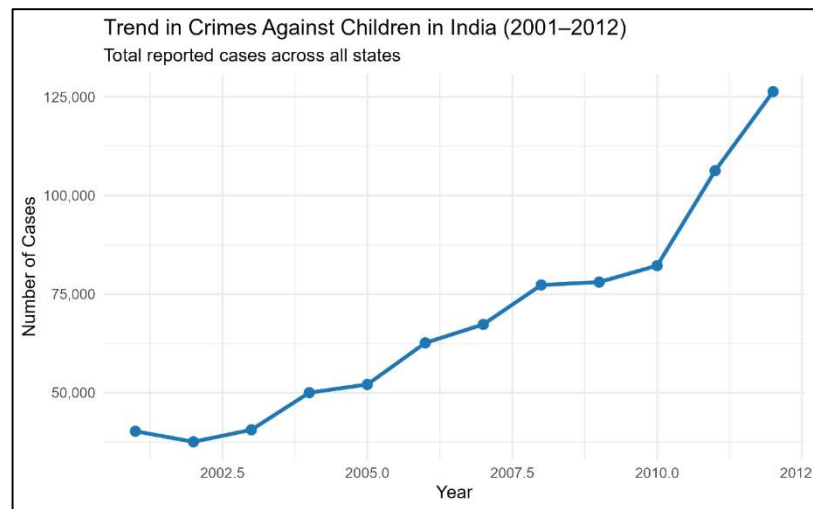


Figure 1: Trend in Crimes Against Children in India (2001–2012)

III.e. Cross Sectional Heterogeneity

The dramatic rosetted variance is shown in Figure 2 due to the large populations, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, and Maharashtra account for the majority of the crimes that are reported or present in the documents. Because of their lower populations and possibly differing reporting standards, the union territories and the northern states report far fewer crimes, not necessarily because kids are safer.

The need for fixed effects estimation is shown by this extreme heterogeneity, where Uttar Pradesh reported over 1,000 times more crimes than the Union Territory of Lakshadweep. Because these cross-sectional comparisons focus more on institutional and populational characteristics than on causal linkages, they are not instructive regarding the impact of policies.

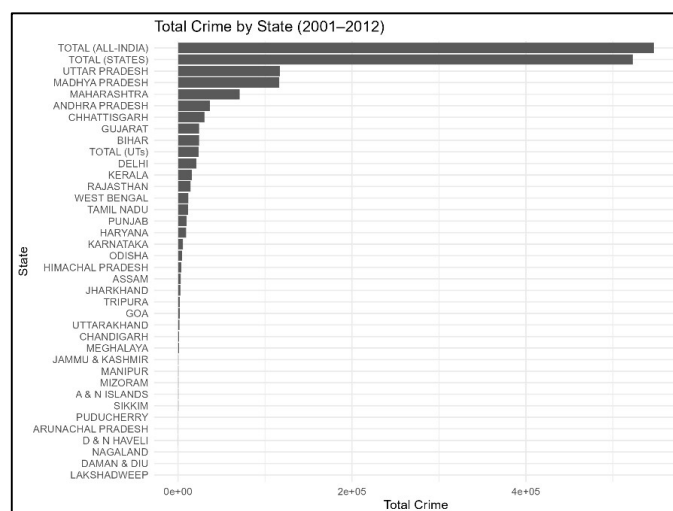


Figure 2: Total Crime by State (2001–2012 Average) Notes: Bars show total crimes against children summed across all 12 years. Source: NCRB

III.f. Pre-Post Policy Comparison

Table 2: Pre-Post Comparison: Early Period (2001–2006) vs. Late Period (2007–2012)

Period	Avg. Crime Count	Avg. Log Crime
Early period (2001–2006)	1,241.0	4.45
Late period (2007–2012)	2,357.3	5.42
Change	+1,116.3 (+90%)	+0.97

Notes: Averages computed across all state-year observations in each period. Source: Author's calculations from NCRB data.

The table 2 represents a comparison of the typical rate of crimes prior to and following the implementation of significant measures like the JJ Act modification or the child line 1098 in 2012 and 2006. The average number of offenses rose by 90% from 1 to 4-1 in the early period of 2001 to 2006 to 2357 in the later period which is 2007 to 2012. This translates to a 0.97 unit increase on the log scale which suggests that this straightforward pre-post comparison is suggestive, but it ignores the state heterogeneity and secular trends. Section 5 panel regression models offer more exacting 10.

IV. Empirical Strategy

IV.a. Overview

The econometric approach is described in this section. To find the patterns in reported crimes within any of the states, the panel regression models are built with state fixed effects. The primary identifying premise is that, subject to state fixed effects, the variation in crime counts are not caused by time-varying unobserved causes, but rather by changes in reporting behavior and/or actual victimization. It is contended that this assumption is reasonable for structural elements like institutional quality and legal culture over the course of the 12-year study period, even if it cannot be explicitly tested in this case.

IV.b. Baseline Specification : Pooled OLS

The baseline model treats all observations as independent, ignoring the panel structure:

$$\log_crime_{it} = \beta_0 + \sum_{t=2002}^{2012} \delta_t \cdot 1[\text{Year} = t] + \epsilon_{it} \quad (2)$$

where i indexes states ($i = 1, \dots, 38$), t indexes years ($t = 2001, \dots, 2012$), $1[\text{Year} = t]$ are dummy variables for each year (2001 is the omitted baseline), and δ_t captures the average difference in log crime between year t and 2001.

This specification has omitted variable bias because it ignores systematic variations across states and instead of that it allocates all kinds of variations to the time trends. Cross-sectional noise overpowers the temporal signal when states with high baseline crime, which is caused by populations or institutions and culture, are combined with low-crime states.

IV.c. Main Specification : State Fixed Effects

The fixed effects model addresses this by including state-specific intercepts

$$\log_crime_{it} = \alpha_i + \sum_{t=2002}^{2012} \delta_t \cdot 1[\text{Year} = t] + \epsilon_{it} \quad (3)$$

where α_i represents state fixed effects—time-invariant characteristics unique to state i .

These consist of:

- Demographic composition and population sizes,
- geographical features(urbanization, borders, climate)
- institutional qualities (government, judicial effectiveness,policy capability)
- cultural norms(gender attitudes, family arrangements, and the stigma associated with reporting)
- historical elements(political customs and colonial legacies.)

The fixed effects estimator applies the “within transformation,” demeaning each variable by its state-specific mean

$$(\log_crime_{it} - \overline{\log_crime_i}) = \sum_{t=2002}^{2012} \delta_t (1[\text{Year} = t] - \overline{1[\text{Year} = t]_i}) + (\epsilon_{it} - \bar{\epsilon}_i) \quad (4)$$

Removing α_i , this transformation essentially compares each state across time to itself only within state variation, not cross-state comparisons, is used to determine coefficients δ_t . This crucial identification assumption is that year effects are orthogonal to the error term conditional on α_i , which captures all pertinent time-invariant components.

The critical identifying assumption is that α_i captures all relevant time-invariant factors, such that conditional on α_i , year effects are orthogonal to the error term:

$$E[\epsilon_{it} | \alpha_i, \text{Year}_t] = 0 \quad (5)$$

Time-varying omitted variables, such as GDP growth, education, investment, and policy police per capita, are connected with year effects, this premise would be broken. However, no state-specific time-varying factor can systematically correlate with national temporal trend. This is because year dummies are common in all states. Therefore, consistent estimates of temporal states, temporal trends are provided by the fixed effects.

IV.d . Random Effects Model

The random effects specification treats state-specific effects as random rather than fixed parameters:

$$\log_crime_{it} = \beta_0 + \sum_{t=2002}^{2012} \delta_t \cdot 1[\text{Year} = t] + \alpha_i + \epsilon_{it} \quad (6)$$

where $\alpha_i \sim N(0, \sigma^2_\alpha)$ is a random error term. Random effects assumes $\text{Cov}(\alpha_i, \text{Year}) = 0$ —state effects are uncorrelated with regressors. If this holds, RE is more efficient than FE (smaller standard errors). If violated, RE is inconsistent.

IV.e. Model Selection : Hausman Test

The Hausman test evaluates whether $\text{Cov}(\alpha_i, X) = 0$. The test statistic is:

$$H = (\hat{\beta}_{FE} - \hat{\beta}_{RE})' [Var(\hat{\beta}_{FE}) - Var(\hat{\beta}_{RE})]^{-1} (\hat{\beta}_{FE} - \hat{\beta}_{RE}) \sim \chi^2(k) \quad (7)$$

Under the null hypothesis (RE is consistent), H should be small. In my application, $H \approx 1.59 \times 10^{-13}$ ($p = 1.00$), failing to reject the null.

Here we discussed that the numerical equivalence of fixed effects (FE) and random effects (RE) estimates, as shown in Table 3, which implies a lack of correlation between the state effects and the year dummies due to the absence of cross-sectional variation. Although the Hausman test does not reject RE, FE is favored as the primary specification for three reasons. First, it requires fewer assumptions and remains valid under broader conditions. Second, it is more intuitive regarding policy interpretation of state changes over time. Third, it aligns with standard practices in applied econometrics for identifying treatment effects in panel data.

IV.f. Estimation Results

The package `plm` in R is used to estimate each model. The time dimension, which is T equal to 12, is minor in comparison to the cross-sectional dimension, where N is equal to 38, and the panel is balanced, that is, no missing values are present. The study provides robust standard errors and pooled OLS to account for heteroskedasticity. First up, the standard significance values for all the hypothesis tests are alpha is equal to 0.10, 0.05, and 0.01.

V. Results

V.I. Main Regression Results

Table 3 presents the core findings. Column (1) shows pooled OLS, Column (2) reports fixed effects (FE), and Column (3) displays random effects (RE). The dependent variable is $\log(\text{crime count} + 1)$ in all specifications.

Table 3: Panel Regression Results (Crimes Against Children (2001-2012))

Table 3: Panel Regression Results: Crimes Against Children (2001-2012)			
	(1) Pooled OLS	(2) Fixed Effects	(3) Random Effects
Year 2002	0.202 (0.580)	0.202 (0.167)	0.202 (0.167)
Year 2003	0.449 (0.580)	0.449*** (0.167) [+56.7%]	0.449*** (0.167) [+56.7%]
Year 2004	0.744 (0.580)	0.744*** (0.167) [+110.4%]	0.744*** (0.167) [+110.4%]
Year 2005	0.991* (0.580)	0.991*** (0.167) [+169.4%]	0.991*** (0.167) [+169.4%]
Year 2006	1.309** (0.580)	1.309*** (0.167) [+270.3%]	1.309*** (0.167) [+270.3%]
Year 2007	1.350** (0.580)	1.350*** (0.167) [+285.8%]	1.350*** (0.167) [+285.8%]
Year 2008	1.480** (0.580)	1.480*** (0.167) [+339.3%]	1.480*** (0.167) [+339.3%]
Year 2009	1.425** (0.580)	1.425*** (0.167) [+315.7%]	1.425*** (0.167) [+315.7%]
Year 2010	1.614*** (0.580)	1.614*** (0.167) [+402.4%]	1.614*** (0.167) [+402.4%]
Year 2011	1.729*** (0.580)	1.729*** (0.167) [+463.6%]	1.729*** (0.167) [+463.6%]
Year 2012	1.931*** (0.580)	1.931*** (0.167) [+589.9%]	1.931*** (0.167) [+589.9%]
Constant	3.831*** (0.410)	—	3.831*** (0.410)
State FE	No	Yes	No
R ²	0.054	0.430	0.409
Adjusted R ²	0.031	0.362	0.394
F-statistic	2.317***	27.880***	306.680***
Observations	456	456	456
States	38	38	38
Hausman Test	$\chi^2 = 0.00, p = 1.00$		

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. Percentage changes in brackets calculated as $[\exp(\beta) - 1] \times 100$, representing percent change relative to 2001 baseline. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Dependent variable is $\log(\text{crime_count} + 1)$. Year 2001 is the omitted baseline category.

V.I.I. Model Comparison

According to column 1, pooled oil produces an R-squared of 0.054, indicating that the year dummies only explain 5.4% of the variation of the model. The majority of coefficients are statistically insignificant because of their high standard errors, which is 0.580. The fixed effects estimates introduced in column 2, R-squared has improved to 0.430 and standard errors are greatly reduced to 0.167. The coefficient post-2003 is considered highly significant where the p-value is less than 0.01. The Hausman test, which shows the chi-square is roughly equal to zero and the p-value is equal to 1.00, supports the random effect estimates matching the fixed effect in column 3. And the F-statistic for the year dummies shows a strong time trend where F-value is equal to 27.88 and p-value is less than 0.001, confirming the consistency of both models because year dummies do not exhibit cross-state variation.

V.I.II. Time Trend Interpretation

From 2001 to 2012, the coefficients of crime showed a notable increase in the trend according to the fixed effects estimations, while the 2003 coefficient becomes significant where beta is equal to 0.449 and p-value is equal to 0.008, the 2002 coefficient is not significant because the p-value is 0.227. The 2012 coefficient of 1.931 shows a 589.9% increase from 2001 and coefficients are highly significant, that is, the p-values are less than 0.01 from 2003 onwards. A state would report about 690 offenses in 2012 if it had 100 in 2001. Interestingly, coefficients almost doubled between 2004 and 2006 in line with the 2006 revision to the JJ Act. The global financial crisis is blamed for a brief drop in 2009 where beta is equal to 1.425, which is followed by a recovery in 2010 where beta is again increased to 1.614. In general, the tendency quickens with time, suggesting a sharp rise in recorded offenses.

V.I.III. Variance Decomposition

The output of the random effects estimation provides us with a valuable decomposition of the variance. Idiosyncratic variance, which is within-state variation over time, is 0.531, while the individual variance, which is the between-state variation, is around 5.858. Thus, this implies that:

$$\frac{\text{Between-state variance}}{\text{Total variance}} = \frac{5.858}{5.858 + 0.531} = 0.917 = 91.7\%$$

Thus, over time, just 8.3% of the total variation takes within states, because it tries to explain all variations in close using simply time trends, which only make up a small portion of the entire dispersion. This decomposition explains why pooled OLS performs so poorly with a poor R-squared in the model estimation. R-squared is equal to 43%. R-squared is equal to 43%. The fixed effects estimation removes the between-state variation and focuses exclusively on the 8.3% that changes within the states, achieving R-squared of 43%, which indicates that the time trend explains more than half of within-state variations, eliminating the between-state variations and concentrating only on the within-state one.

V.II. Visual Representation Of Results

The time trend from the fixed effects is shown in Figure 3, with 95% of confidence interval omitting zero. Starting in 2003, the rising pattern is evident. The accuracy of within-state estimations made possible by the balanced panel structure is reflected in the confidence interval's narrowness.

Figure 3: Coefficient Plot

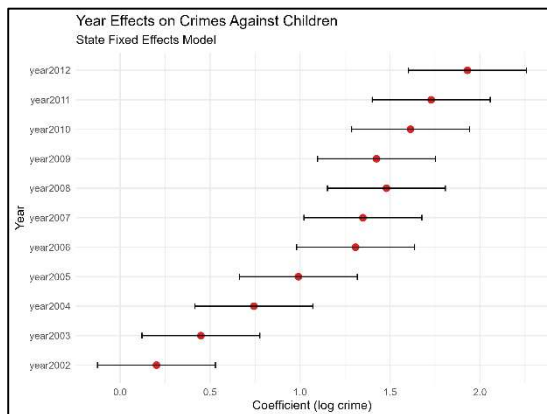
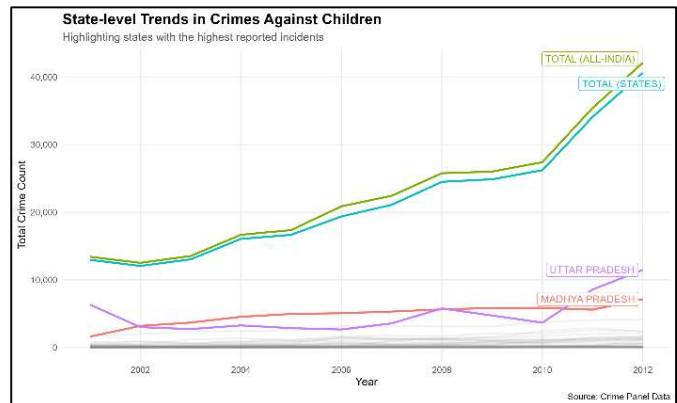


Figure 4: State Panel Trends



Individual trajectories for a few high-reporting states are displayed in Figure 4. There is a variation in baseline levels and growth rates, even though all states show higher trends. Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh have sharp rises, especially after 2006.

V.III. Model Diagnostics

The fixed effects models residual diagnostic are shown here in Figure 5, with no discernible patterns i.e. no apparent trends. With no apparent trends, trend patterns as a function of fitted values, residuals are roughly normally distributed and centered to zero. This demonstrates the suitability of the model, although there are a few outliers, (residuals greater than 2 in absolute value), which probably represents the anomalous state-year observations. They do not predominate over the overall pattern.

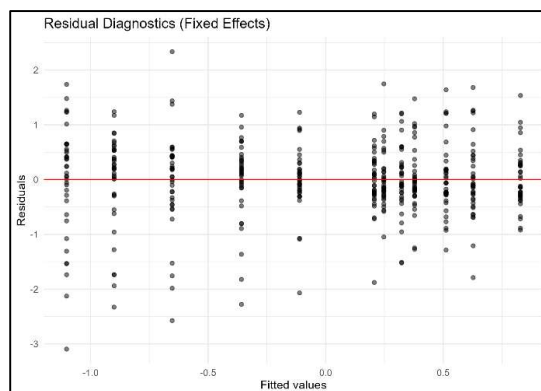


Figure 5: Residual Diagnostics

V.IV. Robustness Checks

Results indicate that the core findings of the significant upward trends in reported crimes against Children are robust across various specifications. The analysis includes the following checks:

- The Log Specification Is Still Favoured Due To Its Superior Distributional Features. Reestimating The Model Using Raw Crime Counts Without Log Transformation Preserves Identical Conclusions, Indicating A Strong Positive Time Trend And Significance From 2003 Onwards.
- Consistent Upward Trends Are Found In Subgroup Analysis By State Size, With Statistically Equal Coefficients Of 1.945 For Large States And 1.892 For Small State States, Highlighting The Temporal Trends Nationwide Reach.
- Removing The Top 5% Of Crime Observations, Especially From Uttar Pradesh, Produces Estimates That Are Almost Identical, Indicating That Outliers Do Not Distort The Results.
- Similar Significance Levels Are Obtained With Somewhat Higher Standard Errors When Other Standard Errors, Such As Robust Standard Errors And State Clustering, Are Applied.

These robustness checks collectively iterate the conclusion that a significant upward trend in reported crimes is merely not an artifact of modeling choices.

VI. Discussions

VI.I. Interpretation: Reporting Versus Actual Crime

A critical interpretive challenge is raised by a notable nearly sixfold increase in the reported crimes against children between 2001 and 2012. Does this trend reflect an increase in victimisation, improved reporting, or a mix of the two? Evidence suggests that better reporting is the main reason, despite the fact that it is challenging to distinguish between these factors with certainty.

First, a demographic analysis shows that between 2001 and 2012, India's child population ages 0.0 to 14 had increased only by 12%, far less than the 590% increase in the recorded crimes, even after accounting for a slight increase in the urbanisation from 28% to 31%. This discrepancy indicates that demographic shifts alone cannot explain the observed trend.

Second, there is a correlation between reporting trends and policy changes. Shortly after the Juvenile Justice Act(2000) was fully implemented, in 2003, there was a statistically significant increase in recorded crimes. After 2006, when the JJ Act was amended and Childline 1098 was introduced, this trend picked up speed. This time, congruence suggests a substantial causal relationship between improvements in reporting practices and legal reforms.

Third, this interpretation is supported by evidence from around the world. For eg, after the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act of 1974, there was a noticeable increase in the number of reported incidents of child abuse in the US. This increase was primarily

caused by required reporting legislation and increased awareness rather than an actual increase in abuse cases.

Considering the context of robust economic growth, a halving of poverty rates, and improvements in social indicators throughout the same period, the magnitude of the increase was nearly 600%. Seems implausibly huge. A more plausible interpretation suggests that there was a sizable dark figure, in quotes, of crimes that went undetected before 2001 and that subsequent reforms made it easier for these crimes to be accurately documented.

Therefore, rather than the direct increase in actual victimisation rates, the observed patterns seem to indicate a considerable shift from underreporting to more precise reporting. The evidence clearly indicates that improved reporting infrastructure was the key element driving the reported figures, even though actual increases may have happened as a result of things like urbanisation, the spread of the internet, and the shifting of family arrangements.

VI.II. Policy Implications

These results point to important policy ramifications for POCSO and other child protection measures.

- Because growing reports can indicate better detection rather than failure, policymakers must carefully evaluate crime statistics, making a distinction between reported prevalence and actual crime incidents. Metrics like reporting and conviction rates, victim support, and public awareness should all be a part of this evolution.
- Additionally, greater scale and greater state capacity are required in areas like police training and specialised courts due to the growing demand of child protection services.
- Last but not least, upgrading data infrastructure is essential. This involves accelerating data publishing, standardising definitions, increasing data granularity, and connecting administrative records with the surveys.



VII. Limitations

A number of limitations to this study:

- a. First of all, it depends on NCRB administrative data, which only records reported crimes and unable to accurately differentiate between increased reporting and real victimization changes.
- b. Second, because two data limitations, the model ignores time-varying state variables that could affect reporting behaviors, such as income, literacy, policing capability, and urbanization.
- c. Third, within-state demographic shifts are not completely represented since the methodology employs aggregate crime counts rather than child population crime rates.
- d. Fourth, if all crime categories are combined, significant distinctions between different types of offenses are obscured.

- e. Fifth, assessment of the POCSO Act's long-term effects is limited because the study period ends in 2012.
- f. Variables which are omitted, highlights essential missing elements in the dataset, such as state child population, funding for child protection, specialized courts and personnel, public awareness programs, technology access, women's workforce involvement, and enforcement effectiveness of child protection laws. These gaps impede precise crime rate assessment and thorough policy analysis.
- g. System classification and reporting guidelines between states and over time impacted by local police resources and training are the root cause of data quality problems in crime statistics. Comparability may be impacted by modifications to classification schemes during research period. Additionally, zero crime counts in minor union regions can be the result of either no crime or refusal to report. Log Transformation addresses technical difficulties but not the underlying problems with data quality.
- h. The binary distinction between the reported and actual crime can oversimplify complicated situations where higher crime rates may result from enhanced detection, better reporting, and changing social norms about disclosure, and actual increases in victimization associated with social change and urbanization. Victimization surveys or more data are necessary to clarify these factors, but they are not available during this time period.
- i. The findings continue to be descriptive rather than causative. Surveys, research, state variables, and administrative data should all be included in the future studies.

VIII. Conclusion

Using techniques, the study examined patterns in reported crimes against children in 38 Indian states and union territories between 2001 and 2012. The research differentiated between within-state temporal trends in reported crimes and cross-state heterogeneity by using the state fixed effects model. The findings demonstrate a considerable and statistically significant rise in reported crimes and within-state crime counts increasing by over six times during the study period and becoming noteworthy starting in 2003. After adjusting for state fixed effect, the model fit significantly improved, highlighting how crucial it is to take unobserved heterogeneity into account when doing chronological research.

Given the size of the observed rise, it is highly likely that enhanced reporting procedures, more legal knowledge, and child protection changes significantly influenced the patterns that were noted. A change from underreporting to more accurate documentation of crimes against children was probably facilitated by the adoption of child-focused laws, the strengthening of the juvenile justice framework, and the expansion of reporting infrastructure. These results emphasize how crucial it is to exercise caution when interpreting rising crime numbers because they can be the result of better reporting and detection practices rather than a decline in safety.

highlight the necessity of bolstering reporting mechanisms, increasing access to specialized support services, and enhancing data infrastructure in order to track child protection results from a policy standpoint. The data set should be expanded beyond 2012 and state-level socioeconomic characteristics should be included in future studies to further differentiate reporting effects from shifts in actual victimization. All things

considered, this study adds to the body of knowledge on child protection and crime reporting in India and shows the usefulness of panel data approaches for comprehending crime patterns.

VIII. References

- Allison, P. D. (2009). *Fixed effects regression models*. SAGE Publications.
- Baltagi, B. H. (2008). *Econometric analysis of panel data* (4th ed.). John Wiley & Sons.
- Becker, G. S. (1968). Crime and punishment: An economic approach. *Journal of Political Economy*, 76(2), 169–217. <https://doi.org/10.1086/259394>
- Bharti, N. (2016). The Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act 2015: Rhetoric and reality. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 51(4), 71–78.
- Bhattacharya, A. (2013). The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012: A critique. *Criminal Law Journal*, 19(5), 344–356.
- Biderman, A. D., & Reiss, A. J. (1967). On exploring the “dark figure” of crime. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 374(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000271626737400102>
- Childline India Foundation. (2006). *Childline 1098: Annual report 2005–2006*.
- Coleman, C., & Moynihan, J. (1996). *Understanding crime data: Haunted by the dark figure*. Open University Press.
- Cornwell, C., & Trumbull, W. N. (1994). Estimating the economic model of crime with panel data. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 76(2), 360–366.
- Finkelhor, D., Shattuck, A., Turner, H. A., & Hamby, S. L. (2014). The lifetime prevalence of child sexual abuse and sexual assault assessed in late adolescence. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 55(3), 329–333.
- Government of India. (2012). *The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012*. <https://www.indiacode.nic.in/>
- Hsiao, C. (2014). *Analysis of panel data* (3rd ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- Jaishankar, K. (2016). Challenges in the criminological study of crime in India. *Asian Journal of Criminology*, 11(3), 165–175.
- Jones, L. M., Mitchell, K. J., & Finkelhor, D. (2012). Trends in youth internet victimization. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 50(2), 179–186.
- Kacker, L., Varadan, S., & Kumar, P. (2007). *Study on child abuse: India 2007*. Ministry of Women and Child Development.
- Lakshminarayanan, R. (2015). The POCSO Act, 2012: Will it protect children? *Economic and Political Weekly*, 50(12), 12–15.
- Levitt, S. D. (1996). The effect of prison population size on crime rates. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 111(2), 319–351.
- Mahapatra, S. (2014). The POCSO Act 2012: A critical appraisal. *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 60(4), 878–894.
- Marvell, T. B., & Moody, C. E. (1996). Police levels and crime rates. *Criminology*, 34(4), 609–646.
- Mathews, B., & Collin-Vézina, D. (2019). Child sexual abuse: Toward a conceptual model and definition. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 20(2), 131–148.
- Ministry of Home Affairs. (2001–2012). *Crime in India* (Annual reports). National Crime Records Bureau. <https://ncrb.gov.in/>
- R Core Team. (2023). *R: A language and environment for statistical computing*. <https://www.r-project.org/>
- Sinha, S., & Verma, S. (2017). Childline India: A case study of child protection services. *Indian Journal of Social Work*, 78(3), 345–362.
- Skogan, W. G. (1984). Reporting crimes to the police. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 21(2), 113–137.
- United States Congress. (1974). *Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act*.
- Verma, A. (2011). *The new khaki: The evolving nature of policing in India*. CRC Press.
- Wooldridge, J. M. (2010). *Econometric analysis of cross section and panel data* (2nd ed.). MIT Press.