

INTERNAL MIGRATION AND CHILDREN'S EDUCATION:

A STUDY OF RANGAREDDY DISTRICT, TALANGANA

A thesis submitted during 2016 to the University of Hyderabad in partial fulfillment of the award
of a **Ph.D. degree** in Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy

By

PRAKASH.C



Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy (CSSEIP)

School of Social Sciences

University of Hyderabad

(P.O.) Central University, Gachibowli.

Hyderabad – 500 046

Telangana

India



CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**Internal Migration and Children’s Education: A Study of Rangareddy District, Telangana**” submitted by **PRAKASH.C** bearing Regd. No. **10SIPH03** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of **Doctor of Philosophy** in **Centre for the Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy** is a bonafied work carried out by him under my supervision and guidance which is a plagiarism free thesis.

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I **Prakash.C** hereby declare that this thesis entitled “**Internal Migration and Children’s Education: A Study of Rangareddy District, Telangana**” submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of **Dr.Sreepati Ramudu** is a bonafied research work which is also free from plagiarism. I also declare that it has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this university or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma. I hereby agree that my thesis can be deposited in Shodganga/INFLIBNET.

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Regd. No. 10SIPH03

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Table of Abbreviations

AIE	–	Alternative & Innovative Education Scheme
CESCR	–	Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
CRC	–	Convention on the Rights of the child
DPEP	–	District Primary Education Programme
EBBS	–	Educationally Backward Blocks
ECE	–	Early Childhood Education
EFA	-	Education for All
ESC	–	Education Service Contrasting
EWS	–	Economically Weaker Sections
GCE	–	Global Campaign for Education
GDP	–	Gross Domestic Product
GEFI	–	Global Education First Initiative
GOI	–	Government of India
ILO	–	International Labour Organisation
LEPS	–	Low fee private Schools
MDGs	–	Millennium Development Goals
MDM	–	Mid-Day Meal
MGNREGA	–	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act
MHRD	–	Ministry of Human Resource Development
NCRL	–	National Council for Rural Labour
NCRL	–	National Commission of Rural Labour
NGO	–	Non-governmental organisation
NPE	–	National Policy on Education
NRBC	–	Non-residential Bridge Course
NRLM	–	National Rural Livelihood Mission

NSSO	–	National Sample Survey Organisation
PERI	–	Privatisation of education research initiatives
PMJDY	–	Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana
POA	–	Programme of Action
PPP	–	Public private partnership
RESU	–	Research Evolution and Studies Unit
RTEA	–	Right to Education Act
SDGs	–	Sustainable Development Goals
SES	--	Socio Economic Status
SJRY	–	Swarna Jayati Rozgar Yojana
SSA	–	Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan
TAC	–	Tribal Autonomous Council
UEE	–	Universalization of Elementary Education
UN	–	United Nations
UNDP	–	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	–	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	–	United National International Children's Fund

CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Education is considered as a fundamental tool to empower individuals and to build an inclusive social order (Bordoloi, 2011). Education is also recognised as the creator of better human capital¹, which can be an essential mechanism for building developed societies and accelerating growth of the country. Given its significance in building societies, provision of basic education has been prioritised as one of the key policy areas since independence in India. Accordingly, the government of India has made numerous attempts to accomplish the goal of Universalisation of Elementary Education² (UEE), not only to promote education irrespective of caste, creed, religion, sex, but also for realising ‘democratisation of education’³ as the birth right of every child. During this endeavour, there have been some developments in the last few decades with regard to infrastructural facilities, gross enrolment, dropout levels and increased pupil teacher ratio, etc., in India. Further, much scope has been given to the education of ‘special needs children’⁴ by providing better access and also reduced gender gap that can provide the impetus to move forward

¹ Human capital has been defined by McKean (1995) as “the skills, knowledge, and experience possessed by an individual or population, viewed in terms of their value or cost to an organisation or country” and it happens through the investments in people education, health and so on. Further, Awel (2013) emphasised that the nexus between education and economic growth has been one of the fundamental themes of economic analysis and education probably affects growth of the nation. The relationship can be measured by how much is invested into people’s education. For instance, many governments offer education at no cost by realising that the knowledge people through education can lead to economic growth.

² Universalisation of Elementary Education (UEE) is an educational term that refers to make duration available to all children in the age group of 6-14 years. In other words, elementary education provides for all children, without any drop out, and it involved three stages: Universalisation of Provision, Universalisation of Enrolment and Universalisation of Retention. To achieve this constitutional obligation, the governments of both the Union and States have taken up many steps and measures such as NPE (1986), PoA (1992), SSA (2001), but the objectives of universalisation of elementary education could not be adequately achieved even now.

³ Democratisation of education is defined in terms of quality of access and opportunity that involves allocation of substantial massive financial and material resources and development of policies designed to reduce social and economic inequalities. Further, it also entails in well-developed of relevant curriculum and devising appropriate selection procedures to higher level educational opportunities as well as prevention of political and economic influence in education for individual purposes.

⁴ The term ‘children with special needs’ has a legal definition. It refers, to children who have learning difficulties or disabilities that make it harder for them to learn than most children of the same age. In this regard, the right of every child to education is proclaimed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and also given special attention by the government of India through its Inclusive Education policy approach from 2003 with the aim of including children with disabilities. Though the children with Special Educational Needs (SEN) has been given high priority, their inclusion into mainstream schooling is yet to be achieved.

into the next level of development of education (Karande & Gogtay, 2014). Despite these developments, the elementary education system is also grappling with several challenges that are hampering the growth of school education in India. Moreover, the significant improvement in the numbers have still, not yielded any significant improvements in the actual school system. Those challenges include, lack of or shortage of trained teachers, poor infrastructure and gender and social disparities. This condition has, more or less, remained same, even after enactment of the Right to Education Act, which was considered as a historic milestone in the elementary education system in India (Handoo, 2010).

It is also true that the commitment of the state, in terms of offering resources and required policy intervention to achieve universalisation of elementary education, remain very poor. Due to the scarcity of resources and organisational deficiencies in government schools, private schools have started to gain momentum and the entire notion of education rapidly shifted from social service to the profit making motive. The lack of sufficient facilities and privatisation of education is tending to draw the relatively rich towards to private schools. This is leading to a reducing number of children attending the State run, but generally poorly-equipped schools. As a result, due to insufficient numbers in the State run schools, the Government shutting down a number of schools, leaving many among the poor and marginalised sections deprived of access to basic schooling. Children from rural backgrounds are the worst sufferers of such changes. In addition, a number of governments are shutting down several schools due to their changing policies. For instance, the Rajasthan government has recently shut down nearly 17,000 public schools, by the plea that these schools will merge with ‘Adarsh or Model’⁵ schools (Gupta, 2014). The data shows that most of the children drop out from schooling are from the deprived social groups. Such policies of the State would further widen the gaps between the different social groups since only a few sections could afford to access the best education, whereas others would have no access to basic education. Such gaps, in general, are widened by the social disparities in a hierarchical and diverse country like India (Kumar, 2010). As a result, a number of children are remaining out of school based on

⁵ It is an initiative by the government of India with stipulations on the pupil-teacher ratio, ICT usage, holistic educational environment, appropriate curriculum and emphasis on output and outcome. These schools will have infrastructure and facilities at least of the same standard as in a Kendriya Vidyalaya. The core objective of the scheme is to provide access to high quality school education at the block level through these schools of excellence and all round development of the children.

various different ‘zones of exclusion’⁶ such as never enrolled⁷, dropped out from school and so on. Hence, different levels, children are being effectively denied their right to education. This issue requires the most cautious investigation by the state. Unfortunately, this is being highly neglected in reality (UNICEF, 2014)⁸. It is also evident that the exclusion of children from schooling, with different complications, is highly neglected at the policy framework level. From this dimension, children of internal migrants are among the many sections of the out-of-school children who are most excluded from schooling due to several reasons. As Rogaly (2002) argued, the children of internal migrants are deprived of education from two proportions: i) schools near their normal places of residence do not take into account their migration pattern, and ii) their temporary status in the destination areas does not take into consideration their migration pattern and their temporary status in the destination areas does not make them eligible for schooling. Consequently, the inclusion of migrant children in schools have various dimensions which have to be considered to achieve the goal of universalisation of elementary education in India. Further, their exclusion from schooling can also lead to issues like children labour, children have not been given their due importance in research dominion (Hamshid & UNICEF, 2005). However, it requires a basic understanding about migration and its complexities before attempting to assess the impact of migration on the education of such children.

A basic understanding of the social and economic conditions that determine an individual’s location is a social reality since it shapes their lived experiences. Migration in India is generally influenced by socio-economic conditions and the pattern of development (Datta, 2003 and Meena, 2013). In fact, the unfair distribution of population, imbalanced utilisation of resources and variations in economic development are the major factors that influence mobility of people from one region to another. Such mobility, which is often referred as migration, results in a population

⁶ To carefully understand the exclusion of children from formal schooling, Keith Lewin (2007) has identified six zones of exclusion that include: Children never enrolled, Girls and Boys who drop out with incomplete primary education below the legal age for formal employment, Low attendance, Primary completers Excluded secondary, Drop outs and those at risk. The idea has been developed for studying the phenomenon of primary school participation. Keith Lewin’s, “Improving Access, Equity and Transition in Education: Creating a Research Agenda”, given a conceptual understanding about ‘zone of exclusion.

⁷ The section of ‘Never enrolled or attended children’ implies those children who were never enrolled in any school which means they are totally illiterate and unschooled.

⁸ Source: <http://www.uis.unesco.org/Library/Documents/out-of-school-children-south-asia-study-2014-en.pdf>. Accessed on.04-05-2011.

moving from one area to another, particularly from rural to urban areas, in search of employment, economic independence and growth. The growing phenomena of internal migration emphasises the drastic decline in rural population due to rapid growth of urbanisation, which is further leading to imbalanced development between urban and rural areas. Obviously, the landless poor, deprived sections and people from economic backward regions constitute the major portion of migrants (Report of HDR; GOI, 2007). However, the major impact of migration in informal or unorganised sector⁹, can be seen at destination's where migrants face diverse socio-cultural challenges without having access to minimum facilities (Burghardt, 2010). The government, on the other hand, enacted a few policies such as Inter-state migrant's workers Act- 1979 which emphasised about timely wages, suitable residential accommodation, prescribed medical facilities and protective dress code, etc. (Sarde, 2008). In practice, the state has been quite insensitive with regard to problems related to migrants and their needs. Further, migration also pushes them away from accessing benefits from social welfare schemes and participating in democratic processes such as voting in elections. In fact, such practices better depict social exclusion, which describes the lack of social participation of those who are excluded from the mainstream social order (Silver, 2007)¹⁰. The phenomena of migration is attracting human rights abuse. However, the policies of the state have failed to provide enough legal or social protection to the affected (Sharma & Khandewal, 2014). As discussed earlier, owing to the highly mobile nature of their employment, migrant workers get excluded from the scope of both urban and rural policy design. Having said this, it is clearly evident that internal migrants live in a constrained environment and in inhuman conditions. On the other side, the children of internal migrants are the most affected section at both the migrated environment and their places of origin. Consequently, migration not only affects development of child, but also leads to their missing out on their basic right to schooling.

For the first time since independence, there has been a paradigm shift in policy framing with enactment of Right to Education Act in 2010 and efforts have been made to “take the school to the left-out child by creating flexible schooling options” (Report of MHRD; GOI, 2011:24). This

⁹ The word ‘informal sector’ was devised by the anthropologist, Keith Hart in 1971. It can be, in view of NSS, understood as the mass of people seen on the streets and back alleys of cities, including street vendors, workers, coolies and porters.

¹⁰ Silver's (2007) viewed social exclusion theory as a dynamic process of progressive multidimensional rupturing of the ‘social bond’ at the individual and collective levels. Further, she denoted that social exclusion prohibits full participation in the normatively agreed activities of a given society and denies access to resources, sociability, recognition and identity and reducing capabilities which lead to lack of complete participation in society.

approach has seen institutionalised in the form of the Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) and Alternative & Innovative Education Scheme (AIE) under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), which is the national umbrella programme for universalization of elementary education. But the aim of universal access and enrolment of schooling remain a myth with many difficulties due to the failure of the state to provide flexible school option to excluded children, such as internal migrant children. The unfortunate part is that neither Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD),¹¹ nor the concerned state education departments nor the labour departments have exact data with respect to the category of migrant children and their education. But according to an estimate, there are nearly 15 million children aged between 6-14 years who live along with their parents at migration destination in India, whereas the number of children who are left at behind their original homes has not been estimated (Daniel & Smita, 2011). However, the actual number of children who are affected by migration could be much higher than the estimations. The State policies, including its Five Year Plans (FYPs),¹² do not talk about the problems faced by the migrant labourers or their children. Frequently, migration also forces adults to take their children along with them, which results in the children being deprived of basic education. It further forces them into child labour at the work sites, along with their parents. Evidence indicates that the number of children below 14 years involved in work at sites in India is about 9 million (Smita 2007). For those who are privileged with a school in the parents work site, often get their chance to enroll in such schools with delayed procedures and lack of identity, which interrupts their schooling and increases the dropout rate that may further creates child labour. When it comes to gender perspective, girl children have high probability of losing their schooling, because parents prefer to entrust household responsibilities and childcare to them (Bhagat, 2009). Consequently, migrant children are subjected to re-enrolment in schools¹³ with learning deficiencies as they are

¹¹ The core focus of Human Resource Development is education, which plays a significant and remedial role in balancing the socio-economic fabric of the country. The Ministry was created in 1985 in order to pursue of an all-round development of citizens. It is believed that this can be achieved by building strong foundations in education. The MHRD works through two departments: The Department of School Education & Literacy and Department of Higher Education. Department of school education and Literacy is responsible for development of school education and literacy in the country.

¹² The Indian economy has been premised on the concept of Planning since 1947. It has been carried through the 'Five-Year Plans', developed, executed, and monitored by the Planning Commission which is now replaced by NITI AAYOG with the Prime Minister as an ex-officio Chairman and the commission has a nominated Deputy Chairman who holds the rank of a Cabinet Minister. Five-Year Plans (FYP's) are centralized and integrated national economic programs and Stalin implemented first time it in the Soviet Union in the late 1920s.

¹³ A child who drops out during his schooling for difference reasons and wants to re-enter school after some time (it may be months and years) can be re-admitted at the class where he left. It would be probable to make up the deficiency

admitted in the same class which they left while migrating. Coherently, the children of internal migrants face multi-level deprivations and challenges in accessing schooling and it is also evident that there is stark absence of effective policy in order to address the educational needs of the children at both the destination and the origin. With this background, the present chapter will now proceed to review relevant literature in the field.

1.2. Review of Literature

The review of Literature section has been divided into three sections. These include: elementary education in India, internal migration and its impact on the education of children.

1.2.1 Elementary Education in India

Ramachandran (2003) discusses about the children, especially children from underprivileged background and girl children, who dropped out, or out of school, at the primary level with poor learning standards in India. Moreover, it is also found that there is a wide gap in learning achievements between students of government schools and private/aided schools due to variations in the methods of learning. Therefore, efforts have been made by policy makers and administrators of education to focus mainly on the formal school system and on improving access to education. The creation of ‘backward and forward’ linkages is essential for fostering an environment where every child not only goes to school, but also benefits from it.

Pandey (2006) states that the low number of qualified teachers has always been a major lacuna of elementary education system, in order to achieve universal literacy in India. This is one of the many faults in a system which creates difficulties for the successful functioning of the elementary education system in India. As the author points out, the literacy rate in the country has shown a remarkable growth from 18.38 per cent in 1950-51 to 74 per cent in 2010-11. However, illiteracy is still a significant challenge and a very large number of children still do not attend school. There are disparities in school levels across rural and urban areas, across genders and for marginalised communities like Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs). The other major issue is that the national average for the shortage of qualified teachers in government-managed primary schools exist for a long time and it influences the overall quality of education. In addition, poor

through non-formal education as the children can be re-admitted in formal schools at the appropriate class, according to his or her academic performance.

pupil-teacher ratio has a larger impact during the early years of schooling and it is also found that children who attend schools with poor pupil-teacher ratio, have not shown greater probability of continuing schooling. Pandey asserts that improvement of student teachers ratio in public schooling sector could enhance better education attainment in India.

Govinda (2002) emphasises on the importance of community participation and empowerment in primary education. He focuses on the grassroots level efforts for community empowerment in several Indian states such as Rajasthan, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Karnataka and posits that better community participation can influence the provision of primary education. The author also supports the intent of the National Education Policy (NPE), 1986, for modernising the education system in India as it recommends the establishment of an appropriate institutional framework at the district and sub-district levels to ensure community participation, including in planning and execution at all levels. The author also discusses the move towards decentralization and empowerment of the community through the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments. These measures help in documenting the experience on involvement of the community in the management of primary education in different states of India. He also tries to understand the importance of community participation to promote primary education in rural India. For example, the Kerala model is explicitly cited in the work as it has attained 100 per cent enrolment of children in primary education.

Kumar (2006) emphasises on the significance of elementary education and the issues of quality in promoting primary education in India. He states that there is a conceptual problem and also a lacuna in operationalising education policies. While indicating the these problems, the author brings the 86th Constitutional Amendment to the forefront which sought to make the Right to Education as a fundamental right for children between 6 to 14 years of age. The author also emphasises on the importance of an inclusive education policy in which all the children of 6-14 year age can access education together.

Ramachandran (1997) views that the sex ratio is rapidly declining in well-to-do regions, where most of the children go to primary school. Unfortunately, a significant number of girls are being persuaded not to attend schools in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, where children work as wage labourers in farms and family enterprises. It is understood that economic prosperity can improved educational access, especially for girl children from poor and less income families, the situation of

girls from 'below the poverty line' households is a matter of unease. In this context, the author proposes a wide documentation and dissemination of experience to a wider audience, in a language that is not too academic or formal which could trigger some debate in the media and among ordinary citizens of the country. Certainly, education of children is both a sensitive and important issue and it requires concerted efforts to enhance the value of the educational system in India.

Reddy & Rao (2003) have attempted to look at various aspects of education to pinpoint the reasons for the poor performance in the school education sector. In one of the variables, they studied, gender and social disparity brings out new observations in education of the deprived sections like Scheduled Caste (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST) children in the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh. Regarding physical access of schooling from the supply and demand aspect, access is often defined by the government as the availability of school to all school going children within a distance of 1 km radius. Thus, location of the school is also well thought-out as an important factors in defining access. It has been observed that children from lower social groups are not comfortable in going to schools that are located in the higher social group region and vice versa. The study covers some of the primary data on the accessibility of primary school among various social groups that covers primary schools in percentage of habitations covered among the SCs, STs, and Other Backward Castes. The study further discussed the access to primary schools by region and social group wise. The study revealed that the Scheduled Caste groups accessing school within their habitations accounts for about 91.2 percent in Coastal Andhra¹⁴ region and when it comes to Rayalaseema¹⁵ region, Scheduled Caste percentage of habitations having access to school reduce to 72.3 per cent. In Telangana¹⁶, SC's percentage of habitations having access to school account for 88.6 per cent respectively. This clearly shows that the existing disparity among regions within the state regarding the access to school at their habitations itself.

¹⁴ Coastal Andhra is a region in the state of Andhra Pradesh which was part of Madras state till 1953 and Andhra State from 1953 to 1956. It has an area of 92,906 square km which is 57 percent of the state area and a population of 34,193,868. This area includes the coastal district of Andhra Pradesh between in Eastern Ghats and the Bay of Bengal.

¹⁵ Rayalaseema is a geographic region in the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh which is comprised of four districts; Anantapur, Chittoor, Kadapa and Kurnool. It has an area of 67,526 square km and population of 15,184,908 which is 30.03 per cent of the total Andhra Pradesh population.

¹⁶ Telangana is a newly emerged state in South India in 2 June, 2014 with Hyderabad as capital. It has been one regions of the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh state till 2014. Telangana has an area of 114, 840 square km and a population of 35,193,978 as Telugu speaking state. .

Chalam (2002) tries to trace the reasons for education backwardness in India. The author stresses the significance of the village education committees in order to strengthen the institutional arrangement for achieving universalisation of elementary education in India. He asserts that this approach would also serve as a method for decentralization of school administration. He notes that the World Bank (WB) experts perceived village educational committee as the new institutional arrangement which is believed as the most cost-effective method for achieving better results. The author found based on the study that the village education committees (VECs)¹⁷ do not work effective as only 36 percent of parents of school going children are aware about the village education committees. Further, it also emphasised on that the need for sharing information among village education committees about participatory arrangements that can help to achieve the goal of universalisation of elementary education.

Prabhakar & Rao (2011) state that extension of professional management into traditional areas of service such as the education sector will help accomplish improved outcomes. This has established that, in many countries, by enriching their respective education sectors. In the case of India, the expenditure on education has been increasing from 0.8 per cent of the GDP in 1951-52 to 3.57 GDP in 2006-07, with an aim to reach 6 per cent GDP allocation as recommended by Kothari Commission. However, there are a mixed results regarding the efforts to universalise school education. India is home to a high proportion of out-of-school children. In this regard, they argue that the decentralisation of decision-making authority to schools can facilitate and enhance participation. Though India has many organizing bodies to regulate school education system, they are different from school management in United States of America, where school management reforms were initiated for the first time in the history. Lastly, the authors assume that school based management reforms for decentralisation can enhance the accountability but these sort of management facilities are very weak in the public sector and there is essentiality to improve these in India.

Madhusudhan (2006) underlines the different contextual strategies and methods according to the local culture and traditional fold through institutionalised structures, such as non-governmental

¹⁷ Village Education Committees were visualised as part of the decentralised management structures envisaged under the DPEP with the main objective of establishing a link between the school and the community. Further, the government expected these committees to take up the task of ensuring community participation (Pramila Menon, 1999).

organisations (NGOs), Block Resource Centres (BRCs), Cluster Resource Centres (CRCs) and Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs). In fact, these have proved very useful in enhancing community mobilisation and participation in elementary education. For this purpose, the teachers and community members, trained through micro-planning activities such as social and resource mapping, identification of out-of-school children, development of a village education register and village education plan etc. The report offers that the Village Education Committees have been envisaged as key institutions for community mobilization, participation and empowerment under the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP). However, majority of the states have focused on sensitising the VEC members on elementary education and states like Karnataka and UP have conducted training through participatory techniques. The study showed that the participation of VEC members including woman, helped on creating better awareness about DPEP amongst the representatives of Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs).

Sujatha and Rao's (2000) study has examined that the significance of community participation in promoting education in Tribal areas of Visakhapatnam district in Andhra Pradesh. They found that the VECs in this area have been actively involved in planning and implementation of educational intervention and conduct at least one meeting in a month. Interestingly, more than 80 per cent heads of the households, even those who were not VEC members, attended the VEC meetings. The study establishes that on the whole, the VECs in this area functioned satisfactorily.

Bose & Bose (2009) conducted a survey to explore the motivation of parents with regard to education of their girl children. Along with other objectives, two important objectives were given priority. These were to explore the attitude of parents regarding the level of education required for children of both sexes and parental attitude to education beyond the primary level for children of both sexes. The results show that while there is a little evidence of gender disparity at below primary level, there is persistent gender bias at higher levels, with significantly higher dropout rates among girls. There is also a persistent gender gap in the resource allocation for education of girl children, which shows clear trends about the negligence about education of girl children. These results may be explained partly by the universal awareness of the benefits of education for both boys and girls, as well as parental perception of education in order to pursue traditional gender roles.

The above section of review of literature largely focused on school education system in rural areas where its growth and development, mostly, depends on local government bodies and active community participation. Further, it also noted that poor allocation for school education by the state is a major challenge in achieving the goal of universalisation of elementary education, particularly in rural and very remote areas. In spite of existing many policies in India, there are learning deficiencies among children with poorly trained teachers. On the other, exclusion and disparities in schooling for marginalised sections such as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is remaining reality even after enactment of the Right to Education Act.

1.2.2. Theoretical Framework on Migration

The process of theorisation of migration began in the 19th century. The subject has been discussed by scholars in various fields the emphasis has been on the socio-cultural, distance and economic factors (Meena, 2013). During the process of studying the phenomenon of migration, scholars, from different fields, have expressed diversified views and opinions on the factors that motivate migration. For instance, economists focused mainly on the causes and consequences of migration. These include: role of wages, income, levels of employment and unemployment that influence the migration flow. In fact, various models and theories of migration help one to understand migration patterns and influencing factors in diversified aspects. Those theories include: Ravenstein's Laws of Migration, Lee theory of Migration, Todaro Model of Migration, Gravity Model of Migration, Neo Classical Economic Theory, Dual Labour Market Theory, New Economic Theory of Migration, Social Network Theory, Social Deprivation Theory and prominent scholars who worked on migration.

1.2.2.1. Ravenstein's Laws of Migration

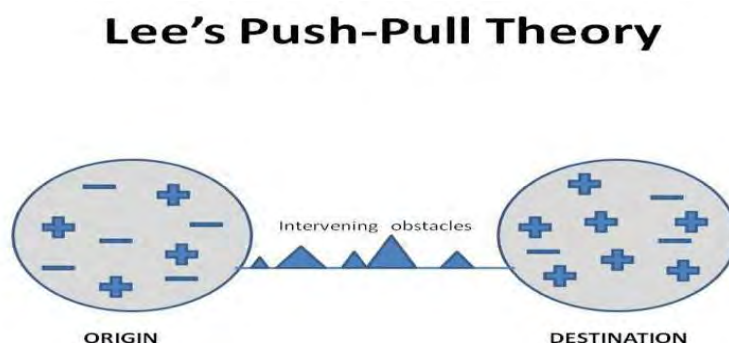
Ravenstein's (1885) model is one of the significant models in theorisation about migration. Ravenstein presented his "Law of Migration", which was framed on the basis of internal migration data in 1881. But he emphasised that the migration data was described much before the Royal Statistical Society procured migration data in Britain (Ravenstein, 1889: 241-301). Factually, this law came into existence because of certain laws of social sciences that had been proposed to describe human migration based on various factors. His laws were formulated based on different influencing factors that cause to migration. According to Ravenstein's law, migrants move from

an area of low opportunities to an area of high opportunities. Initially, migrants prefer to migrate from rural to the nearest towns, then, to fast growing cities. Their choice of destination was decided by distance. Further, Ravenstein acknowledged that the female migrant domination in short distances. Migration gets boosted with the growth in the means of transport, communication and expansion of trade and industry. Lastly, the very important factor that enforces migration in India is related to the economic factor. Though many laws of migration came into existence, the laws developed by Ravenstein helped a lot to test the contemporary theories of migration.

1.2.2.2 Lee Theory of Migration

According to Lee's (1996) Law, the factors that cause migration have been divided into two groups. These are: push and pull factors. Push factors are those that are unfavourable in an area where an individual lives and pull factors are those that attract an individual to another area. Push factors include, but are not limited to, lack of livelihood, lack of jobs, primitive conditions, desertification, famine or drought, political fear, slavery or forced labour, poor medical care, loss of wealth, natural disasters, lack of housing, death threat, lack of political or religious independence, contamination, landlord or tenant issues, discrimination and so on. On the other hand, the pull factors include: better job opportunities, better living conditions, political and religious liberty, education, better medical care, attractive climate, security, family links, industry, better chances of marrying, and so on. Lee's Theory of Migration, based on push-pull factors, is depicted in the chart below:

Figure no.1.1 Lee push and pull theory



Source: Lee (1996)

1.2.2.3 Todaro's model of Migration

Todaro (1970) begins his argument with a question that, despite growing unemployment in the destination, why do people move from rural to urban areas? He views migration as a result of expected higher incomes in urban areas and it raises hope for people from rural areas to find employment. From this perspective, he viewed labour migration in developing countries as a two stage phenomena: first, unskilled workers migrate to urban spaces and they begin working in the traditional sector, before they enter into modern sector jobs. Secondly, they attain permanent modern sector employments immediately. According to him, migration decisions will be based on two variables that include: the rural-urban income differences and the probability of getting a job in urban areas. However, later, Todaro, further, developed his model in collaboration with his colleague, Harris (1970). This came to be known as Harris-Todaro's model of migration. They used the basic framework of the Todaro model in the constructing two sector: i) internal trade model of migration and ii) unemployment. They emphasised that migration is necessary to maintain the rural-urban equilibrium in any economy. Stark (1991), who is an another major contributor to this approach, opines that people will not only move to improve their economic position alone, but also to improve their position in relation to other persons in the villages. It carries one limitation in that it assumes potential migrants are risk neutral because they are indifferent between a certain expected rural income and an uncertain expected urban income of the same magnitude. Yet, Todaro's approach contributes only partially to understand migration because wide socio-economic conditions are not taken into account. Due to this deficiencies of the neoclassical model, an alternative approach, known as historical approach, has evolved.

1.2.2.4. Gravity model of Migration

It is a model in urban geography resulting from Newton's law of gravity which has been used to predict the degree of interaction between two places (Rodrigue, *et. al.*, 2009). Generally, Newton's law states that "any two bodies attract one another with a force that is proportional to the product of their masses and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them" (Chiswick & Miller, 2015:6). In the same way, when it is used geographically, the words 'bodies' and 'masses' are replaced by 'locations' and 'importance' respectively. Here, the importance can be measured in terms of population numbers, gross domestic product, or other appropriate variables. From this understanding, the gravity model of migration is, therefore, based upon the idea that as

the importance of one, or both the locations increase, there will be an increase in movement between them. This phenomenon is well-known as ‘distance decay’. Due to its own limitations, the gravity model cannot be explained scientifically and it is merely based on observation.

1.2.2.5 Neo-classical Economic Theory

Neo-Classical Economic Theory (NCET) is the modern theory to study migration. It states that the foremost reason for labour migration is the wage difference between two geographical locations or areas. The wage difference is generally associated to geographic labour demand and supply. In a simple way, the areas with shortage of labour force, but with excess of capital and high relative wages, attract people from the other areas which have high labour supply provision and scarcity of capital with low relative wage. As per this approach, labour rises to flow from low-wage areas to high-wage areas. The Neo-classical economic theory is mostly used to describe multi-national migration because it is not limited by international immigration laws and governmental regulations.

1.2.2.6. Dual Labour Market Theory

Dual Labor Market Theory emphasises that migration is primarily caused by pull factors in most of the developed countries. This Theory assumes that the labour market in developed countries consist of two divisions: labour with high skills and demand for labour, but requiring low skills. This Theory accepts that migration from less developed countries to well developed countries is a result of pull factors created by the need in the secondary market of developed countries. Migrant workers have to fill only lowest level of the labor markets because native people do not want to do such jobs. Indeed, wage inequalities between the areas of origin and areas of the destination are not compulsory conditions. In this case, the possibility of government policy to influence migration is inadequate (Russel, 2006).

1.2.2.7. New Economic Theory of Labor Migration

In a landmark shift in the theories of migration, the New Economics of Labour Migration theory (NELM) was developed by Stark & Bloom in 1985, to revitalise migration theories further than the neo-classical and the structuralist approaches. It considers the family or household as a unit of analysis in assessing migration. The New Economic Theory views that migration flows and patterns cannot be termed only at either individual workers level or economic incentives level of

workers but need to be considered at social entity level. It states that migration, as a family or group strategy aims at various source of income to minimise household risks and to subjugate barriers to credit. Unlike the neo-classical model, it is not the experienced wage differentials which is a necessary condition for economic development of an individual or a household. This model believe that governments can have influence over migration through income distributional policies that affect the relative deprivation of certain groups and, thereby, the tendency to mitigate migration (Russel, 2006).

1.2.2.8. Social Network Theory

This approach states that networks play an important role in the process of migration such as getting information about the availability of work at different destinations. As of Indian framework, it has been found that these networks exist between contractors and the labourers, where contractors bring workers from remote villages (Das, 2007). Further, studies of labour migration emphasise that social networks play a substantial role in the flow and functioning of migrant labourers in a labour market. These migrant networks connect migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas and these ties, mostly, are embedded in the socio-economic background of the migrants (Hass, 2007). In other words, progress of networks can be understood by means of progressive reduction of risks, building it risk-free and cost-less to expand household labour distribution through migration. Thus, networks expansion advantages to reduce the costs and the risks of movement. In the process of entering into labour markets, a high number of migrants enter as casual labourers and then they move up in the hierarchical organisational set up. This ‘upward occupational mobility’¹⁸ up to a self-employed is expedited by the networks of both strong and weak ties which is refined for a long span of time at the destination.

1.2.2.9. Relative Deprivation Theory

This theory states that the most important factor in the migration process is the income differences between neighbours or other households. It asserts that migration is higher in areas where there is high level of economic inequality (Taylor, 2006). In the short run, remittances may increase

¹⁸ Occupational mobility is defined as “the fraction of currently employed individuals who report a current occupation different from their most recent previous report of an occupation” (Kambourov, et al., 2008). Occupational mobility may take place with or without job mobility. Upward mobility is defined as a worker moving from any low wage occupation to any high-wage occupation (Gabriel, 2003).

inequality, but these may actually decrease it in the long run. According to this theory, there are two stages of migration for a worker that include: they invest in human capital formation first and, then they try to capitalise on their investments. In this way, successful migrants may use their new capital to offer better schooling for their children and better amenities like a home for their families. In the end, this theory states that successful high skilled migrants become focal and a source of inspiration for migrant aspirants in the villages who hope to migrate and achieve better standards of life.

Reddy (1991) conducted a study to understand the causes for the migration of female construction workers in Hyderabad. The study revealed that economic reasons such as famines, scarcities, indebtedness and the lack of sufficient employment opportunities in their villages as the major driving factors for migration. Apart from this, some of the women migrants were attracted by urban life and a few of them wanted to join with husbands who had already migrated to the city. Even though the living conditions are dreadful in cities, the women migrants prefer to stay in cities because of the fact that their village conditions are worse compared with those in the city.

Deshingkar (2004) states that the rural-urban labour migration has increased, dramatically, for their routine livelihood strategies. The authors argues that people who move out to take advantage of new economic opportunities can also escape from the caste system which is fearsome problem that rooted in rural India. In addition, the author points out that migrant labours are unable to claim welfare benefits of the state such as education to children, health, shelter, pure drinking water, because these services depend on proof of residence. Migrants have no option against contractors because they are illiterates, powerless, landless as well not aware of their legal rights deliberated on them by the constitution of India.

Iyer, *et al.*, (2003) focus on violation of human rights in the urban unorganised sector. They provide strong evidence that labour rights are violated at the work place that include low wages, long hours of work, exploitation by the contractors, absence of social security and sexual harassment. It is also emphasised that the importance of 1948 Universal Declaration and Constitutional vision, implementation of the Inter-state Migrant Workman (Regulation of Employees and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979, Minimum Wages Act, 1948, Payment Wages Act, 1936, and Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act, 1970, are useful mechanisms for protecting basic rights of

migrants at the destination but the beneficiaries are far away from better awareness of all these acts. It results their poor access of rights at destination.

A study by Rao & Reddy (2004) investigated the migration flows in the Warangal district of the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh. The study recognised that the migration began temporarily in the village due to the drought during early seventies, but later, it continued in order to seek better employment. However, the major factors, such as the small size of land- holding with demographic pressure, gap in wage rates between the village and the city and the low social status, pushed the migrant workers from the study area (village) to the other destinations. On the other hand, the persons who had already migrated to the place of destination supported and provided the needed information to the new group of migrants. Finally, the study exposed that migration has become an alternative and attractive strategy for them in order to escape the chronic poverty and improve their social status.

Apart from this, internal migrant workers in the construction industry is a growing phenomenon in urban space in India. Fernandes (2012) emphasises that migrant workers in the construction industry are highly vulnerable on account of their lack of physical assets and human capabilities along with extreme poverty and low social status, because they fall under the unorganised working labour force. Though the construction sector plays a major role in development of the nation, the State has neglected to look after this sector and the welfare of the workers. This has resulted in social challenges. Since most of the migrants came for survival from rural to urban areas, they are willing to work for low wages than what they were getting in the local labour areas and it led to the wage rate coming down (NCEUS, 2007). In addition, Mukhopadyay & De Souza (1997) state that most of the migrant workers in the construction sector belong to the marginalised sections of society and area vulnerable to underpayment and exploitation. They also have to live in very unhygienic conditions and denied their basic rights at sites.

The above section demonstrates a couple of dimensions or factors that cause migration. Economic and development factors are considered as key elements to push people from the place of origin to the destination. Further, decreasing employment opportunities at origin areas and the desire for better economic development also impact the movement of the people. However, the migrants have to face various complications at the destination as unskilled labourers in unorganised sector. Based on the literature, it is understood that the patterns of migration have been constantly

changing from time to time based on development models, whereas rural-urban migration stream is at a high level ever since the period of liberalisation policies came into existence. In the process of migration, there is high threat of violation of human rights at various levels. It can be determined that, though migration creates economic opportunities for people from deprived backgrounds, it can also pose challenges that impact the entire family, at both the destination and the origin.

1.3.3. Influence of Internal Migration on the Education of Children

International organisations which are engaged with ‘Child Rights’ have underlined the robust links between migration and child labour. The United Nations (UN) recognises that “children who are unaccompanied or separated from their parents are particularly vulnerable to human rights violations and abuses at all stages of the migration process” (UNHRC, 2011; 3). Similarly, the International Labour Organisation (ILO), in view of connection between migration and children, stresses that governments should consider and document all migratory flows in order to provide basic rights (de Glind, 2010). This study establishes that in a variety study of areas, migrant children experience horrific conditions. Thus, it emphasises the need for social policies to include attention to migrant child labour (ILO, 2012).

Pal (2014) addresses the issues of children of migrant workers at construction sites and asserts that such children remain absent for a long time from basic education. The children of these footloose labourers remain out of school either because of non-enrolment or drop out even after the implementation of the Right to Education Act. Further, it also stresses that the policy framework also becomes a very complex task because India is a multi-lingual country and the medium of instruction in government schools is in local language which is a challenge for education of inter-state migrant children. Thus, the author suggests that there is a need for revitalisation the existing Acts for children of migrant construction workers, such as the Factories Act, 1948.

Saini & Vakil (2000) in their work, discussed that the complete social settings in current social order, with myriad political, economic and social changes, have accelerated migration and led to the displacement of families. The article also examines issues associated with the education of children and the intervention efforts. They also emphasise that nearly 75 percent of population still live in the rural parts of the country, despite the rapid urbanisation. Due to urbanisation, many families are moving to metropolitan cities to get some work. It is also emphasised in this study that

58 percent of children are hired in unskilled jobs and 46 percent of the children of total migrated children are self-employed in different fields. The industrial sector in India depends heavily on child labour. In a few cases, children of migrant labourers remain on the streets because of a lack of care, and family conditions that demand to do some jobs. It is also stated that the environmental conditions where they live are very unhygienic which lead to many diseases. In addition, it is very difficult for them to attend formal school education.

Smita (2008) states that since many decades, seasonal migration had been a practice in order to improve livelihoods for rural people in India. During this process, the family members of migrants either move them to new destinations or stay back in their native places. Working conditions at work sites are of a low standard at every level. Women and children are also vulnerable to face physical exploitation and child labour. Further, she argues that majority of migrants come from marginalised sections and there is an absence of policy in order to improve the condition of migrants at the destination. Apart from this, the labour force is also invisible at migration sites that are located in remote areas. The educational requirements for the children at both the receiving areas and sending areas are not satisfactory, even though many national programmes to address the goal of universalisation of elementary education exist on poster. Finally, she advises that the additional policy requirement needs to focus on seasonal migration through collaboration with NGOs which has given preliminary results with government policy frameworks such as SSA. In this regard, many states have to utilise the services of a growing number of NGOs to address the needs of migrant children.

Iversen (2002) focuses on the children who migrate along with parents to do work at the destinations. He believes that the deprivations among migrant children is important to study the situations of such children and there is a need to focus on both the children who accompany adult migrants, and those who are left behind. Mosse, *et al.* (2002) and Breman (1978) highlight the poverty of families that rely on short-term migration. The studies made a reference to the challenging circumstances faced by the children of short term labour migrants. Further, Breman also deliberates on the inadequate shelter and diet of children who accompany their parents to cultivate sugarcane in the state of Gujarat. Mosse, *et al.* (2002) suggest that working alongside their parents is an important activity for many of the children who accompany their parents on a

migration. It is also stressed that the children spend an increasing amount of their childhood life in unfamiliar and insecure migrant work-sites, while losing their right to schooling.

Rogaly (1998) marks about how children of migrants are familiar with family disruption and must bear additional responsibilities. Rogaly (1998) and Smita (2008) suggest that migration prevents children from attending schools. They express concern that migration has a negative impact on children's education at both the origin and the destination. In addition, Liang & Chen (2007) exasperate to present a quantifiable analysis of the relationship between education and temporary migration among children from rural China.

Mckenzie & Rapoport (2007) indicate that children in migrant families have less chances to attend school and complete limited school years compare with the children of non-migrant households. Hanson & Woodruff (2003) state that parental migration might also lead to weakening parental regulation, resulting in a reduction of study time for children who find themselves being burdened with extra household duties such as taking care of their younger siblings in the absence of their parent's.

Zhao, *et al.* (2012) accept that parental migration which is a common activity, as part of the livelihood strategy with no children consent, can lead to inconsistency in children's school performance in different ways. In majority of the cases, parents do not have enough time, or are just unable, to take care of their children who have been left behind in rural areas. Although, the children are frequently looked after by their aged grandparents at the place of origin, the parental functions towards their children cannot be replaced by any one. At the same time, Spera (2005) denotes that the absence of parent's involvement in their children education may have substantial consequences on the human capital of children.

Smita & Panjion (2007) highlight the struggles of millions of migrant families and their children who are pushed out of the village because of lack of work and earnings. By quoting Sen (1999), they mention that such migration as distress phenomena forced upon the whole communities for 'survival', in different from migration of individuals for accumulations. They attempt to find the causes for migration and possibilities of child labour and found that they have no other options to survive. The failure of the programmes intended to create employment opportunities by government such as SEWA with support of Drought Prone Area Programme (DPAP). It also

evidenced that there are no alternative ways that can help them to end the migration by providing some which can help in preventing migration in India.

Based on the arguments in the above review, it is understood that education can not only lead to the development of an individual, but also help in the development of the nation. In spite of substantial efforts to provide education in India, there are many challenges that impede universalisation of school education. Internal migration is one such challenge which becomes barriers to children's education. Though migration provides economic opportunities to escape from economic deprivation, it also has multiple influences on children, particularly between 6-14 years of age. Mainly, these children face challenges in getting education which is their basic and legal right.

1.3.Statement of the Problem

In spite of many efforts during the last six decades, several traditional, or historical causes, such as caste and gender, have played a crucial role in distancing the children from formal schooling. Besides the historically deprived reasons, it has also been identified that migration has a severe impact on children and their future. Based on the review of literature, it is recognised that the parental movement has its influence on children's education. In the whole process of migration for livelihoods, apart from the family members, children constitute the most vulnerable segment with reduced chances for finding a better future. In fact, the prospects to acquire basic education become a challenging task. Further, the literature review also reveals that there is a significant need to understand the educational challenges of children of internal migrant because this particular issue has not been highlighted in research, whereas issues related to migration alone received considerable attention. In fact, issues such as challenges for education, educational facilities for internal migrant children and parental participation levels in children education at both the destinations and the origins etc., have been grossly ignored in the research domain.

The present study will attempt to fill the research gap, in terms of understanding educational facilities and challenges faced by internal migrant children from the destination view in the construction sector with a case study based research in Rangareddy district of Telangana state. Further, the present study will also attempt to assess the socio-economic dimensions of internal migrants and their participation levels in various aspects related to children education. In fact,

socio-economic conditions of migrants are considered as deciding factor of the child's status of education.

1.4. Research Gap

It is found from the review of literature that the earlier studies have not attempted to find out the perception of parents with regard to educational access of their children at both the source and the destination, the impact of migration on children, the levels of awareness about policies and the needed interventions. In view of this reality, an attempt will be made in the present study to bridge this gap.

1.5. Hypothesis

The following hypothesis are made:

H1: If people, due to poor livelihood opportunities, migrate from rural to urban areas, their socio-economic conditions and children's education could improve

H2: If parents migrate to urban areas in search of livelihoods, their children's access to education is adversely affected.

1.6. Objectives

The study has been undertaken with the following objectives:

- To examine the policy approaches in response to internal migrants and education of their children,
- To study the socio-economic dimensions of internal migrants, and
- To find out the educational facilities, challenges faced by the children of internal migrants, awareness about the relevant policies and participation levels of their parents in the education of their children.

1.7. Methodology

To accomplish the objectives, as described above, the study has employed descriptive and analytical methods. Largely, the study used both secondary and primary data. For secondary data, the study relied on books, articles in refereed journals, reports and documents of different departments of government and non-governmental organisations and newspapers. For primary data, a field work was carried out by using quantitative data collection method. Since Ranga Reddy

district is around the capital city of the state with more scope for construction, as well as migration is very high, it has been selected to for the case study. The researcher believes that a quantitative study offers sufficient scope to go into all aspects such as socio-economic and political aspects of the respondents.

The study is based on a research in different construction sites of Rangareddy district. The study includes a survey of 200 internal migrant workers in the construction sector and 200 children, through a detailed questionnaire in four different places of the district. It is found that all construction sites are secured by guards and access to the work sites is extremely difficult. Thus, the sites for the research were selected purposefully based on the initial mapping exercises. The researcher used a variety of strategies to gain access to the workers and care was taken to interview a cross section of the workforce.

1.7.1 Sample Size

Four clusters of Rangareddy district, that includes Maheswaram, Rajendra Nagar, Seri Lingampally and Uppal represented with the total number of 400 (parents, 200 and children, 200) respondents. The research followed uniformity in distributing the sample size among each cluster. As far as the respondents were concerned, the questionnaire related to both parents and children was taken up by parents in the presence of their children. It is because the researchers believed that children cannot provide reliable responses to the questions due to the age factor. Since migrants and their children are mixed with gender, the researcher stratified the total sample structure into two sub-groups by using gender as a variable.

Table: 1.1. Distribution of Sample Size

Area	Number of Migrants	Number of Children	Total Respondents
Uppal	50	50	100
Maheswaram	50	50	100
Rajendra Nagar	50	50	100
Serilingampalli	50	50	100
Total	200	200	400

Source: Drawn by the researcher.

1.7.2. Data Collection

The field study was carried out at two levels. In the first phase, a pilot study was conducted to test the questionnaire in April 2013 in the selected four Mandals of Rangareddy district, which were found to have numerous construction sites and enormous scope for having internal migrants. The pilot study helped the researcher to develop the questionnaire more effective in collecting the data related to different factors that influence children and their parents. At the second level, the primary field study was conducted during September to December 2015. The study employed different methods to collect data such as distribution of questionnaire to get data from the respondents. The primary data was collected on socio-economic factors like religion, caste, gender, age, education levels, family size, land ownership, occupation, income levels of migrant and the factors that influence the education of their children in detail. It also covered, the policy approaches for migrant children and implementation in the field. During the process of field study, the researchers used various tools such as questionnaire and the direct observation method at the field site.

In the case of secondary data, the study relied on Reports and documents of the Labour Department, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India documents, Census data and books and articles published by various scholars in this field. The research also accessed e-resources.

1.7.3. Data Analysis

After collection of the data, the responses from the questionnaires were codified in order to simplify the data entry process. The study used Excel sheet in order to compute the data. The data has been tabulated and analysed by using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). Descriptive statistical tools, such as frequency distribution and cross tabulation, have been used to generate inferential statistical results from the data of the respondents. These tools have also been used to assess different variables such as the number of months the migrants live at the work site, the reasons for migration, caste profile, improved income levels, lifestyle after migration and challenges to children education at the worksite, etc.

1.8. Limitations of the Study:

The present study came up with several important findings in the field of internal migration and the relative effects on access of children's education. Despite its merits, the study has some limitations. One limitation is that the findings of the study are confined to the construction industry alone, which precludes generalising the findings. The other possible limitation this study comes across is that the study has not taken all categories of migrant workers in the informal sector into consideration.

1.9. Chapterisation

The study comprises of six chapters which include both introduction and conclusion.

The first chapter, titled *Introduction*, builds on the review of literature on education, internal migration, impact on children's education and exclusion of migrant children from school. It then highlights the significance of the study and objectives, based on the review of the literature. The chapter, further, talks about the methodology adopted in the study, including sample size, sampling procedure, data collection and data analysis. Finally, it ends with a brief discussion about the limitation of the study.

The second chapter, titled *Internal migration: An overview*, discusses the dialectics of internal migration and explains how migration influences human beings, particularly the disadvantaged and marginalised sections. Further, it covers various categories of migrations, challenges of documentation and its consequences on policy formulation. In addition, it discusses the violations of rights of internal migrants and also negligence of the state towards framing policies for migrants and their children. It also deals with the role of the construction sector in the whole movement of human migration in Telangana, as well as in India. It summarises that the relative deprivations of rural population due to destruction of livelihoods force them to migrate to urban settings in search of work.

The third chapter, titled *Elementary Education in India: Policy Retrospect*, is classified into various sections such as the origin and evolution of the elementary education system, policy approaches for education and the Constitutional safeguards. It argues that achieving universalisation of elementary education, which is one of the sustainable development goals

(SDGs), is not possible without having a policy approach that covers all sections of the children in society. In this regard, it traces that the state has made a few attempts to attain the goal of education for all, but it has faced many challenges that led to exclusionary aspects of millions of children based on various components. It also offers critical arguments of policy approaches of education and their failure, in order to include the excluded children into the mainstream education system.

The Fourth chapter titled *Internal migration Impact on Children Education: Critical Analysis*, offers an overview of the limited approaches for internal migrant children and challenges to the education of migrant children in India. While doing so, it also talks about the inadequate state commitment in both policy making and policy implementations for migrant child's education that results in millions of children being excluded from their basic right of the education. Further, it covers the significance of the Right to Education Act in addressing the challenges of migrant children and the impact of the Act after its enactment. In addition, it also discusses the role of non-governmental organisations in facilitating education among internal migrant children and also covers the experience erstwhile Andhra Pradesh in providing education to internal migrant children. Finally, it posits that there is a poor commitment by the government in continuity of policy implementation which results millions of children to stay out of school because of migration in India.

The Fifth chapter, titled *Socio-economic dimensions of internal migrants: Field survey data analysis* analyzes data from the respondents of construction sector in Ranga Reddy district. This chapter covers the socio-economic condition of migration and its role in inspiring the migration. It also focuses on the stark absence of policy approach in providing employment opportunities for the rural poor and challenges such as unsafe working conditions, poor wages and unavailing conditions of various social protection and welfare policy benefits for internal migrants in the unorganised sector.

The sixth chapter, titled *Field survey analysis of the internal migration impact on children's education*, evaluates the challenges and facilities for education of internal migrant children which focuses on the construction sector. Further, it attempts to examine the policy awareness and parental participation levels in the child's education process. It also examines the challenges of schooling at the destination, the lack of policies, and the poor policy awareness among parents. It

also analyses the limitations involved in sending the children to school and exclusionary aspects in achieving the said objectives.

Finally, the last chapter titled, *Conclusion*, synthesises all the arguments put together in the previous theoretical chapters and summarises the main findings of the empirical chapters. In doing so, the chapter highlights and analyses the policy understanding related to internal migration, education of migrant children, poverty of parents and policy challenges to provide education under the provision of the of Right to Education Act. This chapter offers a few recommendations and proposes future policy directions to provide education to all migrant children. The core argument made in the chapter is that proper awareness among parents could help all migrant children join regular schooling. Apart from this, there is a need for the government to frame innovative strategy to cope up the challenges in the education of the children of migrant workers.

CHAPTER – II

INTERNAL MIGRATION: AN OVERVIEW

2.1. Introduction

In any society, the key indicators to measure progress is individual development. In India, a large per cent of the population lives below poverty (22 percent)¹ and the poverty can be largely understood in terms of individual deprivations (Kabeer, 2010). Largely, the poverty is based on the economic characteristics of individuals or individual household's wealth or income. At present, millions of people, particularly from rural areas, are migrating to different parts of the country for their livelihoods and to escape from poverty. For the past few decades, movement of rural people to urban areas is increasing due to the development trajectory across and within countries. This developmental trend across countries shows that people are increasingly living in urban areas. In fact, rural to urban migration is persisting as an important component of urban growth (McCatty, 2004). Urban migrants are better represented among the better-off sections of the urban population. But the majority of migrants is being with less consumption of basic needs and work mainly as casual wage labourers in the informal sector. The urban reality in the case of migrants also shows that there are huge deprivations in the developmental process. According to Mahbub ul Haq, economic growth is essential in poor societies for reducing or eliminating poverty and the quality of this growth is just as important as its magnitude. Further, the basic purpose of development is to enlarge people's choices and these choices, in belief, can be immeasurable and can change over time (Haq, 1995). In the path of socio-economic development, labour migration within the country is an important livelihood strategy for millions of people who are highly deprived due to poverty in India. From a development perspective, internal migration can open up for two possibilities: that increasing individual capabilities or maximizing choices and distress human deprivations (Lucas, 2009).

While it also understood that migration provides an element of individual choice and this choice, for most of the people, is controlled by exogenous factors that deprive their capabilities (Newland,

¹ According to the Planning Commission (2011-12) report, the number of below poverty line estimated at 269.3 million of which 216.5 million reside in rural India. Though it has reduced the percentage to 25.7 percent in rural and 13.7 per cent in urban areas compare with 42 percent rural and 25.5 percent urban respectively.

2009). In fact, it is true in cases of forced migration which could be a cause for breakdown of mass violations of human rights or a well-founded distress of oppression create an obligation for the people to escape. It involves manifold elements in origin and evolve the notion of migration in the world. One of the major reasons has been that the mounting decline of agriculture based employment which led to absorb rural people by urban settings in name of work through the form of migration (Sainath, 2011).

At this juncture, migration, as a notion of people movement, is not new to the human race and migration from one area to another in search of better livelihoods is a key feature of human history (Srivastava and Kumar, 2003). Migration, as a movement of people from one place to another, undertakes a special significance in the perspective of developing societies that are in the process of reconditioning their social structure. Modern technologies, industrialization and urban growth are undoubtedly the most important instruments of change in such societies (Tripathy and Dash, 1997). Usually, higher degree of migration is proficient in any country, particularly developing societies would indicate high magnitude of their urban growth, which further result in migration of the people from villages to cities. It is the reason where migration from rural to urban is called as rural migration and this migration lead to effect the pre-established ways of life in the villages in order to enhance the levels of their aspirations. But migration has been contributing to economic and social development of the society. Aiming for better living standards in urban areas and in own villages is the main driving force behind the entire process of migration. Migration carries human capital to the areas of destination, entails investment in the employment of migrants, permits acquisition of new skills and accentuates economic cycle (Singh et.al. 2011).

At present, the contemporary migration is often involved short term or temporary in the multitude areas and the direction of the movement has always been driven by the particular wants of the time. In the pre-transitional stage of development, migratory movements assume a definite and regular path and migration of people takes place from rural to rural areas because of the stability of agricultural sectors. When the country began entering into an early transitional stage of development, the movement of people is directed from rural to urban areas. In other words, the urban area is viewed as the creation or source of new employment opportunities in secondary and services sector. Since the economic development in India is at a crucial stage, migration assumes new significance as both development and migration are closely interrelated. For a large country

like India, the problem of movement of people in different parts of the country helps in understanding the changing facets of the society at various levels.

From another dimension, migration is a basic social process and it has been the foremost factors in the division of labour and specialization of functions. According to Saxena, migration might have hardly reached the complex forms of body that they have attained today through transformation from time to time (Saxena, 1977). As a fact, India has around 100 million circular migrant workers alone by experiencing the same level with China and large scale temporary intra and inter-state mobility of labour is regularly observed across the country (Deshingkar, et. al., 2008). It is also estimated by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU)² that India along with China will have the largest increase in the working population by 2015³. But, still the domain of migration suffers with absence of better policy making initiatives in the world where India is not exception to this condition. The most impractical possibility is to keep the migrants in rural areas by rejecting the need of policies to cope up the problem (Gebeyehu, 2015). Apart from this, it also needs to assess the key elements that made a movement of rural populations to destination.

2.2. Essentiality of Migration

When it comes to the point of what is essentiality or important of migration, there are two clarifications for labour migration. First, it depends on the rational decision of an individual which means take a decision based on the will to migration where there is a demand for labour. Consequently, migration is linked with urbanization and modernization, as well as with development. For instance, about 60 per cent of growth in the urban population is due to natural increase, while rural-urban migration has contributed to about 20 per cent of increase in urban population (HPEC Report; MUD, 2011). However, rational individual choice is not only factor that affects labour migration but there are many other elements involved. Second, it highlights the fact that capitalist development has always wanted cheap labour. From these two issues, it is

² The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) is an independent business within the Economist Group that provide forecasting and advisory services through research and analysis through monthly country reports, country risk service reports and industry report. It is established in 1946 and headquarter located in London, England. It also produces regular reports on 'liveability' and 'cost of living' of the world's major cities that receive wide coverage in international media.

³ Source: <http://money.cnn.com/2015/07/30/news/economy/india-china-population/>. Accessed on. 29-10-2014.

understood that migration is observed as a class phenomenon and imbalanced development as the basic cause of labour migration. According to Sen (1980) that the respective capabilities, which the person has, to live the way he or she has reason to value. But the migrant labour force is evaluating as equal to their capabilities compare with their physical activity in the present capitalist society which always seeks for cheap labour.

In addition, there are two other important reasons for rural to urban migration that includes migration for survival which indicates the severe social and economic hardships faced by rural labourers and migration become necessary to lead the lives (Subramani & Jayaraman, 2015). As a reality, about 29.8 percent of Indians are living below poverty line and about 33.8 percent of rural people are under national poverty line (World Bank, 2010). In particular, these communities are generally landless, illiterate and largely from marginalised sections such as Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes⁴ and other depressed castes in India society. According to Deshingkar and Akter, labour migration is always from the most socio-economically deprived groups who are with poor assets and face resource and livelihood deficits (Deshingkar and Akter, 2009). On the other hand, migration for subsistence arises out of the need to supplement income in order to fill the gaps of seasonal employment. Such communities often migrate for shorter periods and do not ordinarily travel much distance from native places. Conversely, it is well recognized fact that caste, social networks and historical precedents play a powerful role in determining the forms of migration (Deshingkar, 2008). Therefore, any change in those factors would show a difference in migration streams.

2.3. Description of Migration

To precisely understand who is a migrant, a person or a group can considered as a migrant by place of birth if the place in which he is enumerated during the census is other than his place of birth. A person is also considered as migrant by place of last residence if the place in which he is enumerated during the census is other than his place of immediate last residence (Census of India; GOI, 2011). In fact, there is no single definition to accept by all about what migration is and

⁴ Official statistics of government of India show that SCs and STs are more deprived than other social groups. At the all India level, poverty among STs was about two times higher than non-SC/STs, the poverty gap ratio being higher among SCs compared to non-SC/ST groups. There is disparity among states (Thorat and Mahamallik 2005).

measure to justify migration but there are few definitions by standard organization which attempts to define the notion of migration.

According to International Organization for Migration (IOM)⁵ that “no universally accepted definition for migrant that’s exists. The term migrant was usually understood to cover all cases where the decision to migrate was taken freely by an individual concerned for reasons of ‘personal convenience’ and without intervention of an external compelling factor” (International Organization for Migration Report, 2002: 55). In view of Zelinsky (1966) migration is a cultural portent and an active element, which could be more than fertility and mortality, in population and the movement of people also a result of design of society that enfolded with economic, social, demographic and other forms of manners. While Demko, et.al (1970) understanding of migration as it is the most complex component of population change and also considered as a human adjustment in terms of economic, environmental and social problems. In sequence, Newell, Colin (1988; 82) deliberated migration as one of the important mechanisms of population change. Srivastava (1983) discoursed that migration is a tool of cultural diffusion and social integration of communities and similarly, migration can be viewed as a means of spatial interface.

In other way, much of literature by Lee (1966), McDowell and De Haan (1997) and Kothari (2002) preoccupied with ‘development-induced’ economic migration which resulted from unequal development trajectories which usually led to one-way population movements from less developed areas to well developed areas through the ‘push’ or ‘force’ because of poverty and lack of work and livelihood opportunities (Deshingkar and Start, 2003). Therefore, it applied to persons and family members who are moving to another country or region or place for betterment their material or social conditions for themselves or family. The constitution of India has also laid clear emphasis through specific provisions as citizen have right and freedom to move for livelihoods opportunities anywhere in the country. The constitution states as:

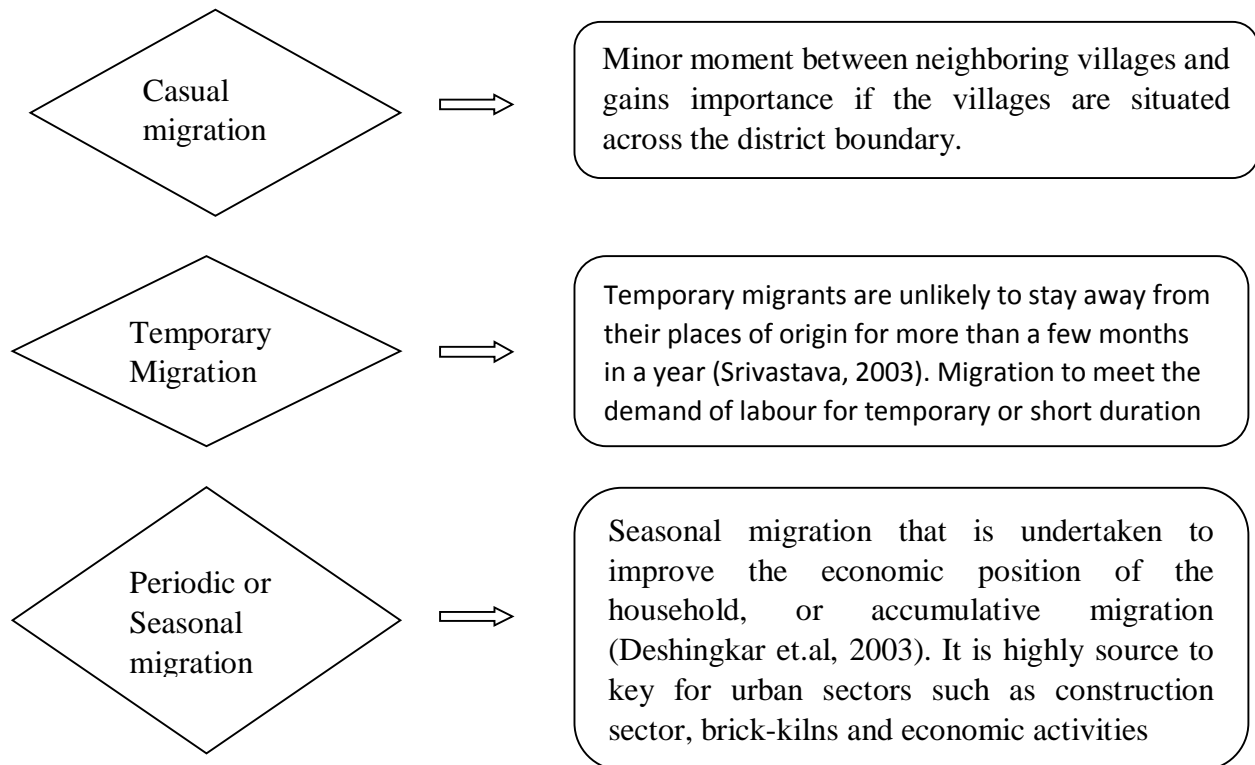
⁵ The IOM is an intergovernmental organization that established in 1951 as the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) to help resettle people displaced by World War II. At present, it has 157 member states and 10 observer states. Its principle aim is to promoting humane and orderly migration for the benefit of all and also advise governments in providing better services. Further, it also gives explicit recognition to the link between migration and economic, social and cultural development, as well as to the right of freedom of movement of persons.

Free movement is a fundamental right of the citizens of India and internal movements are not restricted. The Constitution states “all citizens shall have the right to move freely throughout the territory of India; to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India”.⁶

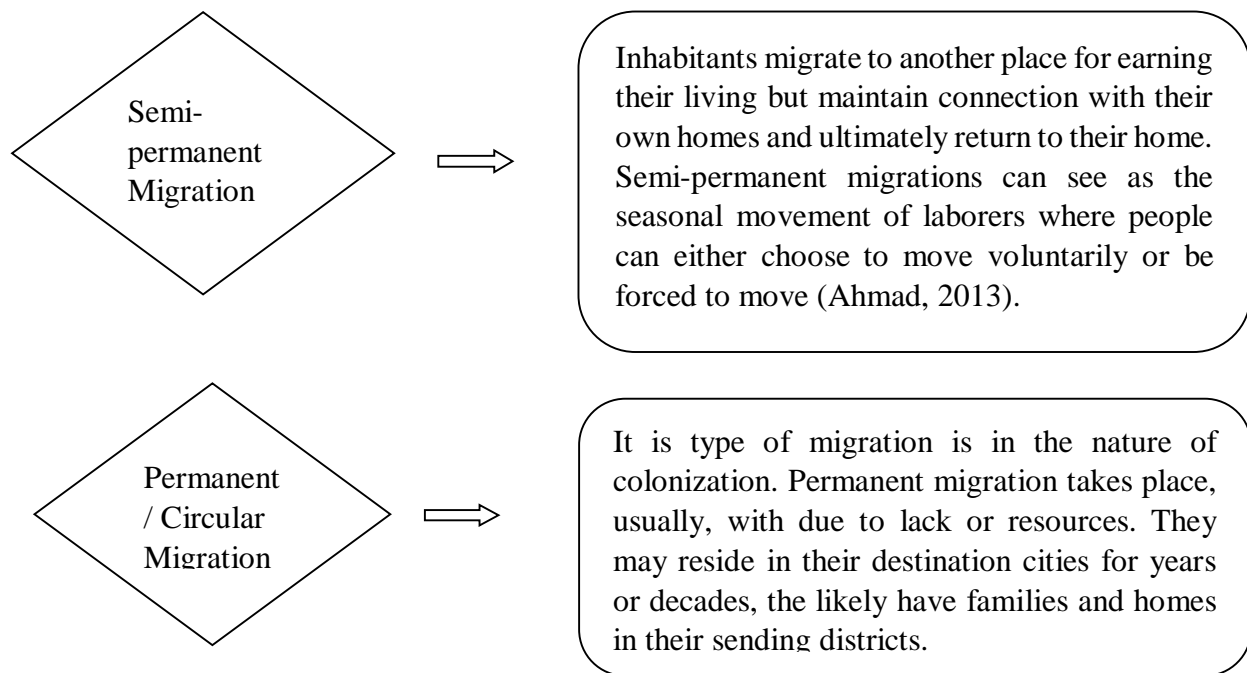
By and large, human migration is a physical movement from one area to another area and sometimes it may over long distances or in large groups. Historically this movement was wandering and often causing major conflict with the native population and their displacement or cultural adaptation. Only a few traveling people have retained this form of lifestyle in modern times. Migration has continued under the form of both voluntary migration within one’s region, country or beyond and involuntary migration. Certainly, as numerous studies revealed that the process of migration is always influenced by social, cultural and economic factors and outcome is being different for different groups, different locations and based on gender factor (de Haan and Rogaly, 2002). However, migration can be classified, based on its patterns, into five categories that explained below:

2.4. Type of migration

Usually the migration, based on patterns, is classified into five types



⁶Article 19(1) (d) and Article 19(1) (e), Part III, Fundamental Rights, the Constitution of India, 1950.



Source: Researcher drawn on his own understanding from literature

The very common aspect among all the above different streams of migration is that lack of resources which decides the employment and financial sources to them at their origins. From the above diagram, it also can be drawn that out of all streams of migration, seasonal and circular migration patterns consider as substantial rivulets of people internal movements for livelihood opportunities in India. It is due to surplus labor arising from the inadequacy of cultivated land, inequitable land distribution, low agricultural productivity, high population density, and the focus of the rural economic almost solely on agriculture have led to a continuous increase in outmigration. In addition, having little access to land in a largely agrarian society leaves the landless and marginal farmers with less alternatives to survive at origin rather migrate to other places. Finally, the duration of migration also merely depends of resource and work availability at sending areas. For instance, the migrants have land as his own with no irrigation resource expect depending on rain waters then he/she may prefer to migrate for un-rainy season and they come back during rainy season to cultivate their land.

2.5. Internal Migration

As defined earlier that internal migration is either voluntary or forced movement of the people for their livelihoods. Internal migration is a process of entering from one administrative subdivision of a country to another sub-division. Internal migration as Out-migration is the process of leaving one sub-division of the country to take up residence in another sub-division and in-migration is the process of entering in one sub-division of a country to take up residence from another (Todaro, 1980). The Census of India defines an internal migrant as a person residing in a place other than his/her place of birth or one who has changed his/her usual place of residence to another place (Srivastava, 2012). In other sense, the process of internal migration occupied an important scope in terms of population redistribution and human mobility within the nation by having much attention for last few decades. The rate of migration in major states of India is also driven out over progress view from the end of 20th century. In the last five censuses data regarding rural-urban migration was found the dominant magnitude of migration in India. Of course, employment and marriage have been two major reasons for internal migration.

Internal migration is now recognized as an important factor that influencing social and economic development, particularly, in developing countries like India. The census data shows that internal migration has grown rapidly during the 1990s because of liberalization policies and it has reached its uttermost range during the beginning of 21st century. In fact, the states with higher per capita income and much control of non-agricultural sector led to not only high 'in-migration' but also high 'out-migration' rates in India (Bora, 2014). While inter-state migration magnitude has grown very faster than intra-state pattern of migration. In India, internal migrants are expected to touch 400 million in the 2011 census which is over half of the global figure of 740 million (Census; GOI, 2011). At the same time, the number of migrants are reached to 400 million in 2011 compare with 309 million about 30 per cent of total population in 2001 and 226 million about 37 percent of total population in 1991 (Census Reports; GOI, 1991 and 2011). It is clear to understand that the number of internal migrants are growing decade by decade. These internal migrants, comprising a third of India's total population. To realize the fact, there is more attention on policies for emigrants but internal migrants are given very low priority in government policy approach that led to fail in order to provide legal or social protection to the vulnerable section of internal migrants in Indian society (UNESCO Report, 2013).

Table: 2.1 Statistics of Internal Migrations during 1971-2011

There are some statistical evidences that help for better understanding of how internal migration has grown decade by decade since 1970's.

Magnitude of Internal Migration (in millions)		
Year of Census	Total population	Internal migration
1971	548.1	159.6
1981	659.3	200.5
1991	814	220.5
2001	1028.9	309.3
2011	1210.2	400

Source: Census of India from 1971 to 2011, Registrar and census commissioner, GOI, India.

The above table indicate that the increase of internal mobility in India census by census. Whereas it was only 159.6 million in 1971 and it noticed upsurge in 2011 that accounts 1210.2 million. Apart from the whole internal mobility, the mobility for labour has diversified impacts on not only individual but also on family. However, the internal migration is understood as four major forms that explained below.

2.6. Major Streams of Internal Migration

The Census of India (1971) has identified four types of internal migration. They are:

a) Rural to rural migration

In this process, an individual leaves the rural village of origin and moves to another rural areas to take up residence (Arora, & Kumar, 1980). It is the most predominant form of migration among all the migration streams. Though the rural-rural migration happens to be the most prominent, as per census reports this form of migration has registered a steady decline since 1961 census within this category (Census, 2001).

b) Rural to urban migration

An individual who leaves rural origin and migrates to an urban area is identified as rural to urban migrant (McCatty, 2004). The rural-Urban migration has shown an increase over the period of

time. This stream of migration is most predominant form and increased over the period of time among all the migration streams. The role of rural-urban migration in Indian urbanization has been comparatively less significant although the absolute volume of the shift of population from rural areas to urban areas has been very significant (Mitra, 2008). Rural to urban migration, among four patterns of internal migration, is most dominant stream. In other view, Sarkar (1978) reported that rural to urban migration, in most developing countries such as India, is due to different socio-economic push and pull factors. However, Lakshmanaswamy (1990) viewed it as being favorable to economic development.

c) Urban to Urban migration

An individual who leaves the urban origin and migrates to another urban areas is identified as urban to urban migrant. This stream of migration accounts least number among total migrants all together. In urban-urban migration, people migrate to major metropolitan cities for better jobs, may be white-collar jobs or for better education and also for better living standards.

d) Urban to rural migration

An individual who leaves the urban origin and migrates to a rural area is identified as urban to rural migrant. This stream of migration was at last the position but it also has increased over the years due to compulsion of jobs, transfers and also marriages.

From the above four types of internal migration, rural to urban and urban to urban migration is growing its significance with increasing number from census to census in India. Whereas, the rural-rural pattern of migration has been dominant phenomena of migration until 1990's which means before liberalization policies came into existence. The main reason behind is that rapid decline in agricultural based opportunities in rural areas and constant growth of urbanization with various employment opportunities irrespective of skills. In other sense, migration to urban from rural areas also helpful from escaping exclusionary practices based on caste in India. However, all these four internal migration streams are livelihood strategies of the people, particularly to the most disadvantaged sections of Indian society. Besides this, there are many other reasons in related to urban to rural migration such as job transfers or marriage in very limited cases. Whereas the census (2011) findings also points that the decade of rural distress with growing urban migration with urban-rural growth differential. It is due to lack of meaningful employment in rural areas is

often a consequence of poor government policies. Particularly, urbanisation, with issues of rural-urban migration, is receiving more and more attention. According to Gulger (1991), in countries with rapid urban growth, governments aim to slow this growth and redirect it into smaller cities. While governments see a larger political payoff from having prosperous cities and hidden rural poverty, rather than unattractive capitals and rural investments. In this regard, the Todaro also states that urban-rural differences in expected incomes rather than actual earnings lead to migration. Individuals look at the employment opportunities that are available to them in the rural and urban sector, and choose the one that gives them the most gains from migration. Apart from this, the reverse migration, which has less possibility, is a condition of later transitional stage of development.

2.7. Reverse migration

As it is discussed, in the later transitional stage of development, the rapid growth of industrialization, transport, communication, other economic and social overheads in urban areas. Urbanization with industrialization is one of the key dimensions in the modernization process of a society (Singh, 1998). In addition, decline of agriculture and agriculture based employment opportunities encourage people to migrate in larger numbers from smaller towns to big and specialized metropolitan cities in search of better employment opportunities. In super advanced stage of development, the migration is mostly from urban area to rural areas. The reverse migration is also due to congestion of industries and pollution in urban areas that induces industrialists to set their projects in sub-urban areas where the initial costs of setting new industries is tremendously low. The rising cost of living in megacities is also force people to reverse migration. In India, migration is largely fueled by Push and Pull factors, the increasing regional disparities, rural-urban disparities and urban bias in economic planning. On the other hand, lack of proper mechanism or tools by the state to quantify the data of migrants become a major hurdle for policy framework which is missing establishment in case of internal labour mobility in India.

2.8. Internal Migration and Documentation or Data collection Challenges in India

Though the migration phenomena is growing at high intensity, there is poor attention given by the government in order to collect data of migrants which could be main source to frame policies for the migrant's welfare. In fact, the data or statistics of government or any authentic institutions only helpful in either studying or understanding the migration in any country. As per the census of India,

place of birth has made the analysis of migration. Census data collection is in operation from 1872 and still continuing⁷. But from 1961 onwards data was collected on birthplace, rural and urban wise and also migration data on intra-district, inter-district, inter-state and international migration in India is presented. Since the 1961 census onwards data is extended to information on duration of residence at destination place (Verma, 2015). 1971 census onwards, the migration information table has included another question on the place of last residence⁸. Apart from this, it added some more questions on reasons, for migration, literacy, main workers, marginal workers and non-workers from 1981 census onwards. Consequently, many of the dynamic long-term effects of internal migration cannot be precisely estimated. Harris & Todaro are two researchers who initiated the understanding of migrant patterns in 1970's that explained in terms of urban to rural differences in expected earnings (Miheretu, 2011). Then after, the transition of migration from urban-rural to rural-urban pattern took place due to enormous growth of urbanization or globalization and increased employment opportunities in non-agricultural sector. Whereas, internal migration is important to understand the population redistribution. But they face different problems at destination because of very poor initiatives by the state. Though there are many international and national organisations like UNESCO, UNICEF and WHO and Government of India, National Statistical Survey Organisation (NSSO) and many other institutions are working to include migrants in every developmental aspect of mainstream society (Yesudian, 2007). But there is still missing evidence of collecting exact data of internal migrants that leads portrayed migrants as burden to society and excluded them from urban planning and policy initiatives. In fact, there are many recommendations suggested by the different committees to cope up the problems of lack of data and legislation regarding migrants which is the major challenge in mitigating the causes and consequences of migration. These recommendations include that make Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRI's)⁹ involvement in countrywide for documentation of migrant workers in rural areas and adopt the census and NSSO approach to capture barriers of migration.

⁷ Source: http://censusindia.gov.in/Data_Products/Library/Indian_perceptive_link/History_link/_censushistory.htm, accessed on: 16.09.2014.

⁸ Source: <http://www.yourarticlelibrary.com/essay/sources-and-the-nature-of-population-in-india/43091/>, accessed on: 09.03.2015.

⁹ Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) have been the backbone of the Indian villages since the beginning of recorded history. According to Mishra et.al (2011) 'Panchayat' literally means assembly (yat) of five (panch) wise and respected elders chosen and accepted by the village community for self-governance purpose. Panchayat or Panchayati Raj is a system of governance in which gram panchayats are the basic units of administration. It has 3 levels; village, block and district. Panchayati Raj in India came into force with constitutional body status through 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act in 1992.

But those recommendations did not materialized due to lack of political will of policy makers in India. In addition, internal mobility is critical to the livelihoods of many people, especially tribal people, socially deprived groups and people from resource-poor areas. However, migration, with lack of data, is largely invisible and ignored by policy makers. There is large gap between the insights from macro data and those from field studies (Srivastava, 2003). In spite of having pit falls over documentation of the data of migrants, there has been institutional attempts to gather the statistics of migrants.

2.10. Evidences of evolving migration in India

There are different streams of migration generally relating to the degree of economic and social development in the area of origin as well as at the areas of destination. Basically, the census of migration in India are two types: migration by birth place and migration by the place of last residence. The migration of people can happen either international or internal which include inter-state (Long distance) and Intra-state (short distance within the state). As per 1991 surveys, there were nearly 82.11 million migrants recorded in India, of which intra state migrants constituted 85.2 percent followed by inter-state migrants 13.5 percent and the remaining as international migrations. The next Census (2001) revealed that the total number of migrants was nearly 300 million. Out these migrants based on their residence, 80.10 million were intra-state migrants and 10.70 million were inter-state migrants. As per 2011 census, internal migrants are reached almost to 400 million and it is twice as compare with china which is estimated only 221 million (Census; GOI, 2011). Among these population, nearly 30 per cent are youth aged between 15-29 years and another 15 million are children who are below 14 years of age (Planning Commission; GOI, 2013). It shows that movement of people within the state was predomination in India. In addition, the most growing streams of migrations are both intra-state and inter-state. It is very easy to understand the dialectics of differences of various migrations through statistics provided below:

Table 2.2: Trends of Inter-State and Intra-State migration in India

Inter-state Migration		Intra-State Migration	
Name of the state	(%) Percentage of migrants for work	Name of the State	(%) Percentage of migrants for work
Maharashtra	11.8	Maharashtra	11.5
Uttar Pradesh	10.6	Uttar Pradesh	11.3
Madhya Pradesh	9.7	Andhra Pradesh	10.4
Andhra Pradesh	9.5	Madhya Pradesh	10.2
		Bihar	8.2

Source: Census of India, GOI, during 2011.

In overall internal migration, the above five states obtained the highest percent of intra-state and inter-state migration in India. These states are not only fetching top place of in-migration but also for out-migration. Eventually, Andhra Pradesh is also growing rapidly in attracting migrants (percentage is 10.4) from other states because of various reasons including tremendous economic development and rapid growth of construction sector particularly in cities such as Mumbai, Delhi and Hyderabad. Intra state migration has the highest share in few states like Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh. In total migration of India, the highest share of inter-state migrants in nearly about 96 percent cities and towns is due to nature increase of movement from formally defined boundaries or states. In general, the cities grow due to the influence of people coming to urban centers and often the number of migrants is significantly more than the town's normal or natural increase. However, there are various elements and factors that influence or force to migrate.

2.11. Different Motives for Growing Trends of Internal Migration

Though movement of people within short distance or state is more dominating pattern, a significant number of people move from one place or region to another region or place in India. There are states like UP, Bihar, A.P, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Kerala, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu being as major migrant originating states. Most of these states are less developed and having regions which are very poor within these states too. Mostly, the preferred destinations are neighboring states in large number of cases, besides the big cities like Bombay, Chennai, Hyderabad, Calcutta and Delhi. However, migrants are to be attracted by employment opportunities offered by the urban

labour market in the both formal and informal sector. For instance, the migrants from UP, Bihar, Orissa are migrating to industrially developed states. The majority of migrants move to urban areas in order to work as labourers either unskilled or semi-skilled. Occasionally, the reverse migration could be the result of rural development programmes (MGNREGA) which helped in getting some source of work in their villages. In fact, the rural-urban migration is becoming the main cause for urbanisation in developing countries like India (Reddy, 2013).

On the other hand, the present rate of employment creation in agriculture sector is decreasing and the non-farm rural economy inclines to grow only where agricultural growth is strong (Bhalla, 2009). For large parts of the country with undependable farming based livelihoods, migration, with all its risks, offers better returns and better prospects for raising living standards than local employment. But there are new 'pull' factors such as labour intensive urban construction, manufacturing and mining and a growing service industry attract people to distant destinations despite the risks and isolation from family that migration poses. There are also important non-economic reasons for migration which have so far received little attention. These include escaping oppressive caste relations and restrictive family environments, and the desire to experience city life. It shows that various motives, such as difference pull factors, influence the migration and distance of migration which means either intra-state or inter-state migration. As it is discussed, urbanisation is also being one of the dominant factors that grab the attention of economic and socially deprived labor from rural areas into sectors like construction sector.

2.12. Urbanization as cause to growth of Rural- Urban Migration

Migration has been the main component of urbanization which led to high rural to urban movement of people in order to search for better livelihoods. Urbanization and migration are an integral part of economic development. According to census (2011), one third of the population (about 31 per cent of the total population) lives in urban vicinities and it could also notify that rapid growth of urban population compare with earlier census. It means that the urban population that comprising 377 million people out of a total population of 1,210 million people spread almost in 8,000 cities and it is expected to reach 600 million by 2030 (Planning Commission Report; GOI, 2011). Rural-urban migration is a reply to diverse economic opportunities across the world. In true sense, industrialization is a major cause of urbanization and it has expanded the employment opportunities. Thus, it led to migration of rural people to cities in search of better employment

opportunities. Besides, social factor is also another important reason that influence high magnitude of migration (Mahapatro, 2010). It emphasises that there is interconnection between urbanization and rural-urban migration in India. In point of fact, urban growth did not take place till 1930's but late 1930's onwards, the growth rate of urban population started increasing. The condition is due to the initiation of neoliberal policies in relation to industrialization, the growth rate of urban populations has reached at its peak during 1900-2000. This increasing march of urbanization has been the major cause of modernization and economic development of the urban industrial centres in general. As per 2007 data, it is first time that noticed more than half of the world's population are in urban areas which indicates that rapid growth of rural to urban migration (UNPD, 2008).

The urbanization pattern in India has been undergoing significant change. The share of urban population in total has grown from about 11 per cent in 1901 to nearly 29 per cent in 2001 and 31.16 per cent in 2011. According to the census of India (2011), nearly 37 crores of total population lives in cities which hold 31.2 percent of the total population and it may increase by 40 percent out of total population by 2021 (Census of India, 1991, 2001 and 2011). This Urbanization has been attributed to the 'attraction of city lights' and the Census of India also acknowledges that migration is one of the important factors contributing to the growth of urban population (Rajan, 2011). It may also be worth noting that rural-urban migration constitutes a significant component of 80.1 million intra-state and 10.7 million inter-state migration in 2011 (Chandrasekhar, 2014). Rural-urban migration has two significant impact. One, it leads to misallocation of labour between rural and urban sectors in the sense that it raises urban unemployment, underemployment and poverty. Second, it increases the social cost for providing for a country's growing population (Haseena, 2014).

Table: 2.3. Urbanization Growth from 1951-2011

Year	Urban (Percentage)	No. of Cities or Towns	Rate of Growth of Population in Urban Areas
1951	17.29	3035	
1961	17.97	2657	2.37
1971	19.91	3081	3.29
1981	23.34	3981	3.87
1991	25.70	4615	3.16
2001	27.79	5161	2.75
2011	37.70	7,935	9.91

Source: Census of India, GOI, 2011.

The above data shows that there has been constant growth in urban population by migration and the period between 2001-2011 can be identified as rapid growth of population than ever before in India. It also envisages that disorganized migration is not the way to urbanize and there are many undesirable outcomes that have resulted in rural as well as urban areas from the migration. Rural areas stand to lose from the out-migration of skilled residents. In case of urban areas, the main problem is that slums are growing as a result of over flow of migration into towns or cities. For instance, 4 percent of population in the country lives in slums and 54 percent of the population lives in slums in Mumbai (NSSO, 2006-07).¹⁰ The spatial pattern of urbanization will also affect the possibilities for the country to pioneer new and less resource-intensive forms of development (IIHS Urban India Report, 2011). The trends indicated in Census 2011 would be valuable to weak existing schemes and also to formulate new programmes to prevent rural-urban migration by creating economic opportunities close to their place of residence. It would also provide an empirical basis for better urban planning.

2.13. Development and Rural Poverty as Cause to Internal Migration

Apart from other facets of migration, it also generates many problems for migrants to adjust in the urban environment. The urban environment cannot encourage their smooth incorporation as they

¹⁰ Source: <http://infochangeindia.org/poverty/news/54-of-mumbai-lives-in-slums-world-bank.html>, accessed on: 12-04-2014.

are obstructed between two cultures that are rural and urban. They continue to maintain their link with their native villages through occasional visits and transfer of funds to their family members which helps them to remain ties with their soil and people. Meanwhile, they strive to adjust in urban social set-up because their situation demands. Consequently, they do hold stranger status in urban localities and they are, mostly, forced to lead negligent life in urban areas. As it has varied evidence from studies, marginality creates several problems such as social and psychological which combined with overcrowding and congestion that creates difficult situation. In fact, the problem of adjustment will arise in two key contexts. Firstly, rural and urban is one aspect of the sociological migration. Secondly, the most important aspect is change in the social and economic structure of the villages because of contact with the towns or cities. Whereas, this aspect became very significant in developing countries like India.

In fact, it is underlined that the poverty is one of the major reasons of human migration in India. Though the nation has attained tremendous rate of economic growth in last three decades, majority of population particularly in rural areas are unable to sustain with meaningful livelihoods (Abbas & Varma, 2014). As per 2010 data, there was 29.8 per cent population lived below the national poverty line whereas 33.8 percent of rural population below the national rural poverty Line (World Bank Report, 2010). Perceptibly, these sections became choice less except migrate in order to search work. On the other hand, migration involves many costs and risks and the government move at policy level, often, as anti-migration which push the internal migrants for labour is hidden at larger context. Although it is not an ideal or easy way of earning money and improving the living standard, it is the only option in places with lot of disadvantages and remote rural areas in many states of India. Though there is urgent need of recognition from policy point which can cope up the poverty of people, the state has largely hidden regarding migrants. In fact, they do not be considered as full citizens in their place of work. In the formal context, they lose voting rights, as well as free healthcare and subsidized goods under the Public Distribution System (PDS). It becomes hard to them in accessing free education for their children.

Any policy on migration, it should aim at diminishing the costs and risks of migration. There is an urgent need to reform policy in these critical regard and remote areas. It is, therefore, understood that certain section of people due to poverty, remain under poverty and they are not in a position to avail services and benefits of the government due to their constant movement. These conditions

push the migrant labourers into more vulnerable situations. According to Mishra, there is one single dominant feature which stands out among the variety of factors in influencing migration and it is a state of severe landlessness and lack of asset, causing grinding poverty leading to receive advance from agents as one of the inducement for migration (Mishra et.al, 2000). In various cases, the families are breaking into parts due to this migration which is become a distress to the rural people in India. In addition, migration also maintain differences based on gender, which a common practice in every sector.

2.14. Gender Differences in Migration

Since many decades, women always have been dominated by male driven society through various ways in India. As far as the labour migration is concerned, it is usually men migrate first and then the family moves once the male migrant has established himself. However, labour migration is getting feminized especially in developing countries like India with changing trends of family needs (United Nations, 2004 and Karlekar, 1995). There are cases as evidence for increasing women migrants with family as well independently that happening many states of India and Kerala could be a best example. As Rao emphasised that the major type of women migration in Indian context is survival migration (Rao, 1996). For instance, there is substantial proportion of graders in the tobacco growing areas of South India, particularly in Andhra Pradesh. Not surprisingly, these women migrants belong to down trodden sections that gives an evidence how these sections, irrespective of gender, are limited to physical labour which further lead to labour exploitation in the society. Where Berman study on seasonal migrant labourers and women estimated about 58 percent of all seasonal migrant labour were women in India. It is also observed that tribal women in particular were more liable to sexual exploitation (Deshingkar, 2003). The below table explains the distribution of gender wise internal migrants.

Table: 2.4. Distribution of internal Migrants by Duration and Sex

Duration	1991		2001		2011	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Less than One year	8.5	3.7	5.0	2.2	4.5	2.1
1-4	26.1	17.0	21.5	15.3	18.0	13.9
5-9	16.6	14.7	15.3	14.9	13.2	13.6
10-19	20.9	23.6	20.6	24.8	18.0	23.9
20+	20.9	37.6	23.3	36.4	20.0	31.4
Duration not stated	6.7	3.6	14.1	6.3	26.1	9.9

Source: Census of India during 1981-2011, Govt. of India.

Moreover, the gender possibilities for migration are also determined by caste. For forward caste families, it is traditionally restricted the women to work outside her home and men, mostly, who migrate. Due to modernization, the attitude of people and traditional restrictions on women migration is changing. However, the states like Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh, the majority of migrants are male and there is a discriminative difference in wage distribution based on gender. Unfortunately, the national level large scale surveys are unable to capture the reality of women migration. It is happening because women are treated still as secondary earners, invisible in the official data system. Consequently, no effective policy measures are drawn to alleviate the sufferings of these migratory women who lack even basic facilities at destination areas. It is also well understood that women and children are the most invisible and vulnerable among internal migrants and their struggle is hidden at larger (Deshingkar, 2004).

Table: 2.5. Gender wise percentage distribution of migrants in different distance categories during 2007-08

S. No.	Types of Migration	Rural		Urban		Total	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1.	Intra-district	52.5	69.57	27.71	38.32	37.59	59.05
2.	Inter-district	27.77	24.15	39.31	42.51	34.71	30.33
3.	Inter-state	17.77	6.07	31.9	18.72	26.27	10.33

Source: NSSO, 2007-08.

It is shown in the above table that female migration is higher among any type of migration in different distances. Whereas the female migrants are high from rural to urban areas that indicates women working becoming an essential condition for family existence in both intra district and inter district categories of migrants. While the movement of male migrants is highly predominant than female migrants, in case of inter-state migration.

2.15. Internal Migration and Marginalised Sections in India

As earlier discussed that the caste, social networks and historical patterns play a major role in influencing patterns of migration (Mahapatro, 2010). There are two general kinds of migration among various poor and socially deprived communities such as Scheduled Caste (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Backward Castes (BCs). These sections of people works in brick-kilns, unskilled construction sector and etc. In addition, working conditions are not much different from bonded labour with limits on personal freedom, long working hours, debit bondage and underpayment. While children from these sections who are widely employed in brick-kilns, textile markets, cotton fields, tea shops, are particularly exposed to exploitation in various contexts. Migrants face discrimination more generally because they often belong to historically disadvantaged sections (Deshingkar, 2008). With regard to wages, women from disadvantaged sections are vulnerable to face double discrimination.

As it has enough evidence that migrant population, mostly, belongs to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Castes and the key reasons that include landlessness, infertile land are the major cause for their economic backwardness as well their social status (Nitya, 2014). It is very clear that vulnerable groups in any society are the prime victims and crusaders for

their livelihoods. Even after 60 years of Independence in India, Dalits and Adivasis still face economic, social, cultural and political discrimination in the name of social stigma. It is also emphasised that “centuries of ‘hidden apartheid’ that has perpetuated discrimination and denial of their human rights, has resulted not only in Dalits representing a disproportionate amount of the poor in India, but also in the creation of numerous other obstacles that hinder Dalit’s ability to change their situation” (Artis, et.al. 2003:3). In India, certain communities such as Dalits have been slaves for many decades because of hierarchical Hindu society. In the meantime, they do not hold any ownership on land and being as wage labourers that forces them to migrate in order to search for source of livelihood. On the other side, the constitution has confronted to empower these down trodden sections from social and economic deprivations which lead to their forced movement. In spite of these challenges and obstacles, there are few legal provision under constitution of India that aimed to ensure rights of migrants.

2.16. Constitutional Rights and Legal Safeguards for migrants

The constitution of India has conferred numerous rights on the protection of migrant labour. Among them, Article 19 emphasize the guarantees of freedom of movement and freedom to settle within the territory of India as a fundamental right of all citizens (Laxmikanth, 2013). There are many articles such as 38, 39, 41, 42, 43 and 47 which are part of the Directive Principles of State Policy under Part IV of the Constitution to provide safeguards to the labour force (Neelakantapillai, 2010). But the major question rise out of how all these are effective in practice because there are experiences in the past where state has neglected citizen’s welfare particularly marginalized and excluded sections such as internal migrants. Yet, migrants face several barriers in access to civic amenities, housing and employment, as well as restrictions on their political and cultural rights because of linguistic and cultural differences.

According to the report of the National Commission on Rural Labour (1991), the inter-state migrant labourers are highly subjected to severe exploitation against the rights of decent work (Iyer, et.al. 2003). According to Rodgers, migration involves labourers are facing lack of access to public infrastructure or deprivation, exclusion and denial of civil rights (Sargeant ed., 2013). The framers of our Constitution were aware of the malignant effects of such forms of discrimination and exploitation and hence provided a powerful way of provisions to end exploitation based on caste, gender and labour etc. Article 14 of the constitution describes the concept of Equality before

law. The notion of equality does not mean absolute equality among human beings which is physically not possible to achieve. Article 23 of the constitution prohibits forced labour. In addition, Articles 41 and 43 imposes a duty on the state “to make effective provision to secure the right to work, education, payment of living wages, working conditions, decent standard of life and full enjoyment of labour and social and cultural opportunities to the workman” (Sargeant, 2013:14). The Constitution of India assumes decent work through right of migrant labour which means work with accepted moral standards and quality of work.

In addition, the Constitution also visualizes through its preamble in S.R. Bommai case that “there shall be an egalitarian social order in which justice, liberty, equality and fraternity are assumed to every citizen to secure the dignity of the person, fraternity among the citizens for unity and integration of the union” (Iyer et.al, 2003: 13). In an another case, the Supreme Court interpreted that right to livelihood, right to environment, right to residence, right to health and right to economic empowerment are fundamental rights which is not exercising by most of the citizen at present due to vast inequalities among people (Garje, 2013). However, it is not happening in reality because lack of observation and commitment by the state. On the other hand, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948) declares the dignity of an individual are unchallengeable human right, economic empowerment, cultural pursuits and education, employment, food, clothing and shelter as basic to human dignity. It is understood that the laws and acts are not succeeding in ensuring the protection and access of basic amenities to migrants. These conditions forces migrant labourers to live in unhygienic conditions and ending their lives as bonded labourers. Inappropriately, the phenomenon of bonded labour is deeply rooted in social, cultural and feudal structure in India. Unfortunately, there has been no systematic study to assess the magnitude of bonded labour at all India level. As it discussed earlier, the change of migration patterns such as from rural- rural to rural - urban can highly view from economic and liberalisation policies in India.

2.17. Internal Migration and Liberalization from Economic aspect

In 1990s, India has adopted the New Economic Policy (NEP) that is known as liberalization of economy. The basic feature and aim of this policy is to withdraw public expenditure to reduce fiscal deficit to the state, opening up the export oriented growth and encouraging private participation for efficiency. Surprisingly, the new economic policy was believed by the backers

and critiques that these reforms will increase internal migration. It is also believed that the movement would enhance economy and job opportunities for speed up rural to urban migration through increased pull factors. On the other hand, it is equally believed that economic reforms would adversely affect the village livelihoods and cottage industries and may cause to decline rural population through rural-urban migration (Kundu, 2011). Predictably, it helped to achieve 6 percent of economic growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) within one decade from the commencement of the new economic reforms. During the post-liberalization phase, the importance of cities and urban centres has been growing in India's economic development (Batra, 2009). For instance, the contribution of urban areas to India's GDP has increased from 29 percent in 1951 to 47 percent in 1981, to 60 percent in 2011 and it is expected 75 percent by 2021 (Report of Planning Commission, 2008 and Census, 2011). The census of 2001 revealed interesting issues regarding internal migration which emphasized on regional pattern and the contribution of rural to urban migration in urban growth (Bhagat & Mohanty, 2009). There are some forward groups of Indian society but majority of internal migrants are from the poor and disadvantaged groups who are migrating more for work.

Most of the intra-district migrants are females who change their parental households and join their husband's households after marriage (Srivastava and sasikumar-2003). But there is growth of inter-state migrants when compare with 1971 to 2001 census (54 percent) and it has reached to highest percentage by 2011 census. It shows that prompt growth of employment opportunities in sectors like construction, industry and so due to industrial development. There is no doubt that the inter-state mobility has considerably increased during 1991-2001 coinciding with India's economic liberalization policy initiated in 1991. At the same time, there has been constant decline in intra district migration, which is symptom of reduced opportunities in agricultural sector.

2.18. State and Civil Society in Response to Internal Migration

Inevitably, migrant workers are neglected by all three major columns of society that are the state, market and civil society. The state has largely ignored the migrant workers, mainly because it perceives internal migration or the relentless shift of people from villages to cities as a problem. Despite the growing number of people are effecting to this phenomenon, the policies of the state have failed in providing any sort of legal or social protection to this vulnerable population. Further, it leads to severe and deliberate abuse of human rights. Since it is highly constant moving nature

of employment, migrant worker are excluded from the significance of both urban and rural policy framework. According to Saxena, there are no policies for migrants as compared to the rural poor (UNESCO, 2013). Inappropriately, a growing misunderstanding of the majority phenomenon is often at the root of misjudged policies or inaction regarding migration. As it is evident by UNESCO and UNICEF reports that internal migrants are excluded from the economic, cultural, social and political lives of society and are often treated as second class citizen (Report of IMIN, 2011).¹¹ It also assumed that the need of inclusion of internal migrants for a sustainable development based on cultural diversity, social cohesion and human rights which also called rights based approach (UNESCO, 2013). United Nations also emphasized for conversion informal network to formal network with policy changes and creative practices for a better inclusion of internal migration.

In addition, most of the civil society initiatives stroked in the artificial separation of ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ geographies and population led to millions of people miss out them, who are considered neither rural nor urban because of their migration (Davis, 2003). But focused interventions and commitment of the state can help migration as more secure and honorable experience in their livelihood struggle. These interventions, notably, have been led by civil society organizations working on the increasing casualisation and in-formalization of labour. There have been certain attempts to understand the vulnerabilities and concerns of seasonal migrant in India and to frame course of action and prepare services for migrants. However, many groups and organization are working to increase wages, improve working and living conditions of migrant labourers and to also enhance the flow of information and credit to migrant workers. These organizations also work to protect their claims and entitlements and to control distress migration in India. As part of the state response to migration, there are few initiatives have enacted to include internal migrants.

2.19. Measures and Challenges to Prevent Migration for Labour

Migrant labour makes enormous contributions to the Indian economy through major sectors such as construction, textiles, small industries, brick-making, stone quarries, mines and other services. But migrants remain on the periphery of society, with few citizen rights and no political voice in shaping decisions that impact their lives (Kabeer, 2012). Unlike countries in Southeast Asia and

¹¹ Source: http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/FIELD/New_Delhi/pdf/Migration_Vol.1. Accessed on. 05-12-2012.

East Asia, the bulk of the migrant workforce in India has little or no education (Srivastava & Sasikumar, 2003).

Migration has always been conceptualized as problematic in the context of policies both nationally and internationally (Pandey, 2014). In fact, it is difficult task to the government in framing welfare schemes for poor migrants due to their constant wandering from one place to another. Since people are migrating in different ways such as seasonal, circular and permanent migration, there is less effort by the state in capturing the data of migrants. Consequently, they are missing from benefits of state policies and services. It also leads to not participate in many state activities such as voting which is the right of citizen in the process of democracy. On the other hand, there is no proper methods to collect the data of migrant labours from government side.

2.19.1. Inter-State Migrant Workmen Act (ISMW Act) 1979

The ISMW Act is an obsolete piece of legislation. It was drafted in the mid-1970s and in the specific context of inter-state movement of labour. It largely governs contractors and attempts to bring them under some kind of regulation, which is desirable. As safeguard for the inter-state migrant workers, the act intended to provide for payment of minimum wages, journey allowance, displacement allowance, residential accommodation, medical facilities and protective clothing etc. But there are several facets of internal migration that have opened up since then, which the ISMW Act does not even consider. Indeed, the act has not been much effective in delivering noted services as per act. Because, it has challenge of considering the migrant workers who are eligible to get benefits out of ISMW Act. According to the definition by the act, it only recognizes those workmen who have been brought to the new state by only registered contractors and not otherwise which is problematic to millions of inter-state migrant in benefiting from many state schemes¹². However, it is true that there exists many national as well as state legislations that pursue to address the problems faced by the migrant works. But many of them are obsolete pieces of legislation as they suffer from gaps in the implementation part (Kurian & Bhamidipaty, 2013: 159). Certainly, unless government take cognizance of these deficiencies, the problems of the migrants will continue. Apart from the legal provisions, there are limited policy interventions such as Integrated Rural

¹² Source: <http://infochangeindia.org/livelihoods/features/state-markets-and-civil-society-have-failed-migrant-workers.html>, Accessed on.09.04.2014.

Development Programme (IRDP), Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY) and MGNREGA which mainly intended to ensure better employment to rural poor in India. But most of these policy failed to reach out the targeted poor with many lapses at implementation level.

2.19.2. Hopeless Employment Guarantee at Origin areas

MGNREGA considered as key policy initiative that can prevent distress migration of labor from rural to urban areas in India. Though the employment guarantee programme partially address the unemployment problem of the rural poor, it forget large sections of migrant workers. Wages in India are very lowest and those wages are also not settling in a time bound. Though the programme claiming that it has recognized 52 thousand work, there is no single work provided to the people in few villages. A study by the NGO (2013) reported that the labourers who have worked under MGNREGA from April to September in 2014 did not receive their wages in Andhra Pradesh (Kamath, 2008). The delay in distributing the wages to the labourers make them not participate in the programme. Regardless of the government claim that the MGNREGA is one of the key factors in reducing rural to urban migration, the problems involved in its implementation make the programme ineffective. Though there are sufficient funds, the government is unable to assign work to rural poor under the employment act which results to migration in most of village of Andhra Pradesh. Surprisingly, it is not crossed even 6 percent families out of total families who claimed for work where the Act main ambition is to provide 100 days' work to every family (Report on MGNREGP in A.P.; GOI, 2014-15). Fascinatingly, the benefit of the programme out of this act is not increased while the budget allocation are growing year by year budget.

Table: 2.6. MGNREGA Indicators:

Year	Number of Households provided employment (in crores)	Average number of person days of work per household	Total Expenditure
2006-07	2.10	43	8823.35
2007-08	3.39	42	15856.88
2008-09	4.51	48	27250.10
2009-10	5.25	54	37905.23
2010-11	5.49	47	39377.27

2011-12	4.99	43	38034.69
2012-13	4.25	36	28073.51

Source: Standing Committee on Rural Development, GOI, as on 31-01.2013

The above table shows that the number of households of getting employment has been increasing in till 2010 and then it started decline. It also shows that average number of person days of work per household are registered as reducing year by year. Interesting the number of households and average number of persons getting employment is reducing where the budget for the programme is high during 2011-12. The report of emphasis about regarding the performance of the act that there is large scale participation of women, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes (SCs/STs) and other traditionally marginalised sectors of Indian society (Sedwal & Kamat, 2008). Further, it also noticed that SCs/STs account for 51 per cent of the total person-days generated and women account for 47 per cent of the total person-days generated which. It shows that majority of socially deprived sections of the society are highly benefiting from these programmes because they are landless poor that lead to their force move from villages in order search livelihoods. In fact, the primary objective of the MGNREGA is aimed at enhancing livelihood security of rural households for creating durable assets and discouraging migration. However, these sort of programmes does not completely became solution to avoid people's movement from villages. Consequently, the migrants at destination are highly vulnerable to face many complicated challenges.

2.20. Challenges of Internal Migrants at Destination

According to Bhagat, one of the strong barriers to migration is 'Sons of the Soil' politics that can experience in major cities like Mumbai and this phenomena are negatively portrayed migrants as 'burden' to society, discouraged from setting down and excluded from urban planning initiatives (UNESCO, 2013:7). In addition, migration underplays their importance in improving family nutrition and reducing the need to borrow for essentials. Furthermore, new evidences shows that migration earnings are being invested in agriculture, small enterprise, education, health and housing all of which contribute to improving household wellbeing. On the negative side, male migration from nuclear families can lead to loneliness and increased work burdens for women.

Poor migrants are often employed in risky jobs like industrial sectors, long working hours and unhygienic conditions. Migrants are also exposed to transferable diseases because of the poor,

crowded and unhygienic living conditions (MFHA Annual Report; GO, 2013-14). They often face exclusionary processes that prevent them from acquiring new skills and moving up the job ladder. Despite the contribution made by migrants to the national economy, most remain on the margins of society, contributing cheap labour but unable to influence their pay or working and living conditions, and without political voice, especially where they migrate to other states. Migrants are preferred over local labour by employers because they are cheaper, work harder and are not unionized. As migrants become important sources of labour across the country, services and support for migrant workers need to be seen as an essential investment for India's development trajectory. From this view, the state must bring integrated policy approach in order to cater the basic needs of internal migrants. With this background, it, further, tries to understand the outlines of internal migration in Telangana state which was part of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh.

2.21. Internal Migration in Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh

Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh is one of the largest states in India by holding 4th place in terms of geography and 5th place in terms of population (8, 46, 65,533) till 2014. It has 67.66 per cent literacy rate in which male and female literacy rates are 75.56 per cent and 59.74 per cent respectively (Census, 2011). However, the state has bifurcated due to relentless people movement for self-rule of Telangana. The Census (2011) has come into access as both the present states as together. Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh was one of the top states in India in holding vast percentage of both out-migration and in-migration. But the reasons may be different from district to district and region to region. For instance, migration in Rayalaseema is high cause of droughts and Coastal Andhra is different where migration take place due to floods and districts like Mahaboobnagar and Adilabad are drought prone and backward areas. In addition, caste characteristics plays key role in the whole phenomena of migration. This denotes extreme economic and often social hardships, landless or land-poor, unskilled and illiterate poor are migrating as labourers. In these kinds of situations people do not have any choice than migration and they do not have even the place or type of work after migrating to new destination. Migration for survival is well recognized in Andhra Pradesh (Oslen & Murthy, 2000). In case of Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh, it is evident that migrant labourers have identified few factors such as dry land agriculture created by drought, crop failure and poor terms of trade worsened the situation and led to the cause of migration. The statistical trends of migration in erstwhile Andhra Pradesh can be found in table below:

Table: 2.7 Percentage of Migrants to the total population in Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh during 1961-2011.

Years	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Male	21.33	20.03	20.89	18.65	20.34	23.41
Female	42.74	41.3	43.43	40.66	41.45	39.11
Total	31.89	30.54	32.02	29.5	30.78	31.92

Source: Census of India: 1961-2011.

From the above table below, it is understood that there was no major change, between the years 1961 and 2011, in the proportion of individuals reporting migration but one can see a marginal decline in the proportion of migrants. In the year 1961, 31 percent of the households were migrants but by 2001 the proportion has fallen marginally to 30 percent. The in-between years show a fluctuating trend in migrations while in 1981 the migrants formed 32 percent of the individual while by 1991 it fell to the lowest in the period of analysis to 29.5 percent. The proportion of male migrants has been consistently around 20 percent while the female migrants are around 41 percent. But between 1961 and 2001 the proportion of migrants for males as well as for females has witnessed a decline.

2.21.1. Urbanisation and Growth of Migration in Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh:

In case of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh, the rapid growth of population is taking place in cities and towns. According to the census 2011, the urban population has reached to 33.49 from 27.03 in 2001. The state government is not taking enough measures to handle the growing urban population. Majority of the population are suffering from lack of infrastructures and toilets which is primary need to human survive.

Table: 2.8. Growth of urban population in erstwhile Andhra Pradesh

Trends of growing urban population in Andhra Pradesh	
Year	Urban Population (in percentage)
1961	17.4
1971	19.3
1981	23.3
1991	26.9
2001	27.3
2011	33.4

Source: Census 2011.Eenadu, July 4th, 2012, p.4.

Though rural-urban pattern of migration is increasing, the reality is remained that the urban growth has rural inter-related aspects such as demographic, economic, spatial and infrastructure. In other way, providing basic amenities to these massive migrant population in urban setting is becoming a huge challenge to the government. Unfortunately, the government lacks effective policy framework in this regard. However, the government has made a resolution that the cities should be able to provide basic services to migrant workers, their families and other vulnerable sections of society including women and children (12th Five Year Plan; GOI, 2012-17). But there is no positive out-come in providing basic facilities to the migrants in urban areas. In spite of continuous increase of migrant population into urban areas successively put pressure on physical and social infrastructure but still majority of population still live in rural areas. There is need to mobilize the availability of resource for large number of rural programmes that reduces flow to urban areas. The solution is to develop villages and create employment in rural areas and development of rural infrastructure.

Table: 2.9. Percentage of Rural and Urban Migration to total population in Andhra Pradesh during 1961-2001

Year	Rural			Urban		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1961	17.55	42.52	29.96	38.4	43.84	41.05
1971	17.83	42.49	30.06	35.62	40.33	37.91
1981	15.81	42.63	29.11	35.63	41.53	38.53
1991	13.83	41.19	27.35	31.23	37.86	34.48
2001	14.89	43.21	28.93	34.73	36.74	35.71
2011	15.67	44.07	30.01	36.31	34.64	35.82

Source: Census of Indian: 1961-2011.

Above table illustrates the rural and urban migration since 1961 to 2011 in Andhra Pradesh. These figures, therefore, refer to percentage of population whose place of listing is different from place of birth. The data suggests that there is a consistent decline in the percentage of migrants over the period except 1981 and again there has been a slight increase in 2001 census. In the case of gender difference female migrants were dominates in every decade.

2.22. Internal Migration and Construction Sector in Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh

The Indian economy has turned from traditional to modern with the induction of liberalization policies since 1990's and it required huge infrastructure development. Consequently, there was sudden up rise in construction projects like SEZs, power plants, airports, railways corridors, highways and bridges. In addition flyovers, IT parks, residential and commercial projects are coming up in uproar with modernization and globalisation. By considering the huge population and the strong prospects for industrialisation, growth expected in the construction sector. Constituting an important segment of the overall services industry (7 per cent of total GDP) and recording an annual growth of over 10 percent over the last five years, the construction industry is one of the biggest employees of labour in India (Basu, 2012). Construction Industry constitutes 40 per cent to 50 per cent of India's capital expenditure on projects in various sectors such as

highways, roads and so where it is occupied as largest sector after agriculture in India¹³. It lays an emphasis that the construction sector forms an integral part of the economy which is poised for growth on account of industrialization and economic development in order to meet the rising people's expectations for quality living. According to 11th planning commission plan document, employment in the construction sector in India has witnessed a steady increase from 14.6 million in 1995 to nearly 31.5 million in 2005 (FYP -2012-17, GOI) and it is maintaining continuous growth. The point here is to note that the percentage of skilled professionals has gone down from 15.3 percent in 1995 to 10.5 percent in 2005, while the percentage of unskilled personnel has registered a significant increase from 73 percent in 1995 to 82.4 percent in 2005 (11th FYP: GOI, 2012-17). As construction sector is growing rapidly, it is become a source for millions of rural poor as their livelihood option of employment.

2.23. Conditions of Migrant Labourers in Construction Industry

As a key driver of the economy, infrastructure is highly responsible for propelling India's overall development. The construction industry enjoys intense focus from the topmost officials of the government for initiating policies that would ensure time-bound creating of world class infrastructure in the country. As discussed earlier, the construction industry is one of the India's largest employment provider to millions in India. The construction workers who build the new apartments, offices and road and bridges live in uncleanness vicinities, roadside tents or slums. In addition, migration from various states to other states has become more extensive and it has impact in every aspect life of migrants. They are migrated from the devastated agricultural sector in order to escape from poverty. They are pull on into labour economy characterized by exploitative labour practices, unsafe working environments, inhuman living conditions that lead to complete exclusion because their lack of education and skill make their choice very limited (Kumar, 2006). They have little or no work and their income differs according to seasonal or other fluctuations in the demand for labour. The lives of labourers in construction sector seem to be not at all worth to anyone as they are working in unorganised sector. It is evident that on an average one labour dies in the city of Bangalore every day¹⁴. In the field of construction sector, the chain of exploitation of labourers begins from the villages. Usually, local mediators supplies workers to

¹³ Source: <http://www.indianmirror.com/indian-industries/construction.html>, Accessed on. 08-01-2015.

¹⁴ Source. <http://www.ritimo.org/article4856.html>. Accessed on: 28-10-2012.

the contractor in city. Both get cuts out of the wages paid to the labourers and there is no direct transaction between the builder and the labourers. The story of migrant labourers in construction sector is a tale for other migrant workers across the country. Unfortunately, construction companies are not at all providing any basic facilities such health, shelter with essentials and education to their children as well these companies are not following minimum wages act in India (Kumar, 2006). In fact, the exploitation of migrant construction workers has grown combined with the expansion of the industry. Interestingly, a growing industry such as construction has to take proper care by government but yet the industry has not shown any inclination of devising a foolproof system that places sufficient checks in the sector to verify regulations and conducts. This aspect of neglect by the government agencies led to ineffective handled issues concerning the welfare of workers such as wages and working conditions of migrants in construction industry. But the expenses to run the family in cities like Hyderabad always tough task to them with less wages.

Table: 2.10 Wage rates of migrant workers in the construction industry

Occupational Profile	Wage per day (in Rupees)
Manual Labour	120
Welder	150
Gas Cutter	150
Carpenter	150
Height work	160
Fitter	180
Mechanic	180
Electrical	200

Source: Primary data of Eenadu, July 4th, 2012, P.4.

2.24. Construction Sector as informal and Unorganized Sector

Construction sector is one of the industries growing very rapidly and depends mostly on manpower. It is also known as informal and unorganized sector in India. Construction workers, in India, are guaranteed certain forms of protection and rights under a broad canvas of labour laws and the Constitution of India. These include the right to minimum wages, overtime payments,

weekly offs, specific allowances in case of migrant workers, housing and other social security benefits (Basu, 2012). As employees, construction companies are legally responsible for providing protection to workers. In reality, the compulsions on them to follow the rules are far and few. Under existing labour laws, the penalties imposed for the non-execution of responsibilities like maintenance of proper muster roll, non-payment of minimum wages etc. On the other hand, the construction industry being as globalized sector relies on outdated methods of operation such as the use of contractors for the supply of labour. The contractor system was a dominant feature of the colonial mode of labour recruitment and production. The Royal Commission on Labour in 1929 actually recommended the abolition of the institution of the contractor (Mitchell et.al, 2012). However, this institution not only continues, but has actually deepened with the boom in the construction industry and creates its own problems in protecting the rights of labourers. Globalization has contributed to increased business opportunities for the construction industry but things have not improved for the workers who constitute the life and soul of the industry. However, it seems to make all construction companies to follow the law of the land regarding fulfillment of basic rights related to employment, safety and welfare of workers still remain a distant dream because it is an Un-organized sector.

2.25. Construction Sector in Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh

Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh is one of the states in India, registered the high developmental growth rate during 2000-2005. Hyderabad is also competing with other metropolitan cities such as Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai, Chennai and Bangalore in increasing the rate of construction industry with real-estate boom. In fact, the development of informal sector in the city of Hyderabad enhances the intensity of migration of unskilled workers to the urban areas. In fact, it is evident that the construction industry will play a major role in economic development of the state and the state government has decided to invest over Rs.4, 00,000 crore till 2010 in the development of infrastructure like ports, roads, power plants etc. (Tiwari, 2012). This will give rise either directly or indirectly to huge demand for the construction industry in the next ten years (Report on Construction Industry; GOAP, 2013). The demand for construction industry is, highly, soaring for two reasons. First, the thrust to build the growth engines will stimulate the development of almost the entire range of infrastructure. Second, economic growth will create the need for industrial estates, business complexes and housing. These are main reasons to answer how construction

sector become a major contributor to economic development in Andhra Pradesh. Usually, in-migrants in A.P. are very much from Bihar, UP, Rajasthan and Orissa along with local migrants. The migration from states like Bihar, West Bengal, Odisha and Chhattisgarh are high to Hyderabad city seems to be on demand as the construction industry is under severe shortage of man power due to various reasons. It leads to the rates of skilled and unskilled labour has gone per day.

2.26. Implementation of Labour Act in the Construction Sector

On the other hand, the welfare of the workers in unorganized sectors like construction industry are ignored by the state (Sankaran, 2009). Though there are many programmes and policies which intend to protect the rights of migrant labourers and provide basic amenities such shelter, proper health and education, it is not holding by the state. Due to this condition, contractors are also neglecting the protection of labourers in the site. Hyderabad is the most common destination in Andhra Pradesh where laborers go for construction work. Apparently, droughts are the main reason for leaving their lands in A.P. They are prepared to do any kind of work in construction industry after they reached the destination. Contractors routinely flout the many regulations that are meant to give migrant labourers security and basic provisions. There are many acts which intend to protect the rights of labourers such Minimum wages Act 1948, Contract Labour (abolition) Act 1970, the Equal Remuneration Act 1976, Interstate Migrant Workmen Act 1979. All these acts are not effective in implementation due to lack of will and momentousness by the government that remains migrant labourers in worst conditions. Whereas it, further, also emphasised by Oliver et.al (2013) that in many parts of the developing countries have been unable to offer effective responses to migrants through existing labour law and social protection schemes. It is due to lack of an integrated, holistic approach to address various challenges such as health, education and an adequate standard of living that faced by migrant workers.

Government policies and programmes are silent on the issues of migration and protection of the rights of migrants. This is evident in the Five Year Plan (FYP) documents. But the 11th and draft approach to 12th Five Year Plan recognize urban transition in a positive framework, yet no reference has been made to the issue of migration (Planning Commission; GOI, 2007-12)¹⁵. There are some recently formulated policies and programmes such as the Jawaharlal Nehru National

¹⁵ Source: http://planningcommission.nic.in/plans/planrel/fiveyr/11th/11_v1/11th_vol1.pdf, Accessed on: 09-03-2015.

Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) and Rajiv Awas Yojana (RAY) which address the issues of the urban poor and slum dwellers but neglected the conditions of migrants in cities. Unfortunately, there is no single ministry that deals with the issues of migration in India. In addition, internal migrants, often, faced discrimination as ‘outsiders’, which excluded them from access to legal rights, public services and social protection programmes accorded to residents (UNESCO Report, 2012)¹⁶. This is despite the migrants providing cheap labour and typically doing the most dirt, dangerous and degrading jobs that locals do not want to do. From being a burden on society, migrant’s cheap labour provides a subsidy and contributes to the national GDP. Moreover, remittances for migrants lead to increased expenditure on health and education helping human capital formation.

2.27. Conclusion

It is envisaged that internal migrants who shift from village to urban areas in various sectors have to face multi facet challenges. These challenges include lack of identification at destination, poor shelter, inappropriate wages, no schooling facility for children and not much assurance of health safety through insurance. With regard, shelter, mostly migrants live in the very worst conditions in a replica of slums. Usually, migration and slums are inseparably linked, as labor demand in cities and the consequential rural-to-urban migration creates greater pressure for the accommodation where state and construction companies hidden the need. In 2011, 68 million Indians lived in slums, including one quarter of the population in 19 cities with more than 1 million residents and the majority of them are internal migrants (Census, 2011). Finally, these people are experiencing sudden throw out from their shelter without any rehabilitation. The migrant workers also do not indulge into the banking system for economic relations due to lack of their inability in producing residence proof which further excludes from banking and also end up with informal channels of saving money. In most of the cases, migrant workers are either seasonal migrants or circular migrants where both option forces them to be continuous displacement. This condition has become a cause to deprive of many opportunities such as exercise their political rights. It also asserted by a survey (2011) that nearly 22 per cent of migrant workers did not have voter ID (Abbas and Varma, 2014). Mostly, migrants highly depend on the contractors and middlemen who decide the recruitment and wages of the labour. Consequently, it leads end up working in low-end, low-

¹⁶ Source: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0022/002237/223702e.pdf>, Accessed on: 08-04-2015.

value, hard and risky manual labor and are becoming subject to exploitation in many aspects. In other words, the migrants are dispersed throughout a vast urban or rural picture also very constrains their potential or organize themselves in formal or informal ways which further weakens their bargaining power regarding wage and working conditions.

Though there has been many policy recommendations about the need of policy of the state to prevent internal migration, there is no much influential policy intervention by the state. In addition, policy intervention in case of Interstate migrants is more required because their problems in different aspects. In this regard, it articulates ideal working conditions for interstate migrants, but it has not been used to create a better policy environment in practice. In this scenario, the state and market have not contributed much to the welfare of migrant workers, but civil-society organizations have been able to come up with solutions that have helped enhance returns from migration. While non-governmental organisations innovations regarding migration practice helped to improve work opportunities for migrants into stable livelihood options but there are lots to improve. Most importantly, children of the internal migrant workers are highly effected section and there are few NGOs have designed and implemented noteworthy initiatives such as seasonal hostel and child care centre to include them into mainstream education but still thousands of children's schooling are effecting due to migration.

Meanwhile, the scale of internal migration flows as well as the distresses impact on migrants are enormous. The overview of the phenomenon exposed that in spite of valid contribution of migrants to the economy, the protection through policies to migrant still very poor. It is fair to justify that the state and market has failed in facilitating safeguards to millions of internal migrants and the succeed initiatives. On the other hand, civil society interventions in much migration areas that offer context- specific solutions that also not adopted by the state to protect this marginalised section of workers. Hereby, it envisages the need of national strategy in order to ensure basic work conditions can improve the lives of these highly neglected sections for a long time in India.

With this understanding of the present chapter, the next chapter will deal with elementary education in India and policy retrospection. Whereas, it, predominantly, focuses on policy approaches for universalisation of elementary education, challenges to achieve education to every child with critical proportions.

CHAPTER- III

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION SYSTEM IN INDIA: POLICY RETROSPECTION

3.1 Introduction

It is a well-recognised fact that education can be an important catalyst for the socio-economic transformation of any country. The state has been making few efforts to provide basic education for all its citizens (Hiryakkanavar & Patil, 2008). Today, even in rural areas, there are a large number of schools. This has given rise to the perception of ‘rural education.’¹ In fact, there are about 87.13 per cent of the total schools located in rural areas of the country (DISE, 2009-10).

Since independence, there has been a considerable growth in the total number of schools in India. For example, during 2009-10, the number of schools (primary and elementary) increased from 8,53,601 in 2002-03 to 13,03,812 (DISE: MHRD, 2011). During the last few decades, much priority has been given to improve the infrastructure and access. This has resulted in improving the access from just 2,09,671 primary and 13,596 upper primary schools in 1950-51 to 7,90,640 primary and 4,01,079 upper primary schools respectively by 2011-12 (MHRD; GOI, 2014). In addition, there has been concerted effort by the administrators and policy-makers to bring all children, including girl children and those from the disadvantaged sections, into mainstream schooling.

Despite all these efforts, there were 25.96 percent illiterates and 8.3 million children are left out of school in India (Census of India, 2011 & UNESCO, 2010). One possible reason for such a state of affairs has been the lack of will from the implementing agencies at the field stage. In fact, if proper steps are not taken up by the State, there are all possibilities that the 86th amendment would largely end up as an exercise in futility. There are many programmes or initiatives like the National Tech Mission, District Primary Education Programme, National Open School, Mid-day Meal Scheme, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), apart from the Right to Education (RTE) Act (RTE), to achieve the

¹ As per Census (2011), majority of India still lives in villages (72.18 per cent). This suggests that most of children pursue their school education in rural areas. No wonder, school education is also known as rural education and, the topic of rural education in India is of utmost importance.

aim of providing education to every child in the country. A study carried out by National Institute of Education and Planning Administration (NIEPA) found that there were 42,000 schools not having buildings of their own in India and many of them were functioning from rental buildings (NIEPA, 2006). Also, about 10 percent schools were found to be operating from single classrooms, 90 percent of which were located in rural areas. It has also brought out that almost 81,000 schools, including 49,000 primary schools, did not have blackboards (Kesav, 2010). In addition, malnutrition among children is another major challenge; about 2.1 million children, on an average, die before attaining the age of 5 years - which means one child in every four minutes in India (UNICEF, 2015). Yet another study has highlighted that about 30 percent children in the school-going age suffer from malnutrition (Tewari, 2015). In addition, the government itself has admitted that about half of the total government schools do not have toilet facilities and only one third of the total government schools have electricity connections (Education Report of the Indian Social Institute, 2012). Besides this, about a million posts of teachers are vacant and nearly 55.8 percent schools, out of the total number of schools, fail to follow the revised pupil-teacher ratio norms. Further, most of the teachers are expected to perform non-teaching duties due to lack of clerical staff in schools.

The goal of universalisation of education can get a big boost once the education system is well-equipped with better infrastructure and the issue of shortage of teachers is overcome. Only then will it be possible to meet the deadline of SDG-2030.

3.2. Significance of Education

Education not only empowers the citizens to become active stakeholders in the functioning, but also enhances their participation in mainstream society. Education is designed to guide a child, in fostering his/her behaviours to transform successfully into adulthood. From the economic perspective, education offers several opportunities for those who acquire it. Dr. Ambedkar had very rightly pointed out, “the object of primary education is to see that every child that enters the portals of a primary school does leave it till he or she becomes literate and continues to be literate throughout the rest of his life” (Ambedkar 1982:40).

As Talcott Parsons perceived, “the school is an agency through which individual personalities are trained to be motivationally and technically adequate to the performance to adult roles” (Bryan S Turner, 1993: 1959). This brings out the significant role of education to individuals in any society

since it would further lead to the advancement of the nation through better educated human resources. In this context, Deshpande says, “whether it is poverty or disease, crime or corruption, casteism or religious bigotry or economic stagnation, there is unanimity that all these evils in the country springs for one major cause – the lack of primary education”(Deshpande, 2002: 4628). In other words, education is most effective tool in reducing poverty because the expansion of schooling is likely to benefit primarily the poor (Behrman, 1990). No wonder, illiterate individuals or households are likely to be less productive, and often experience low level of living where nations also with significant illiteracy remain at low standards of living (Atchoarena, 2003).

3.3. Constitutional Provisions to Education for All

Literacy and universalisation of elementary education are considered to be the basic foundations on which development of a nation depends. Taking this fact into account, the founding fathers of the Indian Constitution very thoughtfully laid down the importance of education in Article 45 of the Directive Principles of the State Policy which comes under Part IV². It states that State should strive for universalisation of elementary education within a period of ten years. However, this goal largely remains an unfulfilled dream. Several commissions and Committees, appointed by the government, have made a host of recommendations to improve the state of education in the country. Even though the enrolment rate in schools has risen phenomenally, the high drop-out rates continue to be major roadblocks in our mission to achieve universalisation of education.

The Constitution-makers fully understood the importance of education and made it a fundamental right to protect the educational interest of all sections of society. Articles 29 and 30 are intended to protect the educational interests of the minorities, whereas especially Article 29(II) states “No citizen of India can be denied admission into any educational institution, which is either maintained by the state or receiving aid out of state funds on ground only of religion, race, caste, language or any” (Mishra, 2009: 103). Further, Article 46 states “the state must have special care over the disadvantaged communities, particularly, regarding their educational and economic beneficial protection” (Juneja, 2003: 10). It emphasises the state responsibility over providing education for

² Part IV of the Constitution of India comprises the Directive Principles of State Policy that are not “enforceable by any court” but are “nevertheless fundamental in the government of the country” and the State in duty bound to “apply these principle in making laws” under Article 37. In contrast, the Part III comprises Fundamental Rights that are enforceable in the courts. However, underlining the criticality of Part IV, the Supreme Court ruled in the Unnikrishanan Case (1993) that whereas Part IV provides the goals of the Constitution, Part III provides the means to achieve these goals.

marginalised sections children such as Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe and other backward children in the socially stratified Indian society. In addition, Article 350 (A) states, “it shall be endeavor of every state and local authorities with the state to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups: the president may issue directions to any state as he considers necessary for recurring the facilities” (Part XVII: Constitution of India). All such Constitutional provisions are envisioned to provide education to all the children irrespective of their caste, religion and economic background. Despite significant legal and policy provisions, the government has not been able to achieve universal access of education due to poor implementation mechanism. The following section will briefly discuss about the policies and approaches adopted from time to time in order to achieve UEE.

3.4. National Educational Policies or Approaches

As the Education Commission (1966) cautioned, “in an age of science, there can be no greater risk than a policy of drift and niggardliness in education...” (Tilak, 2003: 618). At this point, it is necessary to understand the significance and role of national policies on education in achieving the Universalisation of Elementary Education. Since independence, mostly, the Indian education system has been regulated on the base of national policies on education which gives a clear route map and financing clarity to reach the national goal of education as well to adjust to the changing education-related needs and aspirations of the people. Given the significance of education, from the year 1968 onwards, the goal has been to spend at least 6 per cent of the national income on education. The GDP³ allocation for education has constantly increased from 0.8 per cent in 1951-52 to 8.3 per cent in 2010-11 (Central Statistical Office; GOI, 2011).

3.4.1. National Policy on Education, 1968

This policy has played a significant role at both the central and state levels to increase the attention on educational reconstruction and reorientation. As per the recommendations of the committees on education, education should be a nationally accepted fivefold goal. These are: modernisation, social and national integration, democratization, productivity and moral and spiritual values. It was

³ The GDP is one of the primary indicators used to gauge the health of a country's economy. It is the monetary value of all the finished goods and services produced within a country's borders in a specific time period. Usually, GDP is expressed as a comparison to the previous quarter or year. In other words, economic production and growth represented by GDP has a large impact on every one aspect, or sector development of the nation within the economy.

also suggested that “education should be given a statutory basis everywhere and in all sectors, and Education Acts should be passed in all states and union territories” (Mohanthy, 1988:17). After careful consideration and nationwide discussions, the government of India has declared the National policy on Education-1968. The NPE, 1968, on education has laid down that investment on education be gradually increased to reach six percent of the national income as early as possible.

3.4.2. National Policy on Education 1979

This policy stated, “the aim of education should be the growth of the individual through truthful life without detriment to the welfare and progress of society and our cherished ideals of freedom and social justice” (Biswas & Agarwal, 1986). This policy is important because it was made by the Janata government (Non-Congress) which decided to revamp the system of education in the country as per the recommendation of National Policy on Education in 1979. In this policy, highest priority was given to free education for all up to the age of 14 years as laid in the Directive Principles of the state policy and elementary education should be an integrated stage with proper facilities (Jagannath Mohanthy, 1988).

3.4.3. National Policy on Education, 1986, and Programme of Action, 1992,

For the first time in the history of education in independent India, the government of India (GOI) itself prepared a Programme of Action (POA)⁴ for the implementation of National Policy on Education (NPE), 1986. The goal of NPE, 1986, and its POA as reviewed in 1992, was to provide education for all children between the age group of 6-14 years (up to Class V). This policy also emphasised on total eradication of illiteracy, with the coverage being extended to children with special needs, education of the girl children, weaker sections and minorities (Report of National Policy on Education, 1986). The National Policy on Education, 1986 had drawn attention of the policy makers on the issue of equality and focused on the abolition of disparities and to equalise educational opportunities for all. However, the larger challenge acknowledged was to continue and expand existing reforms in education and embolden local planning and management of strategies for providing primary education to the children of socially and economically deprived.

⁴ The programme of Action (PoA), 1992 had initiated under the National Policy on Education (NPE), 1986 with the objectives of bring uniformity in education, making education programmes a mass movement, providing universal access, retention and quality in elementary education and special emphasis on education of girls as establishing pace setting schools like Navodaya Vidyalayas in each district.

3.5. Programmes for Universalisation of Elementary Education

Indeed, primary education is the first step of the ladder in the education system, particularly in India, where the school education system suffers from multiple challenges, besides banning child labour in order to ensure that the children do not enter unsafe working conditions. As a result, the literacy rate has gone up from 18.33 percent in 1951 to 74 percent in 2011 (Census, 2011). The decade of 1990s has been a defining moment for basic education. As the census 2001 showed, 12.63 percent increase in literate rate compared with that of the earlier decade. As per census 2011, the literacy rate increased further by 9.20 percent to reach 74 percent. In addition, the gender gap in literacy declined from 21.59 percent in 2001 to 16.68 percent in 2011 (Census, 2011). After relentless efforts, the number of literates increased by 218 million and illiterates declined by 31 million. This was possible due to several policies and programmes created for the purpose as discussed below.

3.5.1. District Primary Education Programme (DPEP)

To accomplish the aim of universalise primary education, District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) was launched in 1994. In The DPEP is a part of the 'Social Safety Net' offered by World Bank to the countries as a short-term protection against the social and systemic disorder caused by the structural adjustment process (Krishna Kumar, 2001). This programme laid major emphasis on making primary education accessible to each and every child of school going age and also aimed at decentralized management and reinforcement of State Councils of Educational Research and Training (SCERT). The specific objectives of DPEP were: a) to reduce differences in enrolment, dropout and learning achievements among gender and social groups to less than five per cent, b) to reduce the overall primary school drop-out rates for students that is less than 10 per cent, c) to raise the average achievement levels by at least 25 per cent over the measured baseline levels and guaranteeing achievement of basic literacy. Also, ensuring numeracy proficiencies and a minimum of 40 per cent achievement levels in other competencies among all primary school children; d) to provide, according to national norms, access for all children, to primary education classes (I-V) that is Primary schooling wherever possible, or its equivalent non-formal education.

The infrastructure established under this programme, with the help of UNICEF, has been remarkable. Nearly, 1,60,000 new schools have been opened by the target of providing basic education to around 3.5 million children in India. It also aimed for significant improvement in

staffing and enrollment of girls. This successful implementation of the programme resulted in 4,20,203 differently abled children being enrolled in schools and about 1,77,000 teachers and para-teachers being appointed. In addition, about 3,380 resource centres, at the block level, and 29,725 centres at cluster level were set up to assist academic facilities⁵. In spite of these efforts overall primary school conditions in India continued to lag behind due to understaffing, coupled with lack of developed infrastructure and sufficient financing. Another notable programme is Operation Black Board (OBB) that will be discussed below.

3.5.2. Operation Black Board (OBB)

This programme was initiated in 1987 as a centrally sponsored scheme for the purpose of effective implementation of the National Policy on Education, 1986, and Programme of Action, 1992. The major policy aim was to improve physical resource quality for the first time in primary schools. That include: two class rooms, two teachers. It also emphasised on providing essential aids such as blackboards, chalk, dusters, etc. to all primary schools. This programme contained three major objectives in order to operationalise the revised policy formulation under NPE 1986 and Programme of Action 1992. The objectives were:

- a. Continuation of ongoing Operation Black Board to cover all primary schools, specifically those are in SC/ST areas
- b. Expanding the scope to provide three teachers and the three rooms wherever enrolment warrants these
- c. To arrange essential teaching learning equipment, separate facilities for girls and boys and at least one teacher for each class, or section.

3.5.3. Mid-Day-Meal Scheme

This National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education (NP-NSPE) was launched as a centrally sponsored scheme in 1995. The main aim of the scheme was to enhance enrolment, retention, increase the attendance levels and also improve nutritional levels among children.

The objectives of the Mid-day-meal scheme were:

⁵Source: <http://india.gov.in/sectors/education/education3.php#6> dt.22-05-2015.

- a. Improve the nutritional status of children in classes I-V in all government, local body and government aided schools and EGS and AIE centres
- b. Encouraging poor children, belonging to marginalised sections, to attend school regularly and help them to concentrate on class room activities.
- c. Providing nutritional support to children of primary stage in drought affected areas during summer vacation.

The Midday Meal scheme was officially implemented at the national level in 1995, though most states did not participate until after the Supreme Court Order of 2002. Malnutrition in children is often cited as an important factor for the high morbidity and mortality rates among children in developing countries (Vennam & Komanduri, 2009). In a country where poverty and malnutrition are continuing problems, the provisions of free school meals is a significant incentive for increasing school participation. These meals may improve children's nutritional status and also indirectly lead to increase in learning levels (Jocaby, 2002; Afridi, 2007; Dreze & Goya, 2003; Kremer & Vermeersch, 2003).

3.5.4. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)

The government of India launched the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan in 2001 to universalise and improve the quality of elementary education in India through community ownership. The main intention of this programme has been to effectively decentralise the management of school education system where it involves Panchayat Raj Institutions (PRIs), village and urban slum level education committees, parent teacher associations, mother-teacher associations, Tribal Autonomous Council (TAC) and other grassroots level structures. SSA aimed at providing Universal Primary Education in India and by 2010 to all children in the age group of 6 to 14. Another major aim of this programme is to improve quality in elementary education, especially by improving student-teacher ratio, providing teacher training, academic support and text books to the children form special focus groups etc. It also focus on reduction of financial burden on parents, promotion of girl child education, emphasis on rural education, providing incentives for retaining the children from weaker sections of the society etc. are a few interventions that could go a long way to achieve the goal set by Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan.

Objectives of SSA included: a) To cover all children under the Educational Guarantee Centre (EGC) all over India, b) All children complete five years of primary schooling by 2007, c) All children complete eight years of elementary schooling, d) Bridge all gender and social category gaps at primary stage and at elementary education level, e) Focus on elementary education of satisfactory quality with emphasis on education for life and, f) Universal retention by 2020.

In addition, two other major initiatives were taken up along with SSA to strengthen the basic education. These:

3.5.4.1. District Information System for Education

It is a statistical system, developed for collection, computerisation, analysis and use of educational and allied data for planning, management, monitoring, and so on. It provides information on vital parameters relating to students, teachers and infrastructure at all levels of education in India. This programme came into effect as a result of national level negotiations when the SSA was launched because the government felt the need for a comprehensive data base which could track the progress of elementary education. Further, the national and policy level ambitions for decentralisation of education made it necessary to collect and preserve local and district level data. As a result, the District Information System for Education (DISE), which operates under the National University Education Planning and Administration (NUEPA), came into existence. The data is collected by teachers across the country through the format developed by NUEPA. This data base is helpful to policy makers and administrators to apprehend the realities at the local and district levels. This further helps them to make sufficient policies in response to the realities found through the data. But the major drawback of this initiative is that it does not take into account the children data based on household, data on out-of-school and other excluded children such as street children, migrant children etc. It is argued that the community's perspective must be taken into consideration while understanding the local realities.

3.5.5. National Curriculum Framework (NCF)

NCF started in 2005 to frame syllabus and textbooks and teaching practices within the schools education programmes. Education is on the Concurrent List and it is the collective responsibility of both the states and the centre. In fact, language is a major medium for acquiring education and there is a diversity of languages between states, since India is not only a multicultural society with many regional and local cultures, but also numerous languages. All these different sections of the

people across the country must have equal opportunity and right for education to co-exist without any form of exclusion (Jishtu, 2013).

In spite of having several policy interventions or approaches, as discussed, there are many sections of children who have been left out of the mainstream education system in India. Further, poor performance of public schooling is the most worrisome practice in India. The Liberalization, Privatisation and Globalisation and their subsequent posed a number of problems for the Indian policy makers because the many new challenges that arose along with traditional challenges in attaining the aim of universalisation of school education. In the following section an attempt has been made to understand the challenges faced in UEE.

3.6. Challenges to Universalisation of Elementary Education in India

There are some challenges which restrict achieving Universalisation of Elementary Education. Unfortunately, access to education in rural India remains an issue of availability and accessibility. Since it may still not be possible to have a school in every village, students have a walk long distances to other villages in order to attend a school (Desai, 2008). Besides, many of them are unable to attend school due to poverty, negligence of parents.

According to the District Information System for Education (DISE) and NUEPA reports (2009-10), the elementary education system faces multiple challenges. For instance, on an average, about 14 percent of the schools have a single classrooms and there are 1,37,704 single teacher schools where majority of them are located in rural areas (Tilak, 2010). While the national norm is to have at least one teacher for every 40 students in primary schools, more than 30 percent of the schools have a ratio above this norm. Only 85 percent of the schools in the country have drinking water facilities, 37 percent do not have toilets, only 44 percent have separate toilet facilities for girls. About 32 percent of the primary schools require major or minor repairs for their buildings and so on (Tilak, 2011). Apart from this issue, a few other major challenges that are hampering the achievement of Universalisation of Elementary Education are discussed below.

3.6.1. Inadequate Budget Allocations for Education:

Investment in education especially in basic education has high rate of return through better skilled human resources and their contribution in nation building (Psacharopoulos & Patrinos, 2004). It is also remarked by Lord Tomlinson, the then British Minister in charge of education that, “Money

spent on education should never be treated as an expenditure. Rather, it should be considered an investment into the future of the nation” (Tomlinson, 2005: 115). The value of the returns to the individual and to society exceed the cost of the investment by a large margin. Even experiences at the global level show that investment in basic education is a prerequisite for economic development and it also helps to maintain quality education at all levels⁶. Unfortunately, the budget allocations for education in India are very less compared with those of many other developing countries such as Morocco, UAE, and South Africa. The Common Minimum Programme (CMP)⁷ of the UPA government had pledged “to raise public spending on education to at least 6 percent of the GD” and that “this will be done in a phased manner” (Tilak, 2006: 614). Further, the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) also emphasises that poor budgetary allocation is the cause for poor educational outcomes in India. The failure to allocate 6 per cent for GNP to education is not as much surprising since attempts were made to subvert the recommendation of the Kothari commission and the aim of National Policy on Education, 1968. Even today, the government is unable to allocate 4 percent of the GDP for education, most of which goes for salaries of teachers. Regarding this, Ambedkar also cautioned that poor spend on primary education may lead to high rate of dropout rate and he requested the then minister for education to allot more funds for primary education (Ambedkar, 1982). Another major challenge for achieving Universalisation of Elementary Education is child labour in India.

3.6.2. Child Labour

As discussed earlier, poverty distracts children from engaging in continuous education. As a result, children of the poor have a tendency to work. A number of policy initiatives and programmes have been undertaken to deal with the problem of increased child workers. Many studies and reports indicate that UEE remains elusive goal because of the practice of child labour. According to National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), “poverty is one of the causes of child labour but also one of the consequences because it is so cheap and causes adult unemployment and wage suppression” (NHRC: 2002). From this point of view, the Union cabinet committee has passed the

⁶ Source: <http://www.c3l.uni-oldenburg.de/cde/OMDE625/Todaro/Todaro%20Chapter%2011.pdf>. Accessed on. 15-04-2014.

⁷ The Common Minimum Programme (CMP) was a document outlining the minimum objectives of a coalition government in India. It laid heavy emphasis on tackling the needs of India poor such as protecting social harmony, ensuring the economy growth, educational empowerment of women and enhancing the welfare as well provide equal opportunities for all.

proposal seeking a total ban on employing children up to 14 years and of 14-18 years age group in hazardous occupations. In fact, it can be considered as a significant milestone in the campaign for abolishing.

Engaging children in labour force, in any manner, is a punishable crime under the Child labour (Prohibition and Prevention) Act, 1986. In fact, Articles 24⁸, 21A⁹ and 45 of the Indian Constitution clearly emphasise that child should not be involved in any work. Industrial Act, 1948¹⁰, Mines Act, 1952, Child Juvenile Judiciary (protection) Act 2000¹¹, Free and Compulsory Education Act (2009)¹² also prohibit child labor system. Despite of the several acts to prevent child labour, there are 4.98 million children (aged 5-14) children labour in India (Census, 2011). In this regard, Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986 emphasised to set up a task force on child labour. Usually, we hear that poverty is the main reason why children for working and most of the child labour force is from disadvantaged communities. In fact, it has been asserted and assumed by commissions and reports of various organisations that the need for sending children to work is decided by the economic conditions.

3.6.3. Dropout

Studies show that during 2004-05, there was about 58 percent dropout rate amongst the students of classes I to VIII. This was 41 per cent during 2010-11 (Education for All Global Monitoring Report, 2014). Despite the fast approaching deadlines to achieve universal enrolment at primary level, the above statistics are very inconvenient to the government.

According to the EFA global monitoring report (2010), India's rank, in term of literacy achievement, was 105 among 128 countries (Education for All Global Monitoring Report: UNESCO, 2011). At present, many of the children between 6-14 age being denied elementary education is a harsh reality which the government falsely equates the category of 'non-enrolled

⁸ Article 24 mandates that No child below age of 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment.

⁹ Article 21A has been incorporated in fundamental rights of the Constitution of India in 2002 and guarantees every child a fundamental right to free and compulsory education up to the age of 14 years. The legal status of the Child can see from Child Labour Act 1986 because this Act does not completely prohibit child labour in all forms.

¹⁰ Chapter VII of the Act concerns the employment of young persons. It states that no child below the age of fourteen will allowed or requited to work in any form.

¹¹ This law mandates that any person who procures or employs a child in hazardous employment or in bondage is a crime and punishable with a prison term.

¹² The law mandates free and compulsory education to all children aged 6 to 14 years and 25 percent of seats in every private school must be allocated for children from disadvantaged groups.

children' with the ambiguous category of 'out-of-school children'¹³(Sadgopal Anil, 2009:14-31). Perhaps the most worrisome of all is the poor retention in child education. It is found that only 66 percent of the children enrolled in Grade-I proceed to Grade-V in India. In other words, as much as 34 percent of the children enrolled in Grade-I dropout before reaching Grade-V (Mehta, 2007). According to Statistics of School Education, MHRD, 41 per cent of children drop out before completing class VIII. Unfortunately, the dropout rate is even higher for children from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes where 43 percent and 55 percent children respectively drop out before completing class VIII (Education for All Global Monitoring Report of United Nations, 2013-14). Three major reasons for dropout are: a) the schools are not attractive. b) Economic constraints (poverty, direct cost of schooling and child labour) that do not allow continuation in schools. c) The lack of a tradition of going to or continuing in schools

3.6.4. Gender Disparity

Women in India constitute nearly 50 per cent of the country's population. Surprisingly, the importance of the education for girl child has given less priority in India so far. The literacy rate of women is nearly 15-20 percent less compared with male literacy rate in India. The gender gap in literacy which was 18.30 per cent in 1951, increased to 25.05 per cent in 1961 and 26.62 per cent in 1981 (Rani, 2010). After that, there was a slow decrease in the gap as the literacy rate among women started to gradually increase after 1991 (32.17 per cent in 1991). It was found that to be 54.16 per cent in 2001 (Census of India, 2001) and 65.46 per cent in 2011. But the remaining fact is that 34.54 per cent of women are illiterate in India (Census, 2011). Importance must give to reduce the dropout among the vulnerable children such as girl children. Despite establishing more than 3,500 residential Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas (KGBV)¹⁴, it has been found difficult to make sure that girl children continue to be educated. The below table could give clear understanding about gender based differences in literacy rate in India.

¹³ Out-of-School Children are all those children who do not attend any educational centres (formal or informal) on a regular basis.

¹⁴ Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) scheme was launched in 2004 by the Government of India under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), for setting up residential schools at upper primary level for girls belonging predominantly to the SC, ST, OBC and minority communities. The scheme is being implemented in educationally backward blocks of the country where the female rural literacy is below the national average and the gender gap in literacy is above the national average.

Table 3.1: Gender wise Literacy Rate (as per 2011 Census)

India	Male (in per cent)	Female (in per cent)	Total (in per cent)
Rural	78.6	58.8	68.9
Urban	89.7	79.9	85.0
Total	82.1	65.5	74.0

Source: Census of India 2011

As per UNESCO, India at least needs another 56 years to achieve complete female literacy. It has been found that most of the children drop out after completing up to four years schooling (Gohain, 2014). It has also emerged that the small states have outperformed than the larger one. For example, Kerala stands on the top with 92 percent female literacy rate and Mizoram, Lakshadweep, Tripura and Goa states not far behind. There are several reasons that restrict girl child from having access to education. Most of the parents are not interested to send their girl children to school, because schools are not available near their homes. As already discussed, lack of washrooms in the school remains one of the other major reasons for lack of interest among parents of the girl children. Further, Sexual harassment on girl children is another major reason that hampers their educational accomplishments. It is reiterated that the goal of universalisation of elementary education will remain an elusive goal, if the priority is not given to the education of the girl child.

3.6.5. Rural-Urban Disparity

Rural-urban disparities are seen in all spheres of human life. The goal of education for all seems to be far from being achieved due to complete disregard of rural areas schools by the government. Today, in India, rural areas have 1,24,1276 schools (primary and upper primary), with 14,98,61,620 enrollment, as against 2,06,799 schools with 4,90,28,727 enrollment in urban schools (Census, 2011). The goal of Universalisation of Elementary Education can be achieved only when all forms of disparities in process of ensuring literacy to every citizen are removed. The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment stressed the greater role of panchayats in education, especially elementary education, at rural level. Thereafter, the 86th Amendment to the Constitution in 2002, made education as a fundamental right. Regardless of these efforts by the state, there is a vast difference between rural and urban areas in the quality and facilities provided in schools. Though Indian school education system is still in an evolving stage, the condition of rural schools is very

poor compared with urban schools. The challenges to rural schooling, which include both public and private schools, include poor quality of education, distance of school, teachers remaining absent, and poor infrastructure and facilities such as drinking water, toilets and playground. Hence, the disparities include: i) Basic level of taught of education in rural schools is poor compared with far advanced level of education in urban schools, ii) Computer education has much priority in urban schools, but not in rural schools, iii) School infrastructure is much better in urban schools compared to that in schools in rural areas where mostly children are made to sit on the floor due to non-availability of furniture, iv) Children in rural schools generally not involved children in other activities like sports and co-curricular activities which could help in all-round development of the children. The table below would provide an understanding about disparity levels between urban and rural areas.

Table 3.2: Literacy Rate disparity between Rural and Urban areas (in percentage)

India	Male	Female	Total
Rural	78.6	58.8	68.9
Urban	89.7	79.9	85.0
Total	82.1	65.5	74.0

Source: Census of India, 2011

One cannot fail to notice the fact that the disparity in male and female literacy is nearly 20 percentage points in rural males, but only 10 percentage points in urban India. It is fact that factors like caste and the psychological mindset still persisting in rural areas are hindering equal learning opportunities for all. Further, it also indicates the clear divide between rural and urban schools. Besides, there are few strategies that considered as emerging impact tool to mitigate the urban-rural disparity.

3.6.6. Evolving Strategies to reduce rural and urban disparities

In recent times, a few strategies have emerged to reduce rural-urban disparities. Such strategies include: a) improving education standard, and b) improving gross enrolment.

a) Improving Education Standard

In this regard, specific efforts are essential to guarantee cognitive skills to all children during the eight years of elementary education. Quality issues or elements such as ensuing availability of trained teachers, good curriculum and innovative pedagogy are imperative for extending the positive impact on learning outcomes.

b) Improving Gross Enrollment Ration (GER)

The government of India has launched the Rastriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA) scheme and initiated model schools during 11th Five Year Plan with the aim of improving enrollment and quality in education. The scheme was intended to achieve better enrolment by establishing schools within a reasonable distance of habitations. It also aimed to improve quality, removing gender, socio-economic and disability barriers and achieve universal access of secondary education by 2017 as well as universal retention by 2020. At this juncture, there is a need to accelerate the implementation of RMSA and make it as a single comprehensive scheme to subjugate the challenge of quality in secondary education at the village level. Though this policy has shown some progress, it has, to larger context, failed to reduce gender and regional disparities.

3.6.7. Poor Infrastructure

Most of the government schools and several private schools do not have good infrastructure such as proper schools buildings, classrooms, black boards, benches, drinking water, play grounds and other recreation facilities, washroom facilities, and proper maintenance of school surroundings, etc. For instance, a rough black board does not encourage even efficient teachers to write something properly. This will encourage teachers to avoid explaining some important diagrams and thus limit the teaching to oral teaching, which will lower the knowledge levels of the students. It is found that nearly 1,62,000 schools in the country do not have drinking water facilities (UNICEF, 2009). Regrettably, 2,57,000 schools do not have toilets and 25 per cent schools do not have separate toilets for girl's (Dubbudu, 2015)¹⁵. Also, only 22 per cent and 57 per cent of the schools have computer learning facilities and playgrounds respectively (Planning Commission, 2012-13). The Planning Commission of India has stated that poor physical infrastructure and paucity of teachers lead to poor performance of major government flagship schemes such as Sarva

¹⁵ Source: <https://factly.in/schools-without-toilets-in-india-more-than-257000/>. Accessed on: 12-04-2014.

Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA). In fact, government have introduced many programmes for Universalisation of Education, but those failed because of the poor infrastructure.

3.6.8. Lack of accountability

In most of the government schools, accountability among the teaching staff and other administrative staff is another significant drawback. Teachers should motivate and guide children with the help of the corresponding principals of the schools. Many schools do not conduct parent-teacher meetings regularly to assess the progress and plan for improvement. In fact, the Right to Education Act stressed the importance of Parent Teachers Associations (PTAs) in democratisation of the schooling process. Unlike the urban schools, schools in rural areas do not encourage children to excel in extracurricular activities like sports and outdoor activities. There is a need to take up several measures to improve the situation. Such measures include professionally trained teacher, frequent curricular revisions, aggressive awareness campaigns in rural areas etc.

3.6.9. Social Disparity

Certain social sections in India, are still being forced to stay outside the mainstream, due to their social origin. Historically, the depressed classes known as untouchables in the Hindu caste system, faced most serious impediments for their education. (Nambisaan, 1996). It shows that the social stratification of the Indian society pushed certain sections away from education for many centuries. However, it has changed with needed course of action through policies after Independence. While some social programmes and government policies are designed to increase primary education rate among children of downtrodden sections, the social hierarchies do not always allow them to enjoy the benefits of the education system. Historical evidences, in this regard, indicate that marginalised sections such as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been excluded from education since centuries in India (Sedwal, 2008). The Constitution ensures education to all without any disparity (Kalaiselvan & Maheswari, 2014). Accordingly, various downtrodden sections such as Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs)¹⁶ have been given special attention in order to improve their prospects to access the provision of education. Article 46 of the Indian Constitution states that the state should play vital a role in promoting the

¹⁶ The Schedules Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) are official designations given to certain groups who has been historically disadvantaged people. These terms are recognised by the Constitution of Indian and there were known as the depressed classes during the period of British rule in the Indian subcontinent. In modern literature, the Scheduled Castes are sometimes referred to as Dalits.

educational and economic interests of the weaker sections, particularly SCs and STs. However, the practices of exclusion of Dalits from the field of education has not completely stopped in India still continue. As highlighted by the UNICEF and UNESCO (2014), Dalit girls have the highest level of elementary school exclusion rate in India¹⁷. Unfortunately, the Dalit girl child has to face ‘double discrimination’¹⁸ in schools. Further, there is humiliation, harassment and abuse by upper castes teachers towards children from Scheduled Castes which de-motivates the children (UNESCO and UNICEF, 2014).

The India Human Development Survey (IHDS)¹⁹ Report (2010) has revealed that there are stark social disparities in school education, starting with the difference in enrolment rates, dropout rates and learning levels. Children from excluded groups such as Dalits, Adivasis and Muslim, are ‘less likely to enroll in school and slightly more likely to dropout than others’²⁰. Even the enrolment ratios of Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled Tribe (ST) children, especially girl children, still remain very low compared to the national average of enrolment. Thus, while 94 percent of children from the forward castes and 96 percent of their religious groups are enrolled, the figures for Dalit, Adivasis and Muslim children are found to be 83 percent; 77 percent and 76 percent respectively (Sonalde, 2010). Further, a statewise examination of dropouts in India, revealed that the “discontinuation rates for Dalits, Adivasis, and Muslims are considerably higher than those for forward castes” (Panikkar, 2011:79).

The below table helps us to understand the literacy level among SCs and STs:

¹⁷ Source: <http://idsn.org/unicef-dalit-girls-most-excluded-from-education-in-india/>; accessed on.23-05-2015.

¹⁸ This include discrimination based on gender and discrimination based on social status. Lower caste parents often do not show much interest in the education of their girl children (Shailaja Paik, 2014). In the case of enrolled girl children, they have to face caste based discrimination or exclusion in school.

¹⁹ The IHDS is a nationally representative survey to study the issues concerning health, education, employment, economic status, marriage, fertility, gender relation and social capital of households in India. This survey was carried out in 2005 and published in 2010.

²⁰ Source: http://ihds.umd.edu/IHDS_files/06HDinIndia.pdf, access on.23-05-2014.

Table 3.3: Literacy Rate by Sex among SCs and STs Children in India (1981-2011)

Year	1981		1991		2001		2011	
Gender	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
SCs All Areas,	35.6	12.5	49.9	23.8	55.1	34.6	75.2	56.5
Rural	31.9	9.6	45.9	19.5	52.2	31.0	72.6	52.6
Urban	54.2	31.5	66.6	45.7	66.4	50.7	83.3	68.6
STs All Areas	28.1	9.2	40.6	18.2	48.2	28.4	68.5	49.4
Rural	26.3	7.8	38.4	16.0	46.6	26.4	66.8	46.9
Urban	54.2	28.1	66.6	42.3	66.0	48.0	83.2	70.3

Source: Census of India from 1981-2011.

One cannot fail to notice that male literacy rates have been more than that of females in all the censuses. Yet one needs to draw cheer from the fact that the disparities in these rates, which in some case were more than three times in 1981, have now been brought down to about 1.2 times in 2011. Still the policy planners should not feel smug about such a situation. Instead, concerted efforts have to be made to bring the female literacy rates as near as to those of males.

3.6.8.1. Imperatives to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Children Education

Literacy among SC and ST children, compared to other children, continues to be low. Only 53 percent of rural SC women and 47 percent of rural ST women were registered as literate by the 2011 Census.²¹ Lack of sufficient schools or infrastructure near their households is one of the major reasons for their educational backwardness. Further, data from the 7th All India School Education Survey (AISES)²², which was collected in 2005 show that only 16 percent of the villages with at least half of the population from SC/ST have primary school within their villages. About 74 percent villages where the SC/ST population was less than 25 percent of total the village population, have

²¹ Between SC and ST villages, there are also some noteworthy differences. These arise because the SC population has a close occupation-related interdependency relationship with high caste population and thus they are generally found in varying proportions in almost, all multi-caste villages. This is not always the case with ST villages; some villages are almost entirely inhabited by tribal population

²² The AISES was initiated by the National Council of Educational Research and Training with the objective of creating a uniform school database for the country and making the data available for educational planning and other purposes.

no school in their vicinities. This focuses the SC/ST children to walk long distance to attend school (AISES, 2005:40). This indicates that SC and ST children under 10 years of age would have to walk at least 2 to 5 km to attend primary schools which are located in the nearby villages.²³ Interestingly, it is found that to establish a school in a village, there must be sufficient number of residents from privileged social sections. The State based discrimination, or bias, negate several Constitutional provisions aimed at improving the education levels of the deprived sections. On the other hand, there have been recommendations by several committees, time and again, to reduce the education gap among different social sections. For example, the education policy in India emphasises that equal education opportunities among different social groups is a crucial factor to achieve significant human development. This is replicated in the Education Policy (1986) which reiterates that the central focus in the educational development of Scheduled Castes should be to equalize them with the non-Scheduled Caste population at all stages and levels of education (National Policy Education, 1986). However, the lack of interest among policy and implementing agencies restrict the intentions to reduce the gap. Due to various policies in independent India, a significant number of children from lower castes attend schools as compared to the number some five decades ago. However, it is needless to state that some more special provisions are required to reduce the gap among different social groups.

3.6.9. Public vs. Private

In various stratification forms found in the school education system in India, private and public divide is one which challenges quality and better access of schooling for a vast number of children. It is believed that education should be an instrument of social transformation and to create an egalitarian social order, rather than as a source for profit making. Since liberalisation policies came into force, the education sector, particularly school education seems to have become a profit making industry in India. On the other hand, as discussed earlier, the public sector education severely beset with poor infrastructure. This alarming situation is due to the non-availability of skilled teachers in private schools and the poor physical infrastructure in the government schools. The deterioration continues in the education system because of mismanagement, particularly in

²³ Some children from SC and ST families are sent to Ashram schools, but the number of such schools can cater to only a very small segment of children. The efforts to use local unemployed youth to work as para teachers in the villages or hamlet for providing schooling up to 5th standard need to be evaluated in terms of the extent to which such children transit to further schooling.

public schooling system (elementary schools) which accounts for nearly 80 percent (Nair, 2011). The private schooling system is expected to reduce some portion of the burden on public schooling system, but the high fee structure is a challenge for economically and socially deprived sections. Indeed, issues like inadequate public resources for schools and greater privatisation of education for the elite could work with the disadvantaged of the socially and economically disadvantaged children. To ensure that every child is provided quality education, the government must either strengthen the public education system or partial encouragement of private schools with government observations rather than complete handover education to the private sector.

3.6.10. Splitting up within Public Education System

Along with the separation practices in education system between public and private sectors, the division is existing within the government education system itself. It is happening with the establishing of ‘model schools’ such as the Navodaya and Kendriya Vidyalaya²⁴ which lead to turning a blind eye to the mass of regular government schools. These special schools, are meant for so-called meritorious children, and the expenditure per child is much more than that of other schools. For instance, the average per child expenditure in government schools, during 2011-12, was Rs.4,269 (Dongre, 2012), whereas in Sarvodaya Vidyalayas, it was Rs.8,000-10,000 and in Kendriya Vidyalaya’s, it was Rs.13,000, that is three times more than that of regular government schools (MDRD, 2013). When there are millions of school-going children in India, government making divisions among children in the name of so-called model schools, rather than establishing sufficient number of schools with quality in all aspects. However, the government’s justification is that these model schools will help to children with greater ‘merit’ to realize their potential by getting admission in these schools. But the RTE Act, strictly prohibits any methods intended to test children at early ages.

3.6.11. Quality Concerns

According to official data, although the total population of the country will increase in the coming years from 1,211 million in 2011 to 1,421 million by 2026, the total number of children is not expected to increase in the near future (MHRD, 2013). In one aspect, it is expected, with demographic transition that the number of children between 5-14 years would decline from 271

²⁴ Kendriya Vidyalaya for children of central government employees only are also very well-funded and managed and while set up earlier are another example of the dual approach followed by the government in schooling.

million by 2021 to 250 million by 2026. (Population Education and Development: UNESCO, 2003). According to 2011 Census, there were a total of 14,98,61,620 children enrolled in 12,41,276 elementary schools in India (Census, 2011). At this juncture, the government can take it as an advantage to fulfill the dream of providing quality education to all with effective course of action, because the government has been claiming so far that it is difficult to serve educational needs of massive human resources. However, the common trend of poor quality in government schools, particularly in terms of learning achievements, as well as infrastructure limitations continue to raise questions about the effectiveness of the public school system. However, several attempts from the State revealed that it would want the private sector to take over the responsibility of providing quality education. This would certainly hurt the concerns of the deprived and poor sections.

Given the poor quality of the schooling system, one of the pertinent questions is what do children learn in schools and whether what they learn is appropriate or adequate in line with their class of study. Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) from Pratham²⁵ helps us to understand and assess the learning and reading standards of children in rural areas. The below table explains the actual learning curve.

Table 3.4: Children who cannot do subtraction and Division by school (2009-2013)

Year	Percentage (%) of Children in Standard 3, who cannot Do Subtraction		Percentage (%) Children in Standard 5, Who Cannot Do Division	
	Govt. School	Private School	Govt. School	Private School
2009	63.5	50.3	63.9	53.8
2010	66.8	52.2	66.1	55.6
2011	74.8	55.4	75.5	62.3
2012	80.2	56.6	79.7	62.2
2013	81.1	55.4	79.2	61.1

Source: Pratham ASE Report- 2014

²⁵ Pratham – is one of the largest non-governmental organization in India which works towards the provision of quality education to the underprivileged children.

One cannot help being alarmed at the year wise decline in standards or quality of education among school children. Private schools cannot claim much credit for their better performance since, here too the ‘inability’ levels are still very high.

The data in the above table shows that there is slight variations of learning levels between public and private schools but the levels of learning in terms of quality is not impressive in both type of schools. UNESCO opines that India is one of the countries where less than half of the children are away from learning the basics (Global Monitoring Report on Education: UNESCO, 2013-14). It is believed that, there are several factors for the poor quality of outcomes such as heavy curriculum, teacher absenteeism, shortage of teachers, and poor infrastructure.

Table 3.5: Children who cannot Read lower standard text

Year	Percentage (%) Children in Standard 3, who cannot Read Standard 1 Level Text		Percentage (%) Children in Standard 5, Who Cannot Read Standard 2 Level Text	
	Govt. School	Private School	Govt. School	Private School
2009	56.2	41.8	49.7	36.9
2010	57.5	42.4	49.3	36.9
2011	64.8	43.7	56.2	37.3
2012	67.6	44.7	58.3	38.8
2013	67.4	40.4	58.9	36.7

Source: Pratham ASE Report-2014.

One can find a slight ‘improvement’ in this regard in both types of schools. Yet, the progressive decline in quality could notice. Private schools were found to have ‘inadequacy levels’ of around 40 per cent in all the years. However, in the case of government schools, these levels were alarmingly hovering around the 50 per cent mark in the most of the years.

In addition, it is found that most of the teachers both in urban and rural context lack the necessary skills to manage ever increasing diversity and the resultant complex classroom situation (Hammond, 2006). Students also need to be facilitated with better learning environment. In fact,

no one can deny that physical facilities such as building, teaching and learning materials etc. create better learning environment for effective schooling. At this juncture, the most awaiting policy provision i.e., Right to Education became a national policy from 2009 and it has given lot of hope for betterment in education sector.

3.7. Right to Education (RTE) Act

In spite of many contradictions and the pitfalls in policy execution, it is difficult to deny the progress in the education sector. Right to Education Act (RTE) is a landmark policy that commenced from 2010, with the 86th Amendment to the Indian Constitution. In fact, there has been much effort to enhance the education levels of marginalised sections ever since Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) became a policy. However, poor quality and access to the public education system further widened the inequalities. Later, with the passing of the Right to Education Act, there are clear efforts down to achieve universalisation of elementary education. In fact, there has been enormous discussion among administrators on elementary education on issues such as enrolment, availability of schools within walking distance, providing infrastructure, arrangement of teachers and quality of the education being provided. The RTE Act can be received as a mechanism to reach the goal of universalisation of elementary education. The Act has certain objectives, which are discussed below:

3.7.1. Obligations for implementation Right to Education

The sole aim of the act is to give a fair chance for accessing quality education to all children. Besides this, it ensures 25 percent of the seats in private schools for children from marginalised sections. Further, the Act proposes the concept of ‘neighbour-hood’ where free and compulsory education is provided to the children. Some of the major intentions of the Act includes:

- a. Children from 6-14 years have the right to free and compulsory education. It is the responsibility of the State and parents to provide education, since it is the right of the children.
- b. About 25 percent seats of all private schools in the country, including aided schools, must be reserved for pupils from economically and socially backward classes.
- c. Government has to construct the needed school buildings within 3 years of the implementation of the Act, in case there is no school in the vicinity.

- d. Teacher must have required minimum qualification to teach in school. Otherwise, they must acquire such qualifications within 5 years from the commencement of the Act.
- e. Fee for the poor children who secure admission under the Act 25 percent reservation quota, must be equal to the expenditure of children in government schools. However, private school managements have objected to this stipulation.

3.7.2. Challenges to Right to Education

- a. One of the possible challenges is that there are possibilities for children from economically weaker sections, and other excluded groups to face discrimination in private schools. Since the Act was implemented, five years ago there have been grave discriminatory practices. For instance, 1.45 lakh HIV positive children face discrimination due to denial of admission to them in private school (Naz foundation PIL in the Supreme Court, 2014). Discrimination and marginalisation are forcing children to drop out from the school.
- b. Efforts must be made to enhance the pupil-teacher ratio (PTR) in six months' time span. The average PTR in India is below what was stipulated by the RTE. There are many states with highest PTR (Bihar PTR is 53:1, DISE, 2012-13).
- c. As per the Act, unrecognised schools by the government cannot either run or establish. Everyone has to follow the regulations framed by the government. Otherwise school recognition may be cancelled. The 8th All India Educational Survey (2009) found that there were 39,015 unrecognised school in rural areas alone and the number may increase significantly, should the urban schools also be taken into consideration (Chandrasekaran & Saravanan, 2014).
- d. It has been found that every year nearly 3-5 percent children enrollment is coming down in government schools (UNICEF, 2011). For instance, there were 3,196 schools with poor children enrollment in united Andhra Pradesh. The situation will worsen if most of the children prefer to join private schools. The government has to strengthen the public schooling system to reach out to the majority of rural and poor children who cannot afford private schooling.

- e. Pre-policy assessment of the Act has brought out the need for providing more financial resources to meet the requirements under the RTE. Huge investment are needed to improve the education system and provide proper training for the teachers.
- f. There is hardly any accountability within the education department and no rules have been framed for grievances redressal mechanism.

Even though the Act offers the scope and role of panchayat raj institutions, School Management Committees (SMC) and community through decentralization, which will make easy to bring every child into school and complete retention at every level (Bhatty, 2014), such aspects have never been taken seriously by the implementing agencies. In addition, loopholes in the RTE Act are giving scope for discriminatory practices against the deprived children in schools.

3.7.3. RTE: Discrimination Perspective

The hope to acquire quality education through 25 per cent seats in private schools under RTE Act faces several challenges. The private school managements have challenged this provision under the court of law. The Supreme Court upheld the Constitutional legitimacy of the right. The Act promises to eradicate child labour as now education is compulsory for every child in the country. However, the labour departments need to make parallel policies in support of the concerned government departments are failing or unwilling to gather information on the social aspects of exclusion and discrimination. Unfortunately, children from excluded sections, who have access to schools, still find themselves excluded in the present system as classroom practices continue to exclude them (MHRD, 2012). However, any form of exclusion in schools can be put down when schools become 'zero discrimination zones' (India Exclusion Report, 2013-14).

The RTE Act intends to provide discrimination free schools and expects the government and local authorities to ensure that any child in the school shall not face discrimination. The RTE rules enjoins on the government and local authorities to ensure that every school is free from abuse on grounds of caste, class, religion or gender. However, the parents who admitted their children in the private school under the 25 percent reservation provision of RTE Act, allege that there is a

difference in the way their children are treated in schools. For instance, they do not teach them or make them to sit in the last row²⁶.

The experience during last 5 years of its implementation show that private school managements do not treat all the children equitably. Especially children who got admission through the 25 percent reservation face discrimination. For example, children from excluded backgrounds are not asked to do any homework and are kept their books separately. In a few cases, even the children from the excluded sections are asked to cut their hair, so that it would be easy for the administration to easily identify those who have joined under the quota²⁷. On the positive side, the Delhi government has issued show cause notices to over 700 private schools in the capital of the country, including some of the top class schools, for failing to allocate 25 percent of their seats for students from economically and socially weaker (ESW) under the RTE Act (Dasgupta, 2012). These cases help us to understand the gravity of the situation.

3.8. Conclusion

From the above discussion on the elementary education system in India, it would become clear that basic education is being provided to millions of children. Accordingly, the country has achieved many milestones, particularly in the arena of elementary education, through policy approaches. But many challenges are still preventing from attaining the goal of universalisation of elementary education in India. To achieve this goal, many areas need immediate priority. These include: learning improvements, infrastructure, retention of out-of-school and never enrolled children, combating social and gender evils, providing a school in vicinities and strengthening the public schooling, rather than encouraging private sector. In addition, the government has to ensure equality in schooling, and strengthen rural schooling rather than closing schools in the name of rationalization, which has resulted in high dropout rates that can be witnessed in many states. For instance, the rationalization, along with migration for livelihoods, became a cause for 13 lakh children to be out of the schools in Andhra Pradesh alone²⁸. Further, the spirit of Right to Education Act also leading to the privatisation of schools which has result in severe discrimination by

²⁶ Source: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/vadodara/Students-under-RTE-accuse-schools-of-bias/articleshow/47625309.cms>. Accessed on. 30-12-2015.

²⁷ Source: <http://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/bangalore/children-of-a-lesser-cut/article3650505.ece>. Accessed on. 02-09-2015.

²⁸Source: http://mhrd.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/document-reports/Part1.pdf. Accessed on.18.09.2015.

stratification in the school system. Finally, the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) of Universalisation of Elementary Education is still beset with many challenges in India. In fact, the country needs an inclusive approach in order to provide education for all.

Based on the discussion in the present chapter, the next chapter will deal with internal migration and its impact on the education of children. Apart from this, it will mainly focus on challenges in providing education to children at both the origin and the destination and also critically examine the state response for children of internal migrants.

CHAPTER – IV

INTERNAL MIGRATION IMPACT ON CHILDREN'S EDUCATION: CRITICAL ANALYSIS

“Many Things can wait. Children Cannot. Today their bones are being formed, their blood is being made and their senses are being developed. To them we cannot say “Tomorrow”. Their name is today”.

-Gabriela Mistral

The most fundamental challenge in order to achieve Universalisation of Elementary Education (UEE) is to ensure universal enrolment and that the participation of every child within the age group of 6-14, in either regular schools, or Alternative Education Centres (AEC's)¹. The 86th Constitutional Amendment, which created Article 21(A), seeks to make education as a fundamental right for children of the said age group. The Article, inter-alia, states: “the state shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such manner as the state may, by law, determine” (Padhi, 2011: 340). Further, the Act also, under Article 51-A (k) states: “it shall be a fundamental duty of every citizen of India who is a parent or guardian to provide opportunities for education to his child/ward between the age of six and fourteen years” (Juneja, 2003: 2). Though the Constitution has laid the major part of the responsibility of education on the state, it has also placed the responsibility on the parents as well.

In spite of these legal provisions, there have been several constraints which are hampering the progress of UEE. In the case of out-of-school children, it makes the proposition of schooling even more complex. It is not only difficult to understand the issues regarding out-of-school or never enrolled children, but also to formulate the necessary means to bring these children to school. However, children of internal migrants are one such section among the many categories of excluded children in India.

¹ AECs are important modules of SSA to bring out-of-school children in the fold of elementary education. Alternative Education interventions are meant for specific categories of very deprived children such as child labourers, street children, migrating children, working children and children living in difficult circumstances.

Not surprisingly, many of the studies have attempted to analyse the poor working and living conditions of migrants. However, despite the very articulate literature on migration and the adverse conditions it creates, minimal work has been carried out to understand the impact of migration on the education of children and the challenges they face at both the source and receiving areas. Due to the lack of recognition with legal protection, majority of children are becoming victims of migration and their life is under severe threat.

As discussed earlier, India is home to the largest number of children in the world. These numbers are, significantly, higher than those in China.² The Indian Census Bureau (ICB)³ reports that 40 per cent of the total populace in India is below the age of 18, which would become a positive asset to the nation, provided an effective policy approach is undertaken to convert them as a human development asset (UNICEF, 2012). In this regard, India has to transform this opportunity into an asset by educating its young children. The 12th Five Year Plan (FYP)⁴ had identified the need and states that children are an urgent priority of the State (12th Five Year Plan: Planning Commission of India, 2012-17). Therefore, the progress of education can help to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in a time-bound manner. However, the desired goal has its own challenges and limitations due to many institutional, social and economic constraints. Apart from these challenges, migration has had a reflective impact on the children who are forced to move to cities with little hope of accessing education and learning skills. Millions of children continue to waste their childhood in the shadow of the every worksites where their parents are working on

² According the World Population Prospects: 2008 Revision population database, the child population in the age group 0-4 for India in 2010 was estimated as 126 million, against 88 million in China. The population of children in the age group 0-14 for the same year for India was put at 374 million, as compared to 269 million in China.

³ It is a government body under the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India that provides 'static and dynamic aspect' of the population through census. It emphasises that only from succession of censuses of a community it would be possible to assess the magnitude and direction of the various demographic trends.

⁴ From 1947, the Indian economy has been premised on the idea of planning. Five Year Plans (FYPs) are centralised and integrated national economic programmes. The first FYP is implemented in the Soviet Union by Joseph Stalin in the late 1920s. The first Five-Year Plan of India was very important because it had a great role in the launching of Indian development after the independence. It strongly supported agriculture production and also launched the industrialisation of the country, leading the country towards a mixed economy. This has been carried through the Five Year Plans, developed, executed and motivated by the Planning Commission (now Niti Ayog). It works out sectoral targets and provides promotional stimulus to the economy to grow in the desired direction. It also plays an integrative role in the development of a holistic approach to the policy formulation in critical areas of human and economic development.

(Agarwal, 2011). Unfortunately, some of them are pulled into the clutches of child labour, while others become street wanderers or domestic workers.

The National Sample Survey (2007-08) projected that there are around 326 million internal migrants in the country (NSSO: GOI, 2007-08). Since no official data available about internal migrant children is available, the estimations suggest that there are approximately 15 million child migrants in India (Daniel, 2011; Smita, 2011). Despite the fact we do not have exact figures, largely these children are often being engaged in brick kilns, construction sites, stone quarries, commercial plantations, etc. As Burra stated, “at worksites, the employer, contractor or the parents invariably draw the small hands and feet into the labour process, migrant children, including girl children, suffer the most” (Burra, 2007: 17). Consequently, many of them spend most of their childhood lives in unhealthy, congested, temporary and hazardous places and they are often denied basic rights. Certainly, in the arena of migration, children are the most unrecognised and vulnerable groups among internal migrants (UNESCO, 2014). In this process, migrant children are often affected by multi-facets of exclusions such as loss of access to basic rights and exclusion from schooling. In addition, they are exposed to health and security risks (Chakravarthy, 2010 and Chakravarthy, 2013). As a result of constant migration, migrant children, along with their parents, often face a lack of friendship and peer support network, which altogether expose them to risks such as drug abuse and sexual exploitation (UNICEF, 2012). Further, migrant children lose essential inputs which are necessary for their physical, psychological and intellectual development in their constructive years. It may also have an eternal impact on the emotional and mental development of children. Usually, the effects of migration on children can be envisaged in two dimensions: i) Children accompanying their parents to the destinations, and ii) Children left behind at home.

i) Children accompanying their parents to the destinations

Most of such children suffer from double disadvantages in the matter of education. They cannot stay back at the native places, since there are hardly any institutional arrangements there for their education. They cannot access education at the destinations due to a number of reasons. They also suffer from lack of healthcare, safety and well-being. Older children, accompanying their parents, tend to become part of the workforce. Girl children are generally engaged in work at the sites. This

result in children being compelled to work in low skill professions where their lives eventually end up similar to those of their parents.

ii) Children Left Behind at home

In several cases, children are often being left behind due to different reasons, including but not limited to: i) their remaining at the origin with their mothers, when only the fathers have migrated, ii) continuing to live at the origin with the aged extended family members, often grandparents, iii) admitted into hostels, residential schools in very few cases or childcare institutions, with limited or no access to basic education.

The more worrying phenomenon is that sometimes they are even left behind to take up the charge as heads of the households and to take care of their younger siblings, until their parents return. The children who stay back have to compromise on their education. It is in the rarest case, they continue to have access to educational facilities. In addition, it is also found that children who remain at their homes without parental care are extremely vulnerable to human trafficking and other forms of exploitation (NCPCR Report; GOI, 2012). Out of these many turbulences, internal migration of parents has also an intensified impact on children and exclusion from education is one among the many consequences of migration in India.

4.1. Internal Migration and Children Education

While Indian population represents 22 percent of the total global population, its share in global illiteracy is about 39 percent (Rao, 2014: 4). Further, it is considered in the global context that children who grow up in an amicable atmosphere, it would be advantageous to their intellectual, physical and social health and help them become responsible and productive members of any given society (Attri, 2014). The future of any nation depends on the present status of its children. For the last few decades, in most development debates or discourses, education and migration are both seen to have an integral role in development endings (Bakewell, 2007). Migration not only exposes the migrants to new economic options, but is also fraught with much risk not only to the migrant workers, but also to their children. The whole thing indicates that migrations are large and the number of children below 14 years of age, thus affected, is growing on in India. With regard to child population in 'distress family migration', the limited evidences suggest that children accompanying their parents in the 0-14 year's age group may constitute about one third of the total

migrant population (Smita, 2008). As discussed in the earlier chapters, as a result of migration, children face disruptions in regular schooling which not only affects their 'human capital'⁵ formation, but also contributes to the 'inter-generational transmission of poverty'⁶ (Bird, 2007: 26). The number of migrating children whose schooling are interrupted, or do not attend school, is estimated to be six million in India (Deshingkar & Akter, 2009). A million more are said to be impacted indirectly, since they are forced to take on most of the household responsibilities in the absence of their parents. In other words, it is believed that the process of internal migration is not limited to any particular generation, but it is transferred from one generation to another. Internal migration can have a particularly adverse effect on the education of girl children. It is also well understood that a higher proportion of girls are out of school than boys (UNICEF and UIS Report, 2014:8).

4.2. Internal Migration and the Girl child

Historically, gender-based discrimination and exclusionary practices against female children are quite common in countries like India (Sekher & Hatti, 2005). Thus, the girl child faces a very high risk of becoming a victim of several exclusionary practices. Usually, migration rate is equal among different gender roles until the girl child attains the age of 10 years. The rate of migration grows among girl children, once they reach 10 years of age, as they will be very useful for performing household activities, or engage in child care (Smita, 2008). It is also reported that, irrespective of the economic status of the families, the role of girl child in household work is quite constant (Karlekar, 2000). It is also evident that girls spend two to three times more time on performing domestic work, compared to boys (Bhatty, 1998). In addition, the order of birth also frequently determines the educational chances of girls, since the eldest daughter often has to take the responsibility of household work. By doing so, the girl will release her mother for work and her brothers to attend school, thereby contributing to the household economy (Ramachandra, et al.,

⁵ The term 'Human capital' was coined by Theodore Schultz to refer to the value of our human capacities. He believes that human capital is like any other type of capital and it could be invested in through education, training and enhanced benefits that will lead to an improvement in the quality and level of production.

⁶ Behrman, et.al., (2013) assume that the modeling how parents decide to how much to invest in the human capital of their children versus direct transfers of physical and financial estimates based on parental resources and child endowments, empirical estimates of the associations between parental resources and investment in children's human capital and empirical estimates of the extent of intergenerational mobility in terms of growth such as education, income and so. Further Bird (2007) believes that being a poor child increases the chances of being a poor adult with poverty condition which can continue from generations to generations and this factors can operate independently to affect his or her well-being over the life-course.

2003 and Burra, 2001). As a result, household duties do not easily reconcile with schooling. Hence, the opportunity costs for the girl children are high and they may be educationally disadvantaged, compared to the boys. It has also been assumed that female children are more likely to be neglected by their families in the matter of basic necessities such as food, clothing, shelter, supervision, education and medical care (Tewari, 2005). In this regard, Sen pointed out that there are, mainly two factors – education and healthcare- that cause inequalities among the genders (Arora, 2015). As far as education is concerned, migration interrupts school entry or denies schooling. It further increases the number of girl children who drop out from schools and, at times, it also leads to child labour. Furthermore, the migrant girl children are vulnerable to early marriages (13-18 years) and early pregnancies (15-17 years). Further, they also give birth to children in the absence of trained birth attendants. Frequent child births also cause numerous health problems, and lack of sufficient breastfeeding of the newborn is an additional problem (Asset, 2007). All this discussion leads us to the inference that gender discrimination exists everywhere and the migration process also imposes an additional burden on the girl child.

Further, it has also been argued that the neglect of girl children impacts their physical, intellectual and emotional development (Indra, et al., 1999). Further, the family structures and value systems compel girl children to 'accept' that they are inferior and docile as they grow up. The gender of the children becomes a multiplying factor. The girl child is also more vulnerable to various forms of exploitation such as trafficking and being forced to work as invisible labourers.

4.3. Internal Migration as a Cause for Dropping Out

As discussed earlier, children are mostly disintegrated from regular schooling, both when they are left behind and when they migrate along with their parents. As both parents engage in work, children are either left on site by themselves, or they have generally been taken to the worksites. Consequently, most of the children are becoming either drop outs, or non-enrolled in schools. For instance, about 40 children drop out before they attain 10 years of age for every 100 children who join primary school (Annual Status of Education Report, 2012). Besides migration is the key contributor with about 8.15 million children (Report of Census and MHRD: GOI, 2011). In fact, due to the difficulties involved in tracking the migration flow, invariably it becomes difficult to estimate the exact numbers. However, it is found that areas with high level of migration often have the poor school infrastructure and scarce staff, which act as barriers in retention of children

in schools at the origin (Banerjee, 2011). The infrastructure and suppliers are largely due to the lack of interest from the State to empower children with education. Internal migration also influences and affects the academic session of the children, due to constant moving of the parents.

4.4. Academic Session Disruption and its Effect on Children Education

Further, there is a strong connection between migration and the academic sessions in schools, where the latter is often affected by the former. Such a possibility of disturbance of school sessions is particularly high among the children affected by temporary or short-term and seasonal migration, where the migrants return to their native places after a few months. For instance, due to the seasonal migration cycle, migrant children, who are enrolled to attend in schools in the destinations, get affected by the irregular attendance as they go back to their original places after a few months stay in the respective destinations. Consequently, the migrant children are withdrawn from the schooling, as they are unable to find a school in their original villages, since the schools are unwilling to let these children to join as they are in the midterm of the academic year. The same scenario is replicated when they travel from their original places to the destinations. Especially, when they travel in the mid academic years, it is impossible for the schools accept them. In a way, despite the children being enrolled in certain schools, they are effectively out of school, due to the migration. The other problem the children face when they return to their original places is that their re-entry into the schools in their return becomes problematic as the attendance is below the required rate and failure to take up a few exams held in their absence (Smita, 2008). When the migration is inter-regional or inter-state, the language barrier causes children to stay away from the schools. It is also found that one of the major reasons for the lack of systematic efforts to integrate the migrant children is the poor coordination between different government bodies in different states. All these reasons force children to remain stay away from schools.

4.5. Internal Migration as a Cause for Child Labour

As Sen observed, the poor in India suffer from a variety of tribulations and afflictions and children are not an exception to these (Sen, 2014).⁷ Accordingly, the process of migration, which is influenced by poverty, forces children to become part of the work force at the destination. As

⁷ Source: <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/sound-and-vision/amartya-sen-poverty-and-the-tolerance-of-the-intolerable>.

discussed earlier, child labour is a cause and consequence of socio-economic backwardness, illiteracy, unemployment, and deep-rooted prejudices, etc. (Mahapatra & Dash, 2011). Article 24 of the Indian Constitution states: “no child below the age of 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment” (Padhi, 2011: 340). While there are no reliable estimates about migrant children drawn into the workforce in India, administrators, activists and the government assume that the number could run into millions. Approximately, the large number of working children who assist their families at the worksites and homes account for about 49.8 lakhs in the age group of 5-14 years (12th Plan Report of Ministry of Labour; GOI, 2012: 2). It has been estimated by UNICEF that there are 28 million child labourers in India between 6-14 years and most of them accompany their parents who migrate from villages (UNICEF, 2011). Usually, children work from the age of 6 or 7 years and become a part of the full-fledged labour force by the age of 12 years. Despite a few efforts to educate the migrant children, the issue of children working on the sites remains a big concern in a country like India. So once they go back to schools after returning to their homes, they are hardly able to read anything. Not surprisingly, the labour departments of the Government are clueless about the problems faced by such children (Srivastava, 2011). However, international organisations such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO) have emphasised that every country should ensure the provision of education all children and prevent them from working in any hazardous industries⁸. As part of this, the Government of India (GOI) and National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR), which are expected to play a key role, have perceptibly, failed to perform the roles expected of them (Baisakh, 2012). The below table expose the working children at destination in the age group of 5-14 years as Census.

4.6. States with a high number of working children at the destinations (1991-2011)

The Table below depicts salient figures about the states having a high proportion of children (5-14 years age group) deployed on work:

⁸ Source: <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/ipecc/conf/oslo/syn.htm>. Accessed on: 29-11-2014.

Table 4.1: States with high number of working children at destinations (1991-2011)

State/UT	No. of working children in the age group of 5-14 years		
	1991	2001	2011
Uttar Pradesh	1410086	1927997	896301
Maharashtra	1068427	764075	496916
Bihar	942245	1117500	451590
Andhra Pradesh	1661940	1363339	404851
Madhya Pradesh	1352563	1065259	286310
India	11285349	12666377	4353247

Source: Census 2011, Government of India

The above table indicates that states of Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh have had a very high proportion of child labourers. A very significant 'development' has been that in all these states, the number of such children progressively decreased. Credit for this positive outcome can be given both to the several policy initiatives of the State, regarding discouraging child labour and the vigilance exercised by social activists and NGOs. However, the euphoria over such reports is slightly diluted by the fact that girl children who perform domestic work or take care of the younger children at sites are not being recognised as child labour by the institutions or organisations responsible to recognise them.

4.7. Construction Sector and Migrant Children

The construction industry is the single largest employer of migrant labourers, particularly the poorest of the poor. It is evident that nearly 90 per cent of construction works in India is carried out by the migrant workers (Mohapatra, 2012). In fact, millions of unskilled and socially and economically deprived sections, leaving their native villages to escape extreme poverty and find sources of livelihood in urban settings is a very common phenomena in India (Rural Poverty Report; GOI, 2011). The construction sector is proving to be a major magnet for all types of distress migration to urban areas, whether temporary, seasonal or circular. In 2011-12, the construction industry employed nearly about 50 million labourers which proves that it is the largest employment provider than other key sectors like agriculture and manufacturing⁹. In another

⁹ Source: Central Statistical Organisation; NSSO, Rounds 64 and 66.

perspective, out-of the total migrants, about 36.2 percent are employed in the construction industry, followed by agriculture sector, with 20.4 per cent (Report of United Nations in India, 2014). It shows that the construction sector emerged as a major employment provider to majority of rural to urban migrants. The issue of child migrants is posing formidable problems in the sector. Section 3 of the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986, and Section 12 of Building and other Construction Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1996, ban the use of child labour.¹⁰ At the same time, the government of India has been implementing a programme, called the National Child Labour Project (NCLP), at the state level. The project aims at setting up special schools for the children of migrants so that they will be withdrawn from work in the unorganised sectors like the construction sector. However, these policy initiatives face significant challenges due to poor coordination between the Union and the states and the negligent approach adopted by the concerned departments. There are about 4-7 lakh child labourers directly involved in the construction sector.¹¹ Surprisingly, this number has been estimated at only 2 lakh by the government (Planning Commission Report, GOI, 2011). Here, it is emphasised that though the construction sector has emerged as largest employment provider to the poorest people, particularly from rural areas, the state has not given much attention to protect and promote the interests and needs of children of internal migrants in India. The legal provisions and laws such as Child labour Act, 1986 and Construction Workers Act, 1996, have largely, failed in bringing in a facilitative and inclusionary approach towards the education of children of internal migrants in the construction sector. As a result, such children continue to face multiple challenges regarding their schooling at both the origin and the destination.

4.8. Challenges to the Schooling of Children at the Destination

The UNICEF (2012) opines that, despite the enactment of RTE, the state support for regular schooling of the migrant children is, by and large, a myth. Further, migrant children also struggle with learning deficiencies, because of the constant interruption in their schooling. In addition, the language barriers, in the cases of inter-state migration, pose severe threats (Smita, 2008). Due to the migration, children are often re-admitted into the same classes after they return to their respective origins. In addition, the working conditions in the construction sites are very typical

¹⁰ Source: http://www.cwfigs.org/child_labour.htm. Accessed on. 30-06-2014.

¹¹ Source: http://www.cwfigs.org/child_labour.htm; accessed on. 30-06-2014.

where the migrants work for long hours in a day. They cannot properly look after the welfare and needs of their children. Mobile Creches (MCs)¹² can be helpful in providing basic care and initial learning for the children. The very unfortunate situation in India is the lack of crèches and early children's services. Hence, many children are deprived of a smooth transition to formal schooling (UNICEF, 2012). According to the UNICEF, the provision of quality education during the early years can play a vital role in promoting sustainable economic and social development of the children (Agarwal, 2013). However, many children are lacking these facilities in worksites because of poor commitment from the State towards the provision of education for these children. In a few cases, a limited number of children are able to attend nearby schools, but they continue to face challenges related to integration into mainstream schooling. It has been seen that majority of the worksites lack facilities such as mobile crèches. Hence, many children continue to be excluded from schooling at the destinations.

4.8. State Policy Approaches for Migrant Children Education

As already discussed, there are very limited policy attention or a well-equipped administrative mechanism to protect the interest of children of internal migrants. A few states in India, with significant migration levels have taken the initiative for providing seasonal hostels for the children of migrants. The hostels are expected to prevent children from being deprived of education. The seasonal hostels at the destinations are aimed at preventing the children from getting pulled into the workforce. In addition to seasonal hostels, several policies have been formulated by the State to protect the rights of the migrant children. These will be discussed in detail in the succeeding paragraphs.

4.8.1. Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE)

Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) is one of the most effective policies to bring the internal migrant children into schools. From this viewpoint, the Supreme Court has also ordered the universal coverage of the six components under the Integrated Child Development Scheme

¹² Mobile Creches were first established in 1969 in order to address the absence of critical childcare services for children of migrant construction workers. MCs has grown into an organisation that stands at the forefront of advocacy, research, training and practice for early childhood care and development (ECCD) in India. Usually, each MC centre is divided into three sections - the crèche for children from birth until 3 years of age; the Balwadi (pre-school) for children from 3 to 6 years; and the non-formal education section for children older than 6 years.

(ICDS)¹³ for the welfare of highly deprived children. The Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE)¹⁴ is one among the six components. Consequently, the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD)¹⁵ issued a circular in 2011 to extend ICDS services to children of migrant labourers and temporary residents by setting up of Mini-Anganwadis in the scattered habitats of migrant workers¹⁶. This programme was mainly intended to focus on children until the age of 5, which means before they enter the formal education system. The effective implementation of the programme would be helpful in bringing the migrant children into mainstream schooling. This would be especially useful for those who stay home in order to take care of their younger siblings. The programme had shown some results during the initial years of its implementation, but later it has faced lot institutionalised challenges (Kaul, 2009). It was found that lack of educational infrastructure in Anganwadis and overworked employees have been significant drawbacks for successful implementation of the programme. Earlier, there was an attempt to extend the benefits of the Right to Education (RTE) Act to Anganwadis, but that did not materialise. Further, it is yet to be ensured that trained educational staff and infrastructure is sufficiently available for Anganwadis. In this context, government would need to consider partnering with players in non-governmental, or civic, organisations to implement these programmes better. It was found that, by partnering with NGOs, the government successfully implemented the Rajiv Gandhi National Crèche Scheme (RJNCS)¹⁷ for the children of working mothers (MWCD Draft; GOI, 2012).¹⁸ Yet, there is no evidence that such facilities are available for children of migrant families at construction

¹³ ICDS was launched in 1975 as the only national programme that addresses the health and nutrition needs of children. It sought to provide young children with an integrated package of services, including supplementary nutrition, health care and pre-school education. ICDS services are provided through a vast network of ICDS centres, better known as "Anganwadis".

¹⁴ The National Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) policy is intended to provide integrated services for holistic development. These services include: contextualised opportunities for promoting optimal development and active learning capacity of all children, along the continuum, from the parental period to six years.

¹⁵ MWCD is a branch of the government of India and the apex body for formulation and administration of the rules and regulations and laws relating to women and child development in India. It was set up in 1985 as part of the MHRD to give much impetus to the holistic development of women and children.

¹⁶ MWCD (2012a) Early Childhood Education Curriculum Framework (Draft), Government of India. Source: [http://wcd.nic.in/schemes/ECCE/curriculum_draft_5\[1\]20\(1\)20\(9\).pdf](http://wcd.nic.in/schemes/ECCE/curriculum_draft_5[1]20(1)20(9).pdf).

¹⁷ This programme came into existence on the belief that the women of infants should have opportunities work to supplement their income in order to improve the economic conditions of the family. This scheme assumed day care for children of working women in 2006. These Crèche services are rendered by NGO who are given grants by the government under this scheme, where government bodies inspect the progress.

¹⁸ MWCD (2011) Report of the Working Group on Child Rights for the 12 Five Year Plan. Source: http://planningcommission.nic.in/aboutus/committee/wrkgrp12/wcd/wgprep_child.pdf.

sites and brick kilns, etc. However, bringing ECCE programmes under RTE would help in achieving better results.

4.8.2. Integrated Child Protection Scheme (ICPS)

It is a centrally sponsored comprehensive umbrella programme which aims to build a protective environment for children through a Government-Civil Society partnership. The programme came into existence with the belief that the failure to protect the interests of children may adversely affect their accessibility to their rights. The programme evolved after integrating the multiple existing child protection schemes and additional interventions for protecting the interests of children. The focus has been on institutionalising essential services, strengthen structures, enhance capacities at all levels, create a database for child protection services, strengthen child protection at family and community levels and also ensure appropriate inter-sectoral response at all levels. Further, ICPS provides preventive, statutory care and rehabilitation services to children of potentially vulnerable families and families at risk, children of socially excluded groups like migrant families and children, etc. (MSPI Report; GOI, 2012). It also provides care, protection and rehabilitation services, including open shelters for the migrant population and shelter homes for the migrant children. However, this programme has also suffered from insufficient infrastructure. As Jithin (2013) opined that the programme failed to reach millions of internal migrant children requiring immediate care and protection. In fact, internal migrant children with high risk are actually being neglected by the programme due to the inefficiency of the State to prioritise the policy benefits to the children of internal migrants.

4.8.3. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), a flagship programme of the government of India, has been operational since 2001 with a variety of interventions for providing universal access and retention, reducing gender and social disparities by improving required infrastructure. SSA has also included provisions for the 'Urban Deprived Children'¹⁹ who include children living in slums and resettlement colonies, child labourers, street and working children, and children of migrant workers. Further, the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) envisages to offer

¹⁹ UNICEF well-defined Urban Deprived Children that includes rag pickers, beggars, slum dwellers, migrant children and sex workers who lack basic amenities such as clothing, food and shelters in urban settings.

specialised interventions such as special training programmes (STPs)²⁰ for the re-integration of migrant children into regular schooling.²¹ In addition, there are provisions under SSA for providing free school textbooks to children of internal migrants, opening special schools such as mobile schools, 'back to school' camps, short-term schools at the construction sites and additional facilities such as residential schools for girls, shelter homes and construction of toilets, etc. It is also expected to organise seasonal hostels/residential camps to retain children in the origins during the period of migration of their parents and worksite schools in the destinations in order to keep the children in schools. Despite the laudable aims, in reality, the policy approaches like SSA, which sought to minimise the impact of parental migration on children's education, have not been properly implemented (Singh, 2013). As a result, the provisions for setting up of tent schools, mobile schools, residential bridge courses and non-residential bridge courses, induction of language tutors, special admission drives and community mobilisation programmes to enable them to pursue education remain poorly implemented (Report on Children in India - Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation: GOI, 2012).

As priorities changed in the government planning and budget allocations, many programmes lost their importance and thus failed to achieve the expected results. For instance, under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) children can choose to stay back in the origin, instead of migrating with their parents. While staying back at the origin, children are allowed to stay in the primary school building for six months of the migration period in case of seasonal migration. As a policy priority, SSA provides all basic needs with two wardens to the children who decide to stay in primary school buildings. As the existing infrastructural facilities, such as school building, etc., are expected to be used, the costs are also expected to be minimal. This policy not only keeps the students within the education system, but also ensures that they do not migrate with their parents to end up as child labourers. Despite its promising nature, the central government has decided to deny funding to many migratory hostels in different states²². It is because of difference from one

²⁰ STP is an arrangement for out-of-school children. Section 4 of the RTE Act, 2009 is a very important part of the Act, as the government (MHRD) believes that it can affect lakhs of children in the country. It became operational after wide consultations on this initiative by NUEPA and UNICEF.

²¹ Report on Education for All towards Quality with Equity in India, MHRD, Government of India, p.44. Source: http://mhrd.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/upload_document/EFA-Review-Report-final.pdf

²² Source: <http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/opinion/orphaned-by-our-education-system/article6167216.ece>. Accessed on.18-11-2013.

government to another (different political parties). With all the above pitfalls in SSA, the initiative has failed to benefit the children of internal migrants.

4.8.4. Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya

The education of girl children is affected by many issues such as poverty, social values, shortage of facilities and gender bias. Girl children of migrants have to face more challenges than other girl children in the Indian society (Mobar, 2015). They are highly vulnerable to drop out due to stratified challenges such as their being used for performing domestic work, taking care of their younger siblings etc. Programmes like Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV), which aimed at improving enrolment of highly deprived and excluded girl children, such as internal migrant children, were expected to produce better results at the grassroots level (Reed, 2014). It could also be helpful in preventing child migration and child labour at both the source and the destination. The KGBV scheme was launched by the Government of India in 2004 with the aim of ensuring access and quality education for girls, especially those belonging to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Caste and minorities in difficult areas. It was intended to implement the scheme in educationally backward blocks, or segments, of the country. It also provides for reservation of 75 percent of seats for girls belonging to SC, ST, OBC or minority communities and priority for the remaining 25 percent is accorded to girls from families below the poverty line.

Most of the students studying in the KGBVs are in the same age brackets found in the regular schools. Hence, it seems that not many drop out and out-of-school children are studying in KGBVs. It is observed that there is a lack of clarity about “who are eligible for admission in KGBVs” and “how to identify the eligible girls”. It is also observed that no standardised and uniform method is being followed for the identification of girls for admission in KGBVs. Due to these sorts of complications, child retention and re-integration is becoming a challenge, leading to either drop out, or out-of-school children in both the origin and destination areas.

4.8.5. Right to Education (RTE) Act

Since it is evident that the majority of migrant children come from very disadvantaged communities such as Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and other Backward Castes (OBCs), the provisions of RTE Act provide opportunities for them to get re-admitted or enroll in the appropriate class and complete their elementary education (Rajan, 2014). In this regard, the

implementation of the SSA framework has been revived through the Special Training Programmes (STPs) under the RTE Act in order to ensure integrated schooling for out-of-school children. The Act also emphasises that the local authorities have to be more accountable in providing admission for migrant children. Implementation of the Right to Free and Compulsory Education Act has proved again the country's commitment towards providing education to all its citizens. Various provisions of the RTE which are important for the reintegration of migrant children are briefly discussed below.

- a. Section 4 provides children the right to seek transfer from one school to another school in order to complete their elementary education. It emphasises that the delay in producing Transfer Certificate (TC) shall not be a reason for denying, or delaying, admission in another school. Accordingly, this provision can help in eliminating procedural barriers in transfers (MHRD; GOI, 2009).
- b. Section 6 assumes that universal access requires schooling facilities within reasonable reach for all the children. For this purpose, the RTE Act mandates the appropriate local authorities to ensure that every child under its jurisdiction has access to elementary education. Further, the Act directs governments to provide schooling for each child within one km radius for I-V class children and within three km for VI-VIII classes (MHRD; GOI, 2009).
- c. The RTE Act also has a provision to penalise the parents/guardians who do not send their children to school. As most of the out-of-school children come from deprived sections, the parents from poor and deprived sections will have to pay the penalty, if their children do not attend the schools. In a way, this will help them to prioritise child's education as their fundamental right to attain a better lifestyle. (MHRD; GOI, 2009).
- d. The RTE Act also emphasises that at least 25 per cent of seats in private schools must be reserved for disadvantaged and weaker sections, such as migrant children. This provision of the Act not only provides quality education to poor and disadvantaged children, but also ensures a common place where children sit, eat and live together, irrespective of caste, class and gender (MHRD; GOI, 2009).
- e. Section 14 provides instructions regarding the proof of age certificate of a child and that admission cannot be denied in its absence. This is because it is difficult to obtain this proof from many illiterate parents, particularly those who are constantly moving due to migration. The Act has tried to provide alternatives to cope up with this challenge (MHRD; GOI, 2009).

- f. Section 15 of the Act also prohibits the denial of admission to children in school, irrespective of the time of an academic year in which admission is sought. It states that admission into school is a fundamental right of the child and it cannot be denied at any point of time in a year. This provision would help the children who are affected by migration or displacement (MHRD; GoI, 2009).

The RTE Act contains clear instructions with regard to special cases, such as children who are either out of school or drop out due to parental migration or forced migration. However, this Act has missed some provisions regarding special cases of migrant children. For instance, no special provision has been made for migrant children who do not speak the local language of instruction, which is a common challenge in cases of inter-state migrant children. The Act also did not include the expansion of bridge courses at the destinations which are essential for re-integration in the appropriate classes when they return to their original places. Even though the Act contains provisions for children to join the schools at any point of time, this provision is not applicable to aided schools. In addition, 25 per cent of reservations for disadvantaged and weaker sections in private schools is not materialising in the case of migrant children, including those whose parents are working in the construction sector (Taneja, et al., 2012). These policy interventions are intended to assist the migrant children to continue their education in mainstream schooling. Particularly re-integration through Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan special training programmes (STPs) and bridge courses can help such children to enroll in the appropriate standard with proper training. To some extent, these migratory hostel facilities and Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) programme for girl children and residential primary schools have helped in arresting the drop-out rates of children of migrants (Reed, 2014). However, these initiatives have succeeded in only a few contexts, especially wherever these programmes are attached with residential facilities such as migratory hostels, etc. Though the Right to Education Act made universal primary education a fundamental right, the majority of migrant children still remain out of school. On the other hand, the policy-makers and administrators point out that the nomadic nature of migrant workers makes it difficult to make arrangements for formal schooling of their children (Vidya, 2009). Although the existing limited policies intend to educate migrant children, it is evident that the state policy initiatives have largely failed in offering a suitable policy in India. For instance, many civil society organisations have been demanding that the Inter-state Migrant Workmen (Regulation and Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979, be amended since it is silent on provision of

crèches, education centres for children or mobile medical units for the labourers and their children. In addition, there is a need for identifying other alternatives in order to address the challenges faced in providing education to the children of internal migrants in the construction sector. Some of the alternatives promoted by non-governmental organisations are worth discussing here.

The following section will attempt to study such alternatives. Non-governmental organisations have become key actors for countries with high human resources like India in addressing the long-standing challenges of education and exclusion of children from schooling due to different circumstances.

4.9. National Commission for Protection of Children Rights (NCPCR) and Migrant Children

Since its inception in 2007, the NCPCR has taken charge to, inter-alia, monitor the children affected by, or displaced by, internal migration in India. This body is visualising that all children should enjoy their basic and inalienable rights and NCPCR is mandated to ensure compliance of the Constitutional guarantees, national laws and international conventions across the country. It also plays a key role in implementation of all policies and programmes with regard to the rights of the children. In executing its monitoring role, NCPCR has made several interventions and recommendations for the children affected by migration. These have been based on the complaints received, as well as cases taken up on a suo motu basis. Many academicians and policy advisors suggest that NCPCR need to be more active to accelerate and effectively implement the RTE through systematic improvements in order to ensure quality education for all children in diverse contexts.²³ However, the major challenge arises from poor implementation and interpretation of laws, which further lead to children exclusion from education. In fact, the Commission received many complaints about the grassroots level violations of the rights of working children, as well as those living in construction sites. In this regard, the Commission took cognisance of the issue and directed the district administration and state government to address the issues related to education, childcare and their inclusion by setting up schools near the worksites as per the existing laws (Report on Monitoring the Rights of Vulnerable Migrant Children; NCPCR, 2012). In the recent decades, civic and social organisations have been requesting the NCPCR to act more effectively to address the problems in assimilating the children of migrants and the rights of their children

²³ Source: http://planningcommission.nic.in/aboutus/committee/wrkgrp12/wcd/wgrep_child.pdf. Accessed on. 12-03-2014.

who are left unattended to school, or are often forced into child labour (Sinha, 2013). Despite the prime role it gained in promoting the rights of the children, NCPCR lacks autonomy and any authority to take immediate steps in order to improve the conditions of migrant children. Besides the government role, the non-governmental organisations have become major players for addressing the challenges of vital sectors such as education in India.

4.10. Significance of the Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) in Promoting the Education for Internal Migrants Children

The voluntary sector, or Non-government organisations (NGOs), have played a significant role in promoting the inclusion of migrant children in mainstream educational institutions. The need for reforms offers an opportunity for the government to create strategic alliances with the NGOs whose aim is to address social problems or the provision of basic services without a profit motive. The role so far played by NGOs and their various successful experiments and new approaches in the field of basic education has proved to be essential in countries like India (Toly, 2010). For several decades, various NGOs have been involved in providing educational access to the unreached in society. Their strength actually lies in working with communities and mobilisation of target sections in order to deliver the services (Ulleberg, 2009). Apart from their involvement in addressing several social issues, NGOs extend their services in the field of education in order to support underprivileged children. They develop innovations with an aim of improving the quality of school education. Every good work is important without exception, but the work for 'promotion of education', by all means, is the best (Ruchbakhai, 2014).²⁴ In fact, the experimental approaches of the NGOs in education increase the responsibility of the schooling system which would then benefit the children from deprived backgrounds (Jagannathan, 2001).

There are evidence to prove that NGOs have shown tremendous progress in educating the migrant children at both the source and the destination (Reed, 2014). In case of migrant children, it is quite difficult to transform worksites into education-friendly environments. For instance, Aide et Action, an NGO which works for better education of disadvantaged and deprived sections children, has successfully re-integrated 1835 migrant children in schools who migrated from Odisha to Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh in 2012 (Bhatia, 2013). Another instant comes from the American

²⁴ Source: <https://ruchibakhaiblog.wordpress.com/2014/02/28/role-of-ngos-in-education/>. Accessed on. 02-02-2015.

Indian Foundation, which offers migratory hostel programmes in three states where high-migration exists. It has moved its Learning and Migration Program (LAMP)²⁵ from a dual focus on source and destination areas to one that is entirely source centric. As discussed earlier, in case of both parents migrating, with the help of LAMP programme, children can stay in their respective villages and continue their education.

Most of these NGOs, such as American India Foundation (AIF) and Action Aid etc., have framed and implemented many initiatives such as seasonal hostels, work site schools and residential care centres at high out migration areas in order to provide migrant children with sufficient education at both the source and the destination. In fact, NGOs have emerged as sources for not only state bodies, but also for international organisations such as United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), for documenting the data of migrants and their children. In most cases, the concerned organisations of the government such data for formulating the policies and programmes (Vandemoortele, 2012).

4.11. Worksite Schools and Seasonal Hostels for Migrant Children: Erstwhile Andhra Pradesh Experience

The erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh was one of the largest states in India with the highest number of child labourers and dropouts. People migrate to urban areas because of the economic hardships and the decline of employment opportunities in rural areas (Deshingkar, et.al. & IMO, 2005). Further, it is noticed that dropout rates among migrant children take place during their below secondary school level. In order to prevent this, it has been identified that mapping migrant families and their children to initiate education arrangements for them at the worksites itself is a key arrangement promoted by NGOs. Several NGOs, such as EduCARE, PRIDE India, Dr.Reddy's Foundation, and Azim Premji foundation, have organised mobile schools for Migrant children at the destinations. In this regard, there have been many initiatives such as Children at Risk Programme (CARP) which have been taken up by Innovative Change Collaborative (ICC) and its partner organisations in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh in order to target child labour. These initiatives aim at promoting formal education by using the multi-stakeholder

²⁵ It intended to address the need of the children in communities whose lives are uprooted as the result of seasonal distress migration. It has two components - student support and community based advocacy and approaches.

approach²⁶ and tackling the problem from different dimensions. In this sequence, the idea of worksite schools and seasonal hostel in the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh have been one of the most impactful initiatives undertaken by the government of Andhra Pradesh and Aide et Action.

Further, in order to enhance the provision of education for migrant children, the Rajiv Vidya Mission (RVM) and Department of School education of the government of erstwhile Andhra Pradesh, in collaboration with Action Aid, conducted a survey in 2010, in which 779 other NGOs also participated. The survey identified more than 59,000 migrant children, including both intra-state and inter-state migrant children in the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh. A total of 34,997 intra-state migrant children and 21,070²⁷ inter-state migrant children were provided education in 2011-12 under this initiative with a coverage of 22 out of the 23 districts (Baisakh, 2012). The survey data helped to realise the intensity or magnitude of the child migration and it led to initiate work-site schools. A total of 142 NGOs participated to organise 714 worksite schools and 480 seasonal hostels were established at both the origin and the destinations. They adopted provisions available under the RTE Act to facilitate these activities. In order to enrich the process, the Rajiv Vidya Mission had been providing mid-day meal and books to the children at worksite schools.

In each district, a group of NGOs were identified to organise these schools where the needs of both intra and inter-state migrant children could be taken care of. The main objective of the seasonal hostels model was to accommodate the children of intra-state migrant at the source (for those who remained in their villages) and worksite schools for those who have migrated both within the state and from out of state. Apart from this project, 377 migrant children from Odisha were provided education in 2010-11 and 6453 in 2011-12 in the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh²⁸. Providing education to the inter-state migrants in their own language has been a significant challenge. But this challenge has been addressed with a need-based intervention, such as Inter-state coordination at the government level between Andhra Pradesh and Odisha. AEAI, which has also been operating units in Odisha, identified eligible Odia youth to teach. As part of the mutual understanding between governments, books were sent by the NGOs from Odisha. Then, the different government agencies

²⁶ The Multi-stakeholder Approach is a governance structure which seeks to bring stakeholders together to participate in the dialogue, decision-making and implementation of solutions to common problems or goals of society. The United Nations (2015) emphasises that there is emerging consensus that means of implementation will be incorporated into each sustainable development goal and, therefore, multi-stakeholder partnerships could be linked with each SDG.

²⁷ Source: <http://www.counterpunch.org/2012/10/19/children-of-the-migration-in-india/>. Accessed on.29-06-2014.

²⁸ Source: <http://thot.in/nmfp/article/indian-children-of-the-migration/>. Accessed on. 29-06-2014.

supplied the books. The local Telugu medium schools were directed by the administration to provide space for the Odia speaking children and children from other states where they could be taught in their mother tongue. Further, Action Aid simplified the process of establishing schools and seasonal hostels in, or near, worksites at the destinations, in collaboration with RVM. These schools offered mid-day meals for children who enrolled in the worksite schools. Aide et Action also recruited an education cadre from source locations and also provided learning material to children in their local language. Further, examinations were conducted in their local language and certificate of successful completion were issued to all those who successfully completed classes and these children were reintegrated in the local government schools at the source villages when they returned.

4.12. Data of district-wise Worksite Schools and Seasonal Hostels during 2011-12

The data about district-wise worksite schools and seasonal hostels is given in the Table below. It should help in providing a clear understanding of the impact of the initiative.

Table 4.2: Data of district-wise Worksite Schools and Seasonal Hostels during 2011-12

S. No.	District	Worksite Schools		Seasonal Hostels		Total	
		No. of Centres	No. of Children	No. of Centres	No. of Children	No. of Centres	No. of Children
1.	Srikakulam	1	40	78	7548	79	7588
2.	Vizianagaram	2	30	51	2616	53	2646
3.	Visakhapatnam	4	186	70	4096	74	4282
4.	East Godavari	3	158	23	1800	26	1958
5.	West Godavari	63	1662	31	2661	94	4323
6.	Krishna	15	418	22	1326	37	1744
7.	Guntur	19	563	11	961	30	1523
8.	Prakasam	9	319	39	2657	48	2976
9.	Nellore	6	194	25	1864	31	2058
10.	Chittoor	63	1595	9	531	72	2126
11.	Anantapur	18	582	80	4305	98	4887
12.	Kurnool	15	448	43	3888	58	4336

13.	Mahaboobnagar	12	328	41	6182	53	6510
14.	Ranga Reddy	102	4261	0	0	102	4261
15.	Hyderabad	113	2298	0	0	113	2298
16.	Medak	7	102	2	449	9	551
17.	Nizamabad	12	499	0	0	12	499
18.	Adilabad	145	5059	4	169	149	5228
19.	Karimnagar	6	324	0	0	6	324
20.	Warangal	23	739	2	101	25	840
21.	Khammam	7	248	3	175	10	423
22.	Nalgonda	9	254	14	793	23	1047
	Total	654	20307	548	42122	1202	62429

Source: Report of the Rajiv Vidya Mission (SSA) 2011-12, Government of Andhra Pradesh²⁹.

It can be seen that a total of 62,429 children of migrant labourers benefited in the year 2011-12 by accessing schooling, despite the migration of their parents. It is also evident that worksite schools helped to re-integrate them into mainstream schooling in the source areas (Reed, 2014). While the achievements are quite significant in terms of offering a useful hand for the children of migrant labourers, one significant drawback of this experiment was the quality of the education provided to the children (Larsen, 2003). Representatives from the administration stated that most of the migrant children had already been dropped out for a long period when they entered the alternative schools. As a result, their learning skills were significantly low and, hence, the result of these alternative schools. In addition, the institutionalisation of the inter-state coordination also remains a challenge. For instance, the co-coordinator of the Rajiv Vidya Mission (RVM) of the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh blamed the Odisha government for lack of coordination from their end.³⁰ Besides, there was a huge gap between inter-departments where the labour department did not provide children and family data regarding inter-state migration to the school education department (Baisakh, 2012). As a result, it became very challenging for the education department to take the required initiatives to meet the needs of the concerned section of children. The gaps in coordination among States and the concerned departments within the state contributed to the weakening of the

²⁹ Source: http://www.aea-southasia.org/uploads/Proceedings_from_SPD.pdf. Accessed on. 23-12-2014.

³⁰ Source: <http://www.counterpunch.org/2012/10/19/children-of-the-migration-in-india/>. Accessed on. 29-06-2014.

initiatives. Consequently, the model of setting up worksite schools was implemented till 2014. At present, the policy approaches are not in an active mode due to lack of coordination. However, within the limited scope, such innovative steps by the state and NGOs can create a conducive atmosphere for the internal migrant children to grow intellectually. Instead of limiting such innovative steps to non-governmental organisations, these must become part of the government policy. There are few emerging examples which are believed to be instrumental in improving education among the internal migrants.

4.13. Emerging Replications for Education of Migrant Children

Internal migration is a very complex issue. Since it poses multiple challenges to the family and children, the state has build-up alternative models to bring these children into mainstream education. These models can be implemented together by government and non-governmental organisations for comprehensive coverage of migrant children in both the sending and receiving areas. It is imperative to devise very innovative and impactful measures for bringing back the migrant children into the formal schooling process. Some of the initiatives will be discussed in the succeeding paragraphs.

4.13.1. Seasonal hostels in villages:

Since worksites generally lack facilities such as education care, there must be an option for the parents to leave their children back in the villages. This can be possible by setting up of seasonal hostels that enable children to stay back in the villages and attend the local schools. However, the model of seasonal hostels may be the best option to hold back children in school. While there are a few instances where parents have an option to leave their children either with their elders or relatives in their villages, the idea of seasonal hostels can be a more helpful choice for the majority of the parents. However, the efforts of the government towards setting up these hostels and fund allocation are very minimal and those of the NGOs alone in this regard may not be sufficient to tackle the huge number of migrant children.

4.13.2. Schools at the worksites

From the other side, many children who do not stay back in villages or in seasonal hostels continue to migrate with parents. In such cases, setting up schools at the worksites can be a very good action. This initiative can help to prevent children from becoming child labourers and ensure that they have an opportunity of learning. This initiative depends on the nature of the worksite where proper space, physical facilities and adequate number of children are available. For instance, construction sites and brick kilns are usually equipped with enough physical facilities. Accordingly, they are more suitable places to run schools at the sites.

4.13.3. Bridge courses

The initiative came to light to address the problems of children who do not stay back in a hostel and migrate to the worksites along with their parents without the schooling option. Children can get benefited from the bridge course in the village on their return to reintegrate into mainstream schooling. The bridge courses for migrant children can provide the necessary linkages with school education so that it would be possible to reduce the gap in education on their return to their native places. For instance, this model has been initiated in Rangareddy district, in the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh in 2004-05 under the collaboration of SSA, Action Aid and few other NGOs. This model showed some impressive results by improving children's learning levels. There were 1761 children enrolled in 2004-05 alone and 1884 children enrolled during 2005-06 under the Non-Residential Bridge Courses in the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh.³¹ Most of them later got into mainstream schooling after they returned to their villages. But those interventions got sidelined due to the poor coordination and lack of determination in the government mechanism.

4.14. Conclusion

This chapter discussed about the many barriers that often present challenges for the schooling of migrant children at various levels. There are enormous challenges for schooling of internal migrant children at both the destination and origin areas. Further, the movement of parents also poses barriers like learning deficiencies, irregular attendance in school and unfamiliarity with the medium of instruction – all of which can force many such children to drop out from schooling. Initiatives, such as Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE), Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA),

³¹ Source: <http://ssa.nic.in/publication-docs/5-%20Chapter-3.pdf>. Accessed: 21-03-2015.

Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya (KGBV) and the Right to Education Act, have largely failed to address the educational needs of migrant children. Legal provisions and laws such as Child labour Act, 1986, and the Construction Workers Act, 1996, has not been able to adequately facilitate an inclusionary approach for the children of internal migrants in the construction sector. In addition, initiatives by the government are not always consistent. On top, these are being jeopardised due to the lack of coordination between the concerned departments of the state and central governments. As a result, such children continue to face multiple challenges regarding their schooling at both the origin and the destination. Further, it has also been found that children of internal migrants in the construction sector are unable to adequately access education due the absence of an integrated policy approach regarding them. For instance, many children who study in regular schools are being provided mid-day meals. However, such meals are not available for children studying in schools being run at the worksites. The Education Departments of some states have often issued certificates for the children who have completed courses in worksite schools. However, such certificates are generally not recognised by many state governments for re-integration of these children into schooling. In addition, the issue of inter-state coordination continues to remain a challenge.

The Right to Education Act, 2010, was visualised as a key instrument for addressing the educational challenges faced by children belonging to the excluded sections, including internal migrants. It is emphasised that the Act had not been effectively implemented due to many institutional pitfalls. Clearly, there has been inconsistency in the policy and its implementation due to poor coordination and lack of commitment towards the education of children of internal migrants. For instance, a number of worksite schools of the Rajiv Vidya Mission (RVM), under SSA, were shut down due to administrative issues. Additionally, even though some non-governmental organisations are trying their utmost to help out such children, especially at the destinations, a lot can be achieved with greater government support and making it mandatory for the re-integration of such children in regular schools.

The next chapter would deal with field survey data of internal migrants in the construction sector. It will cover the socio-economic dimensions, working conditions and welfare or policy benefits. Further, it will highlight the views of the respondents on migration, the consequences of migration

and facilities at the destination. In addition, it will explore the possibility of the migrants exercising their political rights and benefiting from welfare programmes after migration.

CHAPTER - V

SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIMENSIONS OF INTERNAL MIGRANTS: FIELD SURVEY DATA ANALYSIS

The field survey will be covered in two sections. The present chapter, primarily, attempt to study the impact of migration on various factors relating to access of legal and social safeguards, socio-economic conditions of the migrants before and after the migration, their perceptions and opinions about migration and the facilities available at the destinations. While doing so, the chapter will study the socio-economic conditions which are considered as the major causes for migration, both before migration and after migration. It will also try to understand their perceptions, whether their conditions have improved after migration, or remained the same. In addition, the study will also attempt to assess the impact of migration on the education of the children. For this purpose, a field survey was conducted in four Mandals (blocks) of Rangareddy district, Telangana state where the construction sector is very vibrant due to its geographical location in close proximity to Hyderabad city. The study will also endeavour to cover intra-state and inter-state migrants and also both seasonal and circular migrations. A sample of 400 respondents (200 migrants + 200 migrants children) was selected through the simple random sampling (purposive sampling) method. The data were collected through a structured questionnaire from the respondents. The collected data were evaluated by using frequency distribution and cross tabulation.

5.1. Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapters, the key indicators for measuring progress are based on individual development. In India, substantial per cent of the population, mostly the rural one, lives under conditions of poverty, which can be generally understand in terms of individual deprivations (Kabeer, 2010). Poverty is often based on the economic characteristics of individuals or the wealth, or income, of individual households. At present, large sections of the population, particularly from rural areas, are migrating to different parts of the country for livelihoods and to escape from poverty. From the past few decades, an increasing number of rural people are migrating to urban areas due to the development trajectory across and within countries. This developmental trend across countries shows that people are increasingly living in urban areas. In fact, rural to urban migration has become an important component due to the rapid growth of urbanisation. The

majority of migrants are subsisting on low wages. This is forcing them to sacrifice various essential needs of the family, including the education of their children. The condition of migrant children and their education possibilities of destination, particularly in the construction sector, have been given much recognition by both the policy framework of the state and the research domain. The education of the children of migrants largely depends on the income status of their parents.

At this context, it was realised by the researcher that it is difficult to study educational conditions, challenges and approaches for migrant children education, without understanding or the studying socio-economic, working conditions, challenges faced by migrants and their opinions about any financial development after their migration into the construction sector. The present chapter will cover all the above mentioned elements from both intra-state and inter-state migrants to understand the different opinions and challenges at both the origin and destinations.

5.2. Outline of Telangana State

The state of Telangana was formed on 2nd June, 2014, after its bifurcation from the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh. Telangana is one of the 29 states in India. It consists of 10 districts. Though the geographical extent of Telangana has been reduced, it has its own prominence with enough population and rich natural resources. The state shares boundaries with the states of Maharashtra in the north and Chhattisgarh in the northwest, Karnataka in the west and Andhra Pradesh in the east and south. Its major cities include Hyderabad, Warangal, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Karimnagar, Ramagundam and Khammam. The climate of the state varies noticeably due to its geographical location. The monsoon too plays a major role in determining its climate. The state receives greater amount of rainfall from the South-west monsoon during August, September and October. (Telangana State Portal; State Government, 2015).

The topography of the region is responsible for the diversity in agricultural practices. The state is drained by two major rivers, Krishna and Godavari, and several minor rivers such as the Bhima, the Manjira and the Musi. Telangana is semi-arid and has a predominantly hot and dry climate. The monsoon arrives in June and lasts until September with about 755 rainfall. The annual rainfall is between 900 to 1500 in northern Telangana and 700 to 900 mm in southern Telangana from the southwest monsoons. The state's economy is, mainly, driven by agriculture. In spite of having Hyderabad as IT park with considerable income of the state, the majority of the population is engaged in agriculture, with rice as the major food crop. The other important crops are cotton,

sugarcane, tobacco and mango. Further, the state is also one of the top states in exporting IT products. Telangana is also a mineral rich state with coal reserves in places such as Singareni. The state has also emerged as a major industrial center and with major public and private sector establishments producing large scale industrial goods ranging from steel, metals, polymers, fertilizers and heavy engineering equipment. (Administrative and Geographical profile; Telangana State, 2015).

Table 5.1: Actualities & Statistics of Telangana (2011 Census)

Total Geographical Area	1,14,840 Sq Km
Capital city	Hyderabad
Population of the State	351.94 Lakh
Rural Population	215.85 (Lakh)
Urban Population	136.09 (Lakh)
Male Population	177.04 Lakh
Female Population	174,90 Lakh
Population density	307 per Sq km
Sex Ratio	988 females per 1000 males
Literacy rate	66.46 per cent
Male literacy	74.95 per cent
Female literacy	57.92 per cent
Official Language	Telugu
Total Households (HHs)	83.58 lakh

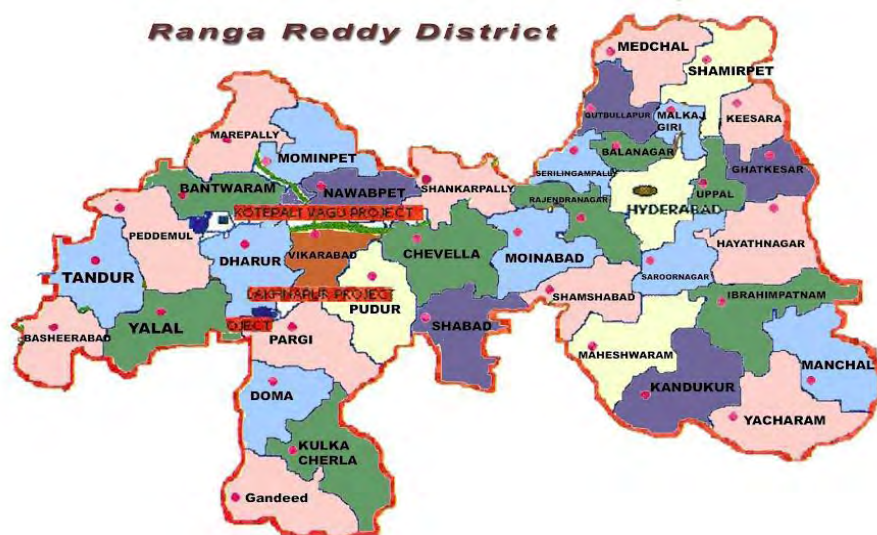
Source: Accumulated by the researcher by using various sources of Telangana State Government.

5.3. Profile of Ranga Reddy District

Rangareddy district was formed on 15th August, 1978 by carving out some portion of Hyderabad Taluk and the merger of the entire rural and urban areas of the remaining Taluks of the erstwhile Hyderabad district. It is primarily the rural hinterland for Hyderabad City, feeding the powerful commercial centre with various raw materials, agriculture produce and finished products. The District is bordered by Medak district in the North, Nalgonda District in the east,

Mahaboobnagar District in the south, Gulbarga district in the west and in the northwest by Bidar District of Karnataka state. The district nearly covers an area of 7564.88 Sq. km (about 7.5 lakh hectares)¹.

Map 5.1: Rangareddy District map with Mandals



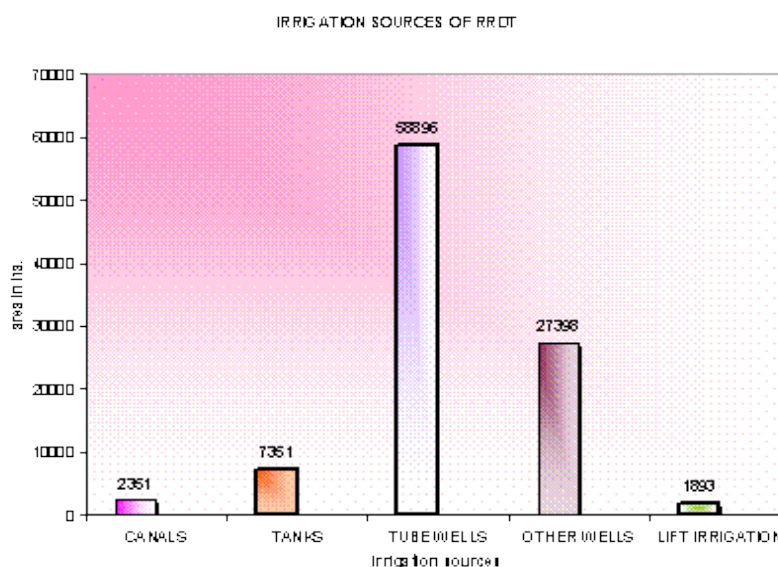
Source: Google maps

The 2011 Census put the district population at 5,296,741 (male, 2,701,008 and female, 2,595,733). The average literacy rate of Rangareddy district was put at 75.87 per cent (male, 82.11 per cent and female, 69.40 per cent). The sex ratio, stood at 961 females per 1000 males) and there were and 933 girls per 1000 boys. The district receives the highest percentage of rain (nearly 75 per cent) through the south-west monsoon during June-September. The northeast monsoon, during October to December, contributes nearly 16.8 percent of the rainfall. The 2011 Census brought out that, 70.22 percent lives in urban regions and 29.78 per cent lives in rural areas. *It is pertinent to mention here that, as against the normal trend of the larger proportion of a district residing in the rural areas, here the urban population is more than the rural one.* There are no forest areas in the district, but 730.75 sq. km of thorny shrubs has been recognised. Even this area also has been steadily declining due to the rapid urbanisation of areas surrounding the city of Hyderabad. With

¹ Source: Ministry of MSME, Government of India. Retrieved from:
http://dcmsme.gov.in/dips/RR%20dist%20profile_ap.pdf

regard water source for agriculture, tube wells are being extensively used in the district. Irrigation Sources are shown in the Chart below.

Chart 5.1: Water Sources for Irrigation in Rangareddy district



Source: State government of the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh

It can be seen that tube wells are the major sources of irrigation in the district (covering 58,896 hectares), followed by other wells (covering 27,396 hectares). The gross irrigated area in the district is 98,206 hectares and the net area irrigated, 80,227 hectares. For administrative convenience, Rangareddy district is divided into 3 revenue divisions and 37 mandals. The district has 1,053 revenue villages and 14 towns, with 11 municipalities. The district is largely covered by red soil, followed by black cotton soil.

5.4. Profile of the Four Mandals

For the present study, the four Mandals - Serilingampalli, Rajendra Nagar, Uppal and Maheswaram – were chosen. These Mandals are located around Hyderabad city, the capital of the State of Telangana. In fact, these Mandals have a high growth of the construction sector because geographical conditions and rapid growth of urbanisation in these mandal (Statistical Abstract 2011, Government of Andhra Pradesh).

5.5. Field Survey Analysis

Further, it will cover the analysis the data of field survey that collected from respondents of the construction sector in Ranga Reddy district, Telangana.

5.5.1. Age Profile of the Respondents

The Table below depicts the age profile of the respondents.

Table 5.2: Age Profile of the respondents

S. No.	Age	Frequency
1	20-25	6
2	26-30	60
3	31-35	50
4	36-40	50
5	41-45	30
6	46 and above	4
	Total	200

Source: Primary data

One striking fact that emerged was the low ‘representation’ of persons in the age groups 20-25 (only 3 percent) and 46 and above (only 2 percent). Possible explanations for this are: (a) persons of a relatively young age may not yet feel the financial compulsion to go to other places in search of work, and (b) those in the older age brackets may not have the strength to undertake the heavy work which the construction sector entails.

It did not come as a total surprise that the largest ‘concentrations’ of the respondents were in the age groups 26-30 (30 per cent), 31-35 (25 per cent), 36-40 (25 per cent) and 41-45 (15 per cent). In these ages, people generally have family responsibilities at their peak and they have the physical capacity to try to meet these to the best of their ability. The fall in the proportion from 41 years onwards may be due to the reducing physical strength as one grows older. Also, initiatives like MGNREGA could appear to be attractive employment options. Also, people at such ages may feel a greater urge to finally settle down in their own native places.

5.5.2. Religion of the Respondents

Financial constraints are not confined to persons of particular religions alone. All persons can have the same type of desires to provide a better quality of life for their families. Migration is one such option for earning an income. The Table below depicts the religions of the respondents.

Table 5.3: Religion of the Respondents

S. No.	Religion	Frequency	Percent
1	Hindu	195	97.5
2	Christian	4	2.0
3	Muslim	1	0.5
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It is not surprising to note that the majority (97.5 per cent) of the respondents were Hindus, followed by Christians (2.0 per cent), and Muslims (0.5 per cent).

5.5.3. Original state of the Respondents

One remarkable feature of the Constitution of India is the freedom of movement in any part of the country, which it has provided to the citizens. It is due to this guarantee that migrants have been able to go to even far corners of the country in search of livelihood options.

From the available literature of Bhardwaj (2012) Prasad (2012) Labo (2004) Haberfeld, et.al, (1999), it is understood that migration is not just intra-state phenomenon, but also an inter-state one. In other words, people from different states are migrating not only from one region to another within the state, but are also crossing the state borders. The Table below depicts the situation regarding the original states of the respondents.

Table 5.4: Origin states of the Respondents

S. No.	Originally belonging to the State	Frequency	Percentage
1	Telangana	36	18.0
2	Andhra Pradesh	53	26.5
3	Odisha	46	23.0
4	West Bengal	29	14.5
5	Bihar	28	14.0
6	Jharkhand	8	4.0
	Total	200	100

Source: Primary Data

Relocating to an alien location (even temporarily) may sometimes entail living in an altogether different social and cultural milieu. On top, there could be language issues, especially regarding the education of the children. It, therefore did not come as a total surprise that the majority of the respondents (total of 44.5 per cent) were from the Telugu speaking states of Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. This was followed by Odisha (23.0 per cent), some of the respondents who hailed from the districts of the state bordering Andhra Pradesh may be knowing a smattering of Telugu. After that, one could find a progressive decline in the number s from West Bengal, Bihar and Jharkhand.

5.5.4. Duration for which working at the current worksite

Though seasonal migrants are generally more in number, there are many circular migrants who usually shift from one site to another. The circular migrants do not have any livelihood source of their origin and they do keep moving from rural to urban areas in search of work, particularly in the construction sector. The Table below will present the durations for which the respondents had been at the present worksite.

Table 5.5: Duration for which working at the current worksite

S. No.	Duration	Frequency	Percent
1	0-3 months	61	30.5
	3-6 months	34	17.0
2	6 months – 1 year	55	27.5
3	1-2 years	23	11.5
4	Above 2 years	27	13.5
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It can be seen that the respondents had spent varying durations at the present worksite, like: 0-3 months (30.5 per cent), 6 months to 1 year (27.5 per cent), 3-6 months (17.0 per cent), above 2 years (13.5 per cent) and 1-2 years (11.5 per cent). From the field survey, it is observed that most of the respondents come under the category of seasonal migrants, those staying for more than 2 years belong to the inter-state migrant's category with circular movements.

5.5.5. Reasons for migration

It has been repeatedly mentioned that poverty and lack of employment opportunities are the major reasons for people deciding to migrate to other places. The Table below depicts the specific reasons behind the migration decisions.

Table 5.6: Reasons for migration

S. No	Reason	Frequency	Percent
1	Better Wages	85	42.5
2	No employment opportunities at villages	91	45.5
2	Owing to financial conditions	24	12.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It emerges that the two most compelling motivations for the respondents were: lack of employment opportunities (45.5 per cent) and the prospect of better wages (42.5 per cent). The reason of financial stringency was cited by only 12.0 per cent of the respondents.

5.5.45. Challenges at the Worksites

5.5.6. Type of migration of the respondents

Based on the duration of the period, migrants can be classified into two categories: (i) seasonal migrants and (ii) circular migrants. The former group is about those who migrate to other places only when regular work (including agriculture) is temporarily not available in their own native places. Circular migrants are generally those who move from one place to another in search of work. It is obvious that these persons are more nomadic in nature, since they hardly find much gainful employment in their places of origin. The Table below would depict the distribution of respondents into these two categories.

Table 5.7: Type of migration of the respondents

S. No.	Type of migration	Frequency	Percent
1	Seasonal	123	61.5
2	Circular	77	38.5
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It is obvious that the larger proportion of respondents (61.5 per cent) were seasonal migrants. Such persons could be expected to have better chances of looking after their lands, etc., (in case they were owning these) once they returned to their native places during the agricultural season than the circular migrants. They could also be in a better position to leave some of their children behind, since they could meet them more regularly once work becomes available in their native places

5.5.7. Social composition of the migrants at the destination

Historically, Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) have been identified as chronically poor, due to lack of land ownership and other assets, which is a very common condition in rural areas of India. Scholars like Srivastava (2003) Smita (2008) and Deshingkar (2010) also

argue that most of migrants for labour, in any stream of migration, such as rural-rural, rural to urban, belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Table below should tell us how far such scholars have been correct in their supposition.

Table 5.8: Social composition of the migrants at the destination

S .No.	Caste	Frequency
1	Scheduled Caste	96
2	Scheduled Tribe	65
3	Backward Caste	36
4	Forward Caste	2
5	Religious Minorities	1
Total		200

Source: primary data

The above surmise of the scholars has been largely substantiated since the majority of the respondents belonged to Scheduled castes (48 per cent) and Scheduled Tribes (32.5 per cent). These were followed by Backward Castes (18 per cent), Forward Castes (only 1 per cent) and Minorities (only 0.5 per cent). This shows that migration has almost become a necessary condition for a large number of SC, ST and BCs in India.

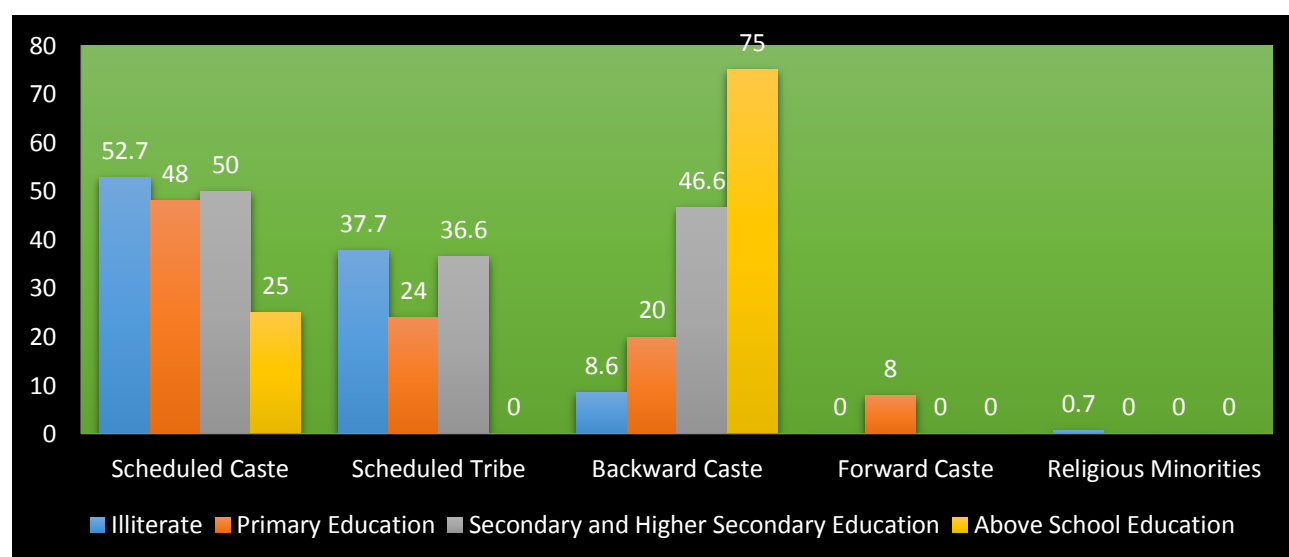
5.5.8. Educational Condition of the respondents

It is also important to understand the education levels of the respondents. The education levels of the respondents are stratified into four levels. These are: (i) no formal education (Illiterates) (ii) primary education (iii) Secondary and Higher Secondary Education (v) above school education that consists of intermediate and above. The educational level of a person can greatly impact his/her decision to migrate. An illiterate person generally does not have many formal employment options since she he/she cannot handle tasks that involve an element of reading and writing skills. One way out may be to look for unskilled jobs. If these, are not readily available in the native places, one popular way out is to migrate to places having a high demand for unskilled labourers. The Table below depicts the caste-wise educational levels of the respondents.

Table 5.9: Caste and Education Qualification of the Respondents

S. No.	Caste	Education Qualification				Total
		Illiterate	Primary Education	Secondary and Higher Secondary Education	Above School Education	
1	Scheduled Caste	67	12	15	2	96
2	Scheduled Tribe	48	6	11	0	65
3	Backward Caste	11	5	14	6	36
4	Other Caste	0	2	0	0	2
5	Religious Minorities	1	0	0	0	1
Total		127	25	30	8	200

Source: Primary Data

Chart 5.2: Caste and Education Qualification of Respondents (in percentage)

Source: primary data

It could be seen that the largest proportions of SC and ST respondents were illiterates. This was not the case as far as BC and OC respondents were concerned. When the overall figures are examined, 127 out of 200 respondents (63.5 per cent) of the respondents were illiterates.

A rather disturbing picture emerged in the case of respondents (belonging to all castes) who had relatively higher levels of education. One could help feeling disturbed that, despite their education, there were being forced to perform tasks which even illiterates could handle. This suggests that either they could not find jobs commensurate with their levels of education, or the providers of unskilled jobs in their native places found such persons over-qualified for such tasks. For, one thing, they could raise questions about the quantum of payment. In an alien setting, the contractor is in a type of 'seller's market' where he can say the objectors, 'Take it or leave it'. In this type of a lose-win situation, where a person is desperate to earn an income, however small, since he may not be having any money to return to his/her native place, there is no choice but to submit even to unjust conditions of work and pay.

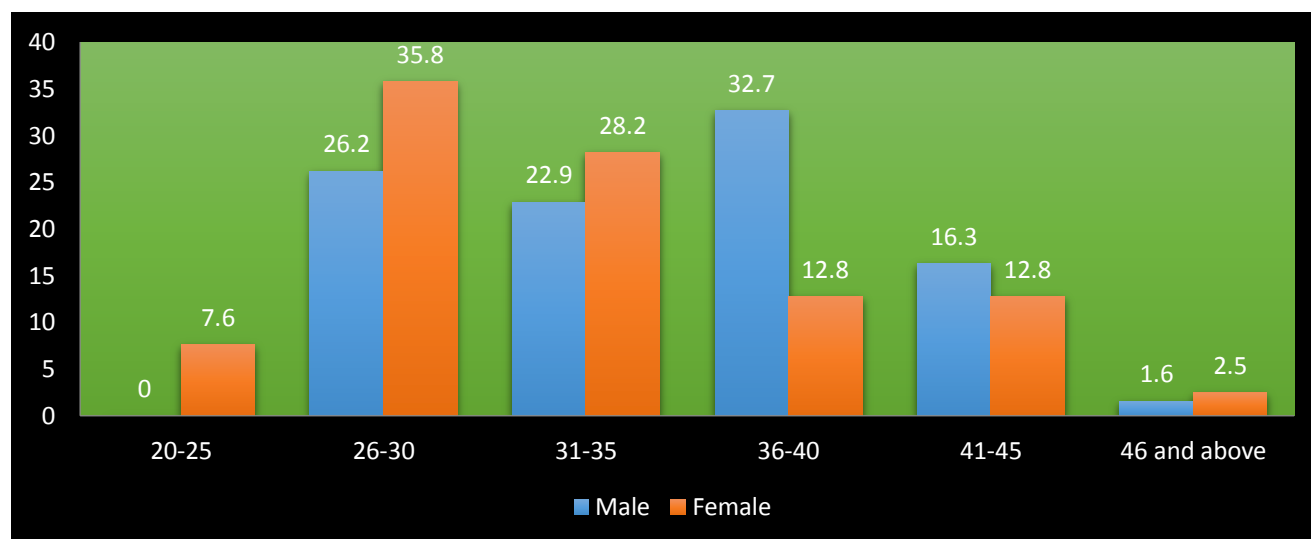
5.5.9. Age and Gender of the Respondents

At this juncture, it needs to be reiterated that this study is primarily focused on the education of children of migrants. Hence, the adult respondents in this chapter are the parents of such children. Hence, one need not be unduly perturbed about the greater number of females than males in the age group 20-25 years, since they were the wives of male respondents in the relatively older age groups. The Table below depicts the age-gender profile of the respondents.

Table 5.10: Age and Gender of the Respondents

S. No.	Age Group	Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
1	20-25	0	6	6
2	26-30	32	28	60
3	31-35	28	22	50
4	36-40	40	10	50
5	41-45	20	10	30
6	46 and Above	2	2	4
Total		122	78	200

Source: Primary Data

Chart 5.3: Age and Gender of the Respondents (in percentage)

Source: primary data

It could be seen that overall there were 122 males, as against 78 females among the respondents. As regards the age categories, the majority of the male respondents were found to be concentrated in the age groups from 26 to 40 years (total 100 out of 122). For females, this was in the age groups 26-30 (28 out of 78) and 31-35 (22 out of 78).

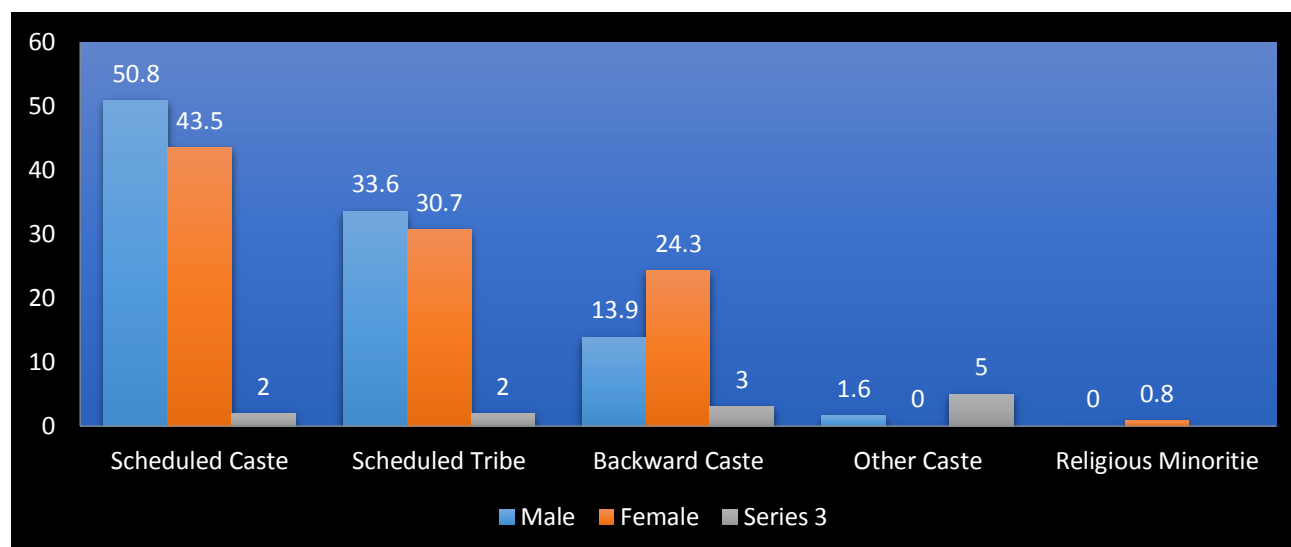
5.5.10. Gender and Caste of the Respondents

The construction industry entails a lot of physical strength to operate machinery and carry materials in multi-store buildings. It may, therefore, be safely assumed there would be more male workers compared to the females. The Table below depicts the gender and caste-wise distribution of the respondents.

Table: 5.11 Gender and Caste of the Respondents

S. No.	Caste	Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
1	Scheduled Caste	62	34	96
2	Scheduled Tribe	41	24	65
3	Backward Caste	17	19	36
4	Other Caste	2	0	2
5	Religious Minorities	0	1	1
Total		122	78	200

Source: Primary Data

Chart 5.4: Gender and Caste of the Respondents (in percentage)

Source: primary data

It could be seen that SCs (48.0 per cent) and STs (32.5 per cent) ‘dominated’ the respondents, in terms of overall numbers. This was followed by BCs (18.0 per cent). OCs and Minorities had hardly any presence. Even among the genders, SCs and STs had a larger representation than that of the other castes.

5.5.11. Family size of the Respondents

The field survey report supports that the size of the family of the migrants has a definite influence on migration. As Maralani (2008) emphasises, the evidences from developing countries show a positive correlation between family size and welfare of the family and it has also influence the child development. Further, the family could also move into a condition where they must minimize their basic needs with two reasons, including family size and inappropriate income which is highly insufficient to meet all needs of the family. The number of members of the family can largely impact his or her financial condition. On one side, more members can mean more mouths to feed. On the other, this could also lead to more earning members – often at the cost of education of the children. One way of looking at this issue is ‘looking for short-term benefits at the cost of the future of the children. The Table below depicts the general family size of the respondents.

Table 5.12: Family size of the Respondents

S. No.	Family Size (in number)	Frequency	Percentage
1.	3	30	15.0
2.	4	59	29.5
3.	5	68	34.0
4.	6	38	19.0
5.	7	5	2.5
Total		200	100.0

Source: Primary Data

For the sake of this discussion, it would be assumed that the family comprised of the respondent, his/her spouse and their children. It is obvious that the one child norm was not very common among the respondents, since only 15 per cent of them had a family size of three (the size of the family taken into account only wife & husband and children). On the positive side, only 2.5 per cent respondents had a family size of seven (obviously with five children). It was rather encouraging to note a 'progressive decline' in the family sizes of the respondents. It was 29.5 per cent for family size of four; 34.0 per cent for a family size of five and 19.0 per cent for a family size of six.

5.5.12. Size of the Family and Caste of the Respondents

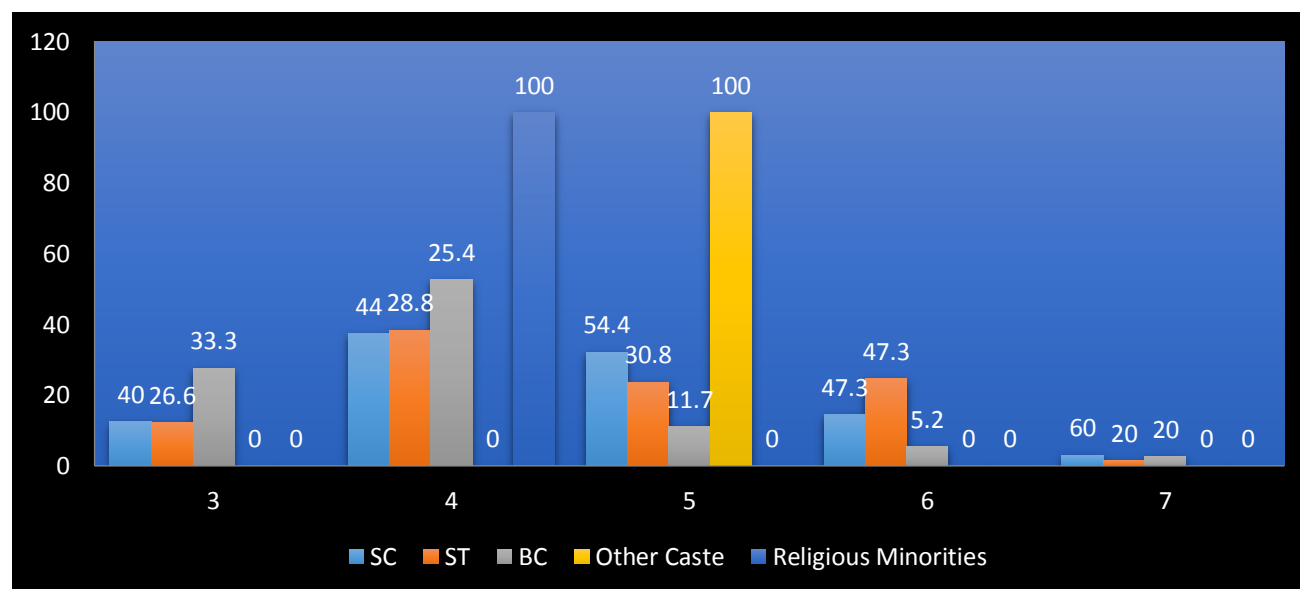
According to the economic theory of migration, as reiterated by Black et al., (2005) migration largely depends on the state of development of a particular community. Rural to urban migration is caused by various reasons, but it is highly decided by a few key elements such as poverty, vulnerability and wage differences. The majority of the family systems at the rural level have more dependents than earners. Given these constraints, the economic savings and conversion of the earnings into the social capital of children highly depends on the family size and its level of expenditure. Mostly, migrants are sacrificing many things such as children's education and proper health care due to economic constraints with huge size of family. It has been brought out by de Haan (1999) that the impact of family size and poverty make the family continue to stay in the clutches of poverty even after migration.

It was observed that more than 50 per cent of the respondents were having family sizes of either four, or five. The Table below would reveal whether such a trend was more or less common for all the castes.

Table 5.13: Size of the Family and Caste of the Respondents

S. No.	Family Size (in number)	Caste					Total
		Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	Backward Caste	Other Caste	Religious Minorities	
1	3	12	8	10	0	0	30
2	4	26	17	15	0	1	59
3	5	37	21	8	2	0	68
4	6	18	18	2	0	0	38
5	7	3	1	1	0	0	5
Total		96	65	36	2	1	200

Source: Primary Data

Chart 5.5: Size of the Family and Caste of the Respondents (in percentage)

Source: primary data

It could be seen that families having four or more than four (and even six or seven) members in the family were mostly SCs or STs. This points to the low level about family planning among SC and ST communities.

5.5.13. Number of Children in the 6-14 years age group

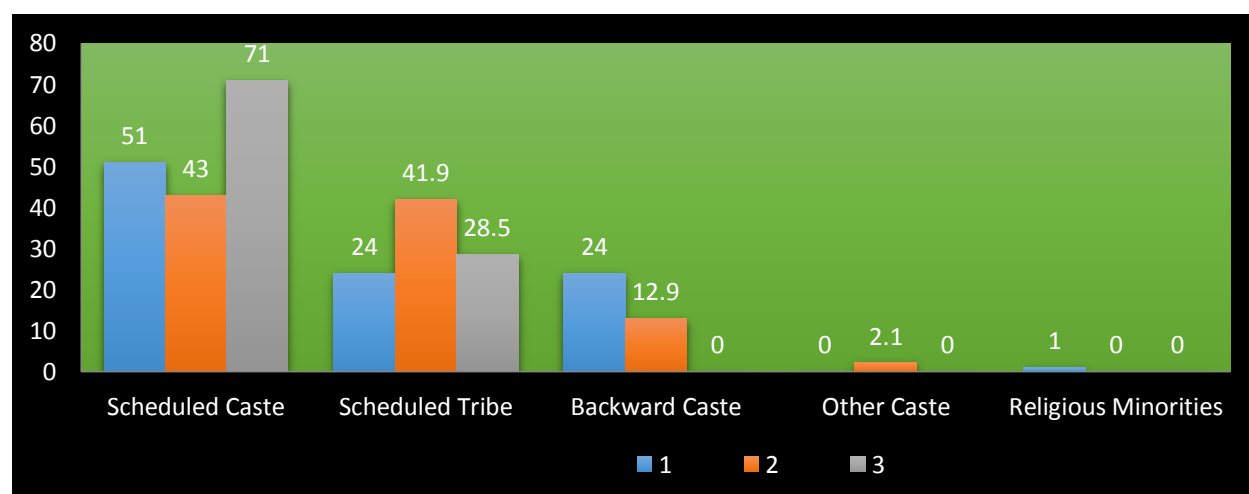
Sinding (2007) argued that the family size can influence the household expenses. In case the children are in the relatively higher age brackets, there can be greater expenditure on food and clothing. A slightly 'negative' dimension, especially in poor families, is that such children could be made to work. The Table below depicts the family size of the respondents.

Table 5.14: Number of Children in the 6-14 years age group

S.No.	Number of Children	Frequency	Percentage
1	1	84	42.0
2	2	94	47.0
3	3	21	10.5
4	4 and Above	1	0.5
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

Chart: 5.6: Caste-wise number of Children between 6-14 years age group (in percentage)



Source: primary data

Note: 1, 2, and 3 numbers in the chart denote the number of children in the age group of 6-14 years.

It can be seen that most respondents, 47 per cent were having one child each in this age bracket. This was followed by 42 per cent having two children each and 10.5 per cent having three children each in this each group.

5.5.14. Caste wise distribution of number of school age children (6-14 years)

A related issue would be to examine the caste-composition of families having children in the 6-14 years age group. The Table below should be quite useful for this purpose.

Table 5.15: Caste wise distribution of number of school age children (6-14 years)

S. No.	Caste	Number of Children in 6-14 Years Age group				Total
		1	2	3	4	
1	Scheduled Caste	39	44	13	0	96
2	Scheduled Tribe	20	36	8	1	65
3	Backward Caste	24	12	0	0	36
4	Forward Caste	0	2	0	0	2
5	Religious Minorities	1	0	0	0	1
Total		84	94	21	1	200

Source: primary data

It could be seen that SC and ST families dominated in the matter of having the most number of children (whether one, two or three) in this age group. This suggests that many of the respondents could have been married off even below the legally permissible age for marriage (21 years for males and 18 years for females).

5.5.15. Number of children below 5 Years

In many cases, the children under 5 years age are being taken to the destinations by the parents because there is no one to look after them at the origin. It is also observed that majority of worksites does not have Early Childhood Care Centres (ECCs) or Anganwadis, to take care of the children (Mann, 2012). Subsequently, the children in the school-going age have to take up the responsibility of caring for their younger siblings, often at the cost of their own schooling. The Table below depicts the position regarding children below five years of age.

Table 5.16: Number of children below 5 Years

S. No.	Number of Children	Frequency	Percentage
1.	0	67	33.5
2.	1	98	49.0
3.	2	34	17.0
4.	3	1	0.5
Total		200	100.0

Source: Primary Data

It could be seen that 49.0 per cent of the respondents had one child each in this age group, followed by 33.5 per cent, who did not have children in this age bracket and 17.0 per cent who had two children in this age group. The last figure suggests a lack of awareness about ‘spacing’ the children.

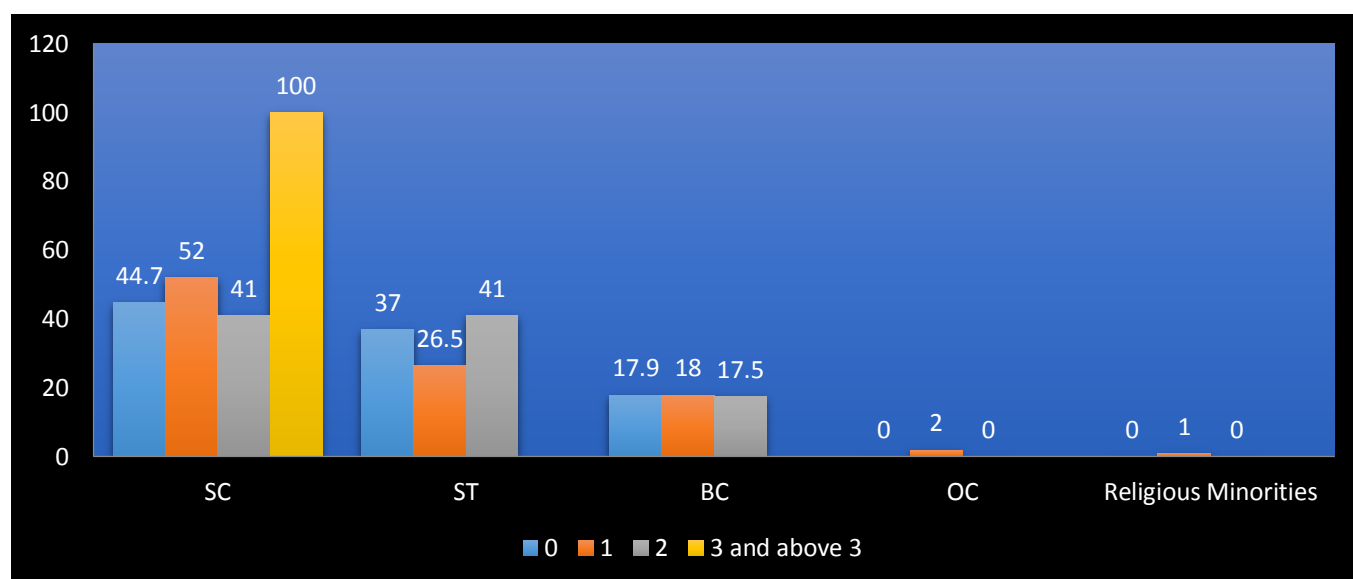
5.5.16. Number of Children below 5 years and Caste

As Cancian & Danziger (2009) emphasised, there is a correlation between demographic change and economic outcomes. A UN report on rethink poverty- 2010 highlighted that improving economic conditions of an individual can lead to lower birth and a less recognised notion is that lower birth rates contribute to the economic development of a family which also led to escape from poverty (United Nations, 2009). It is also believed that, in case of working labourers such as migrants, less birth rates in the family could help for economic and social well-being of the family in terms of access to better health, food and education, etc. Not surprisingly, the planning for controlling birth rates among migrants is missing due to poor awareness levels, particularly, in socially and economically deprived sections. The Table below depicts the caste-wise distribution of the respondents having children in the age group and below.

Table 5.17: Number of Children below 5 years and Caste

S. No.	Caste	Children Below 5 years				Total
		0	1	2	3 and above	
1	SC	30	51	14	1	96
2	ST	25	26	14	0	65
3	BC	12	18	6	0	36
4	OC	0	2	0	0	2
5	Religious Minorities	0	1	0	0	1
Total		67	98	34	1	200

Source: Primary data

Chart 5.7: Number of Children below 5 years and Caste (in percentage)

Source: primary data

Note: 0, 1, 2 and 3 numbers denote the children below 5 years and caste

It can be seen that the respondents belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were having the highest proportion of children below 5 years of age. On the positive side, there were also some SC (30 out of 96) and ST (25 out of 65) respondents who did not have any children in this age group. It was also rather surprising to note that 18 (out of the 36) BC respondents had one child each, and 6 had two children each in this age group. The earlier remark about the lack of awareness regarding ‘spacing the births’ of children seems to be applicable to BC respondents too. In this context, it is pertinent to refer to the study by Canning & Schofield (2007) which emphasised that high birth rates in a family reduces female labour force participation where both

the wife and the husband are forced to work. This is because the mother is unable to participate in labour for a long time due to continuous pregnancies and the responsibility of taking care of the children. In fact, in most of the cases of migrants, high fertility has become a barrier to economic growth of the family. Subsequently, it emphasises that high fertility rate, which has been recognised as the cause of poverty, has multiple consequences on the family and the children. In addition, the number of children in a family often decide the possibility of schooling for those children.

5.5.17. Caste wise Ration Card status

The PDS scheme is largely intended to benefit poor families who can purchase essential provisions at highly subsidized rates. Most of the migrants are forced to subsist on meagre wages at alien places. The PDS would certainly be of great help to them. However, due to their temporary residency status at the destinations, many of them may not be issued ration cards. Also, the ration cards, if any, held at the native places could be cancelled since the rations are not being drawn regularly. This could result in lose-lose situation for such persons in both the places. The status of ration cards of the respondents, either at the origin, or the destination, is depicted below.

Table 5.18: Caste wise Ration Card status

S. No.	Caste	Response		Total
		Yes	No	
1	Scheduled Caste	79	17	96
2	Scheduled Tribe	53	12	65
3	Backward Caste	34	2	36
4	Other Caste	2	0	2
5	Religious Minorities	1	0	1
Total		169	31	200

Source: Primary Data

It could be seen that 169 (out of 200) respondents were holding ration cards – SCs (79 out of 96), STs (53 out of 65), BCs (34 out of 35), OCs (2 out of 2) and 1 from the Minority community. One issue that emerged during personal interactions with the respondents was that the local politicians were not showing much interest in ensuring issuance of the PDS cards to those migrants who were not holding these. A possible reason for this was that such migrants were not considered to be of

much political value – many of them were not voters in the destinations. In case they did hold voter identity cards at the places of origin, it was unlikely they would return here just to cast their votes – and lose a couple of days’ wages in the process.

5.5.18. State-wise access to PDS provisions among respondents

It is once issue to be eligible to a facility and yet another to be able to actually utilise it. The same thing holds for the PDS. It is possible that the ration card is only at the place of origin and the particular person may not be able to regularly access the PDS there. There is also the likelihood that the ration shop owner has a ready excuse, ‘Item is not in stock’ or ask the beneficiary to come after some days which is not possible for the most of the migrants. In such a situation, when the particular item (like kerosene oil, rice, wheat or sugar) is urgently required, a person may be forced to purchase this from outside – often at a very high cost. Such a ‘beneficiary’ can get a bit disoriented about the PDS. Also, since the ration card is at the place of origin, migrants from other states cannot make frequent visits to their native places. The Table below depicts the state-wise access to the PDS provisions among the respondents.

Table 5.19: State-wise access to PDS provisions among respondents

S. No.	Name of the State	Response		Total
		Yes	No	
1	Telangana	28	6	34
2	Andhra Pradesh	40	11	51
3	Odisha	12	24	36
4	West Bengal	4	17	21
5	Bihar	3	18	21
6	Jharkhand	0	6	6
	Total	87	82	169

Source: primary data.

A very significant fact that emerged was that respondents from the two Telugu speaking states (Telangana, 28 out of 34) and Andhra Pradesh (40 out of 51) were able to procure PDS provisions. A probable reason for this was the relative proximity of their PDS shops from their worksites. In the case of migrants from Odisha, only 50 per cent of them were able to access their PDS shops.

Migrants hailing from other states obviously faced difficulties due to the long distances between their worksites and the PDS shops in their native places.

5.5.19. Electricity in houses of Migrants at the destination

Acts like the Building and Other Construction Workers Act, 1996, and Unorganised Workers Social Security Act, 2008, mandate upon the contractors and construction companies to provide basic facilities such as electricity, hygienic conditions and basic healthcare for internal migrants at destination. The Table below will depict the extent to which the employers have been meeting their legal obligation.

Table 5.20: Electricity in the shelters of the respondent at sites (Caste-wise)

S. No.	Caste	Response		Total
		Yes	No	
1	Scheduled Caste	67	29	96
2	Schedule Tribe	51	14	65
3	Backward Caste	35	1	36
4	Forward Caste	2	0	2
5	Religious Minorities	1	0	1
Total		156	44	200

Source: primary data

It can be seen that, overall, only 78.0 per cent of the houses were electrified. One cannot fail to notice that 29 (out of 96) houses of SC respondents and 14 (out of 65) houses of ST respondents were not provided electricity connections. Only the other hand, nearly all the houses of respondents belonging to the other social groups were provided domestic electricity connections. Obviously, SC/ST migrants are generally not very articulate in insisting on their legitimate needs.

5.5.20. Whether the Respondent was holding a Voter ID

Migrant workers are often deprived from exercising their political rights such as voting and electing political representatives (Varma, 2014) since they are not entitled to vote outside their place of origin. In most of the cases, the migrants have voter identity cards at their places of origin but not at the destination. The expenses involved in travelling to their native places at election time must be deterring many migrants from exercising their voting rights. This condition is highly among inter-state migrants. As Rameez & Verma (2014) study on political inclusion of seasonal

migrant workers highlights, there are nearly 22 percent seasonal workers who do not have voter identity cards or not having their names in the voter's list in India.

The table below presents the situation about possession of voter ID cards, either of the places of origin, or the destinations.

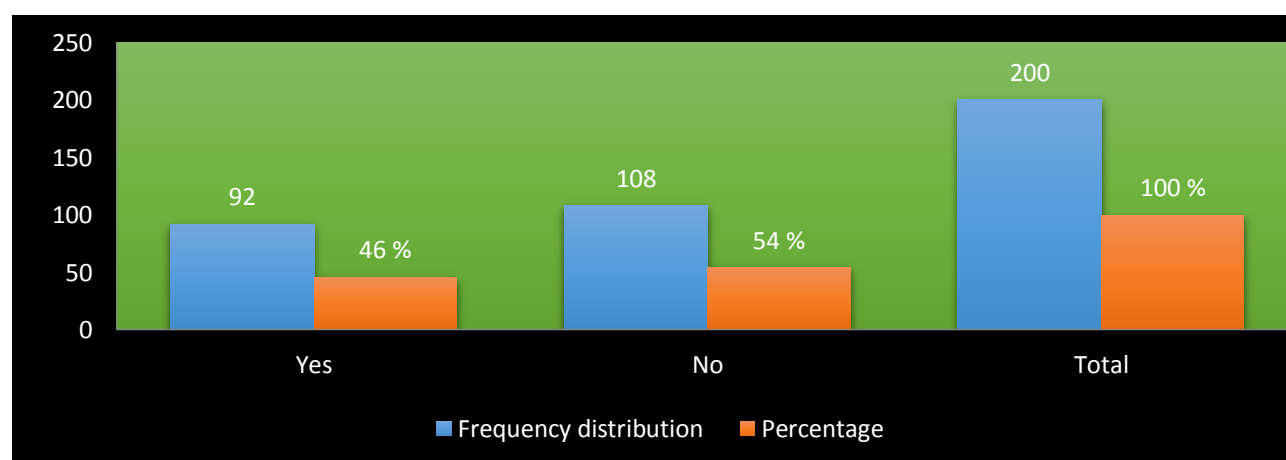
Table 5.21: Whether the Respondent was holding a Voter ID

S. No.	Place of voter ID	Response		Total
		Yes	No	
1	At the Native Place	168	32	200
2	At the destination	1	199	200

Source: primary data

It could be seen as high as 16.0 per cent of the respondents were not holding such ID cards, even in their native places. Amazingly, one respondent was holding this card even at the destination.

Chart 5.8: Whether the Respondent cast his/her vote in the 2014 General Elections



Source: primary data

It could be seen that only 46.0 per cent of the respondents had cast their votes in the 2014 General Elections. Most of the respondents who did not cast their vote were inter-state migrants. Obviously, the provisions of the Conduct of Election Rules, 1961, permitting service personnel, people under preventive detention and migrants from sensitive zones from casting postal ballots have not been extended to internal migrants.

5.5.21. Number of workings days in a week

A large proportion of workers in the construction sector, including the internal migrants fall under the unorganised sector, it is highly unlikely that they would be entitled to paid holidays. Also, many of them may like to work on all days of the week to earn more amounts as daily wages, regardless of the fact that this may take a heavy toll on their health. The Table below depicts the number of days in a week that the respondents have been putting in.

Table 5.22: Number of workings days in a week

S. No.	Working days in a Week	Respondents	Percent
1	5 days	12	6.0
2	6 days	150	75.0
3	All the week	38	19.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It makes for rather sorry reading that 94.0 per cent of the respondents have been working for six, or all, days of the week.

5.5.22. Gender and working hours per day

The Unorganised Workers Security Act (UWSA), 2008, ² clearly lays down that the working hours should not more than 8 hours. The Table below should give an idea of the extent to which this stipulation is being adhered to in the study area.

Table 5.23: Gender and working hours per day

S. No.	Working Hours	Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
1	8 hours	68	56	124
2	More than 8 hours	54	22	76
Total		122	78	200

Source: primary data

² This Act is intended to provide social security and welfare for the unorganised workers. Unfortunately, this law has ignored many issues of concern for the unorganised workers, including those in the construction sector. Further, the law has failed to indicate the extent of funds that must be earmarked for providing social security and welfare of migrants.

It is slightly comforting to note that 62.0 per cent of the workers have working hours up to 8 hours. Yet another positive issue perceived that the proportion of female workers having working hours in excess of 8 hours was quite low (22 out of 78). In the case of male respondents it was 54 out of 122. One cannot lose sight of the fact that the primary responsibility of looking after the household generally falls on women, even if they are working outside to add to the family coffers. Thus female respondents who have working hours of up to 8 hours, are able to attend to a major part of their domestic tasks after their 'duty period' is over.

5.5.23. Daily Wages of the Respondents

The movement of people to other places is the result of economical oppression and inappropriate wages at the places of origin. Measures like the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, are intended to ensure that workers receive wages that could meet their basic needs. Such a provision is very essential in the informal and unorganised sectors, such as the construction industry. In fact, the NNSO Survey, 2011-12 had brought out that there were 474.23 million workers in the informal sector. This figure would have become larger by now. It is, therefore, imperative for the state to pay specific attention to ensure that at least minimum wages are paid to such workers (Srija, 2014).

The wages of workers in the unorganised sector, including the construction sector, is largely conditioned by factors like: (a) their bargaining power, (b) their skill levels, and (c) whether the work is hazardous or not. Obviously, unskilled labourers would be paid lower wages and those performing tasks entailing a degree of skills, like carpenters, plumbers and masons would be getting more. The Table below depicts the wage levels of the respondents.

Table 5.24: Daily Wages of the Respondents

S. No.	Wage Per Day	Respondents	Percent (%)
1	100-150	41	20.5
2	Above 150-200	57	28.5
3	Above 200-250	72	36.0
4	Above 250-300	19	9.5
5	Above 300-350	9	4.5
6	Above 350-400	2	1.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It can be seen that the largest proportion of respondents (36.0 per cent) was earning Rs 200-250 as daily wages. This was followed by 28.5 per cent earning Rs 150-200 and 20.5 per cent earning Rs. 100-150 per day. One could find a progressive decline in the number of those earning above Rs 250 per day. This suggests that the majority of the respondents were unskilled workers. In another way, the respondents who were getting below Rs.150 wage per day, are either just arrived to the destination as new migrants or inter-state migrants with poor links with contractors.

5.5.24. Wages and Gender-distribution

A number of studies have brought out that females are generally discriminated against in the fact of wages. In fact, in many cases, they are paid lesser wages than males, even for the same type of work. The Table below should confirm, or refute, the said findings in the study area.

Table 5.25: Wages and Gender-distribution

S. No.	Wage per day in Rs)	Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
	100	0	5	5
1	120	5	12	17
2	150	8	11	19
3	180	9	17	26
4	200	16	15	31
5	220	14	7	21
6	230	15	4	19

7	250	27	5	32
8	280	8	1	9
9	300	10	0	10
10	350	9	0	9
11	Above 350	2	0	2
Total		123	77	200

Source: primary data

One cannot fail to notice that females 'dominated the daily wage levels up to Rs 180. However, from Rs 200 onwards, it has been almost males are the way. A possible reason for this may be the higher degree of specialisation, like that of electrician, plumber, mason or carpenter, which is required for the higher wage levels, which generally cannot be handled by females. Also, these tasks also entail a higher degree of risk – to life or limb.

5.5.25. Daily wages and place of origin of the Respondents

It has been, repeatedly, mentioned that migrants hail from various parts of the country. Since, the unorganised sector is largely a 'seller's market, it is surmised that the employers are in a better position to decide the wages for the labourers. The next issue of interest would be whether the state of origin of a person can determine the wage paid to him or her. The Table below should help one to get some clarity on this issue.

Table 5.26: wage per day and place of origin of the Respondents

S. No.	Wage (in Rs)	Original State of the Respondents						Total
		Telangana	Andhra Pradesh	Odisha	West Bengal	Bihar	Jharkhand	
2.	150-200	9	13	31	19	20	6	98
3.	200-250	14	27	13	8	8	2	72
4.	250-300	8	7	2	2	0	0	19
5.	300-350	5	4	0	0	0	0	9
6.	350-400	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Total		36	53	46	29	28	8	200

Source: primary data

Rather surprisingly, respondents from Odisha, West Bengal and Bihar were more in number than those from Telangana and Andhra Pradesh for the daily wage group, 150-200. However, beyond

that wage level, those from the two Telugu speaking states outnumbered those from the other four states. When the overall totals are seen, 18 per cent were hailing from Telangana; 26.5 per cent, from Andhra Pradesh; 23 per cent from Odisha, 14.5 per cent, from West Bengal, 14 per cent, from Bihar and only 4 per cent from Jharkhand. A possible reason for the dominance of the respondents, especially for jobs involving a higher degree of skills, from the two Telugu speaking states could be that the employers found it more comfortable to converse with them (and pass on instructions) in the local language.

5.5.26. Monthly Income of the respondents

Since it has already been mentioned earlier that the respondent migrants were daily wagers, their monthly incomes would depend on: (a) the quantum of daily wages, and (b) the number of days worked in the month. Issues like ill health, or some personal compulsions, could have impacted the number the days the particular person turned up for work. The Table below depicts the number of days of work put in by the individual respondents.

Table 5.27: Monthly Income of the respondents

S. No.	Amount	Frequency	Percent
1	Rs. 2400-4800	74	37.0
2	Rs.4800-6000	69	34.5
3	Rs.6000 – 7200	30	15.0
4	Rs.7200-8400	17	8.5
5	Rs. 8400-9600	10	5.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It did not come as a surprise that the two monthly income categories, Rs 2,400-4800 (37.0 per cent) and Rs 4,800-6,000 (34.5 per cent) dominated the other income ranges in terms of the number of respondents earning these amounts. One could also notice a progressive decline in numbers as one proceeds to the next monthly income range. This suggests that there were more unskilled workers than skilled ones in the study area.

5.5.27. Monthly Health Expenses of the Respondents

For persons not covered by social security schemes, like the Rajiv Arogyashri, expenditure on health care can be a major drain on the domestic finances. Those engaged in the construction industry can be exposed to health conditions like: sunstroke and dehydration (due to working long hours under the hot sun), inhaling of noxious gases like sulphur and injuries at the worksites. On top, their children too could be vulnerable to a host of diseases. Most of these need to be attended to immediately since any absence from work due to ill-health would only result in loss of wages. Obviously, the unorganised sector would not be having many provisions like paid holidays or free medical care for the workers and their families. The Table below depicts the general monthly expenditure of the respondents.

Table 5.28: Monthly Health Expenses of the Respondents

S. No.	Amount	Frequency	Percent (%)
1	Below 500	79	39.5
2	500-1000	57	28.5
3	1000-2000	16	8.0
4	More than 2000	17	8.5
	Nothing	31	15.5
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

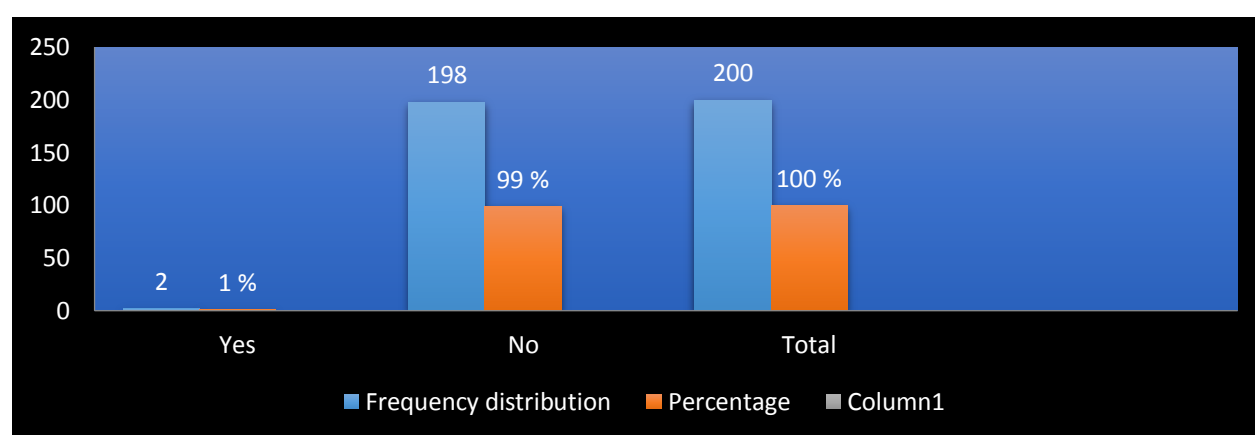
The medical expenditure of the respondents needs to be seen in the context of the income levels. It is also possible that a person with a low income has to spend more on healthcare due to factors like: improper diet and unhygienic living conditions. Even for a person drawing Rs 7,200 per month, a monthly medical expenditure of, say, Rs 2,000 could be very burdensome. The fact that 68.0 per cent of the respondents had a monthly medical expenditure of up to Rs 1,000 should not make us feel very smug, because even such expenses could be forcing them to compromise on many other basic essentials like proper diet for the families and schooling of their children. One should also not draw too much comfort from the fact that 15.5 per cent did not have any monthly spending on health issues. There is every possibility that due to the 'fear factor' (of high

expenditure), some of the respondents are allowing their ailments (maybe even major) to remain untreated. Such a course of action can have very serious consequences in the long run.

5.5.28. Any non-wage benefits of Respondents

Since the construction industry largely comes under the unorganised sector, it would be unlikely for them to be getting non-wage benefits like health care, education allowance, insurance cover and leave travel concession. The Table below should be more revealing on this issue.

Chart: 5.10: Any non-wage benefits of Respondents



Source: primary data

The above surmise has been largely confirmed since 99 per cent of the respondents stated that they were getting only the daily wages – and no non-wage benefits, such as allowances for health, education of children, etc. from the company. No wonder, the respondents have to meet their normal and emergency need from their wages alone.

5.5.29. Whether accessing the Rastriya Swastha Bhima Yojana (RSBY)

Though the Rastriya Swastha Bhima Yojana (RSBY)³ came into existence to provide health insurance to the poor, domestic workers, MGNREGA workers, rickshaw pullers, etc., it is unlikely

³ RSBY, a national health insurance programme launched by the government of India, is facing a lot of challenges in providing cashless insurance. Because of lack of awareness and problems in identifying the targeted beneficiaries, persons in the unorganised sector are unable to utilise the benefits of RSBY. The problem is more acute in the construction industry, which employs around 40 million workers, most of them migrant and landless labourers from poor states.

that the respondents, who have been in the unorganised sector, would be benefitting from this scheme. The Table below would confirm or refute this supposition.

Table 5.29: Whether accessing the Rastriya Swastha Bhima Yojana (RSBY)

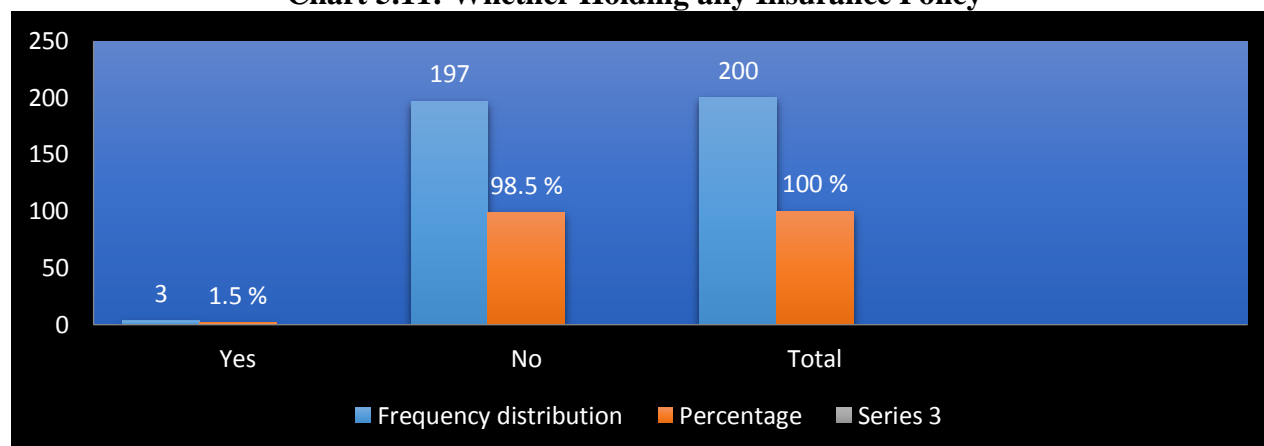
S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	14	7.0
2	No	186	93.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It can be seen that only 7 per cent of the respondents are drawing the benefits of the RSBY scheme. Although the RSBY was envisioned to offer cashless insurance for hospitalisation of families below the poverty line (BPL) in both public, as well as private hospitals, it is not reaching a huge portion of the population such as internal migrants. As per the government estimates, a total of 36 million families had been enrolled under this scheme by 2014. Still, it is clear that a major proportion of people who are below the poverty line not benefiting by such welfare programmes like RSBY. It is also possible that most of the migrants are not aware about the RSBY and the benefits admissible under it.

5.5.30. Whether Holding any Insurance Policy

Due to the 'neo-liberal' policies, the growing expenses of private health care and weakening of the public health system have become a huge burden for the poorest households in the unorganised sector like a construction industry (Moghe, 2007). There is a pressing need to make available insurance facilities, especially health insurance protection, to the migrants. Though there are many provisions intended to address the health insurance issues of migrants, such as the Unorganised Workers Social Security Act, 2008, the aim remains largely accomplished. Further, it is also observed that spending money on health has become a burden for the poor migrant families. This is, in turn, impacting the education of their children. In other words, many parents tend to hold back their children from schooling due to heavy expenditure on health issues. The Table below depicts the situation regarding insurance policies, if any, held by the respondents.

Chart 5.11: Whether Holding any Insurance Policy

Source: primary data

It is rather unfortunate that in such a hazardous occupation, such as working in the construction industry, as high as 98.5 per cent of the respondents were not having any insurance policy. This suggests that the majority of the respondents either did not enough savings to pay for the insurance premiums, or was not aware about the insurance schemes intended for them. On their part, the employers too did not seem to have taken many initiatives to provide insurance cover, on their own, for their workers. The chilling reality is that, in the case of death or major disability of the particular worker, his or her family will only be pushed into even more destitution.

5.5.31. Whether the Respondent worked under MGNREGA

As Jacob (2008) emphasised, labour migration can be viewed as a negative force which is caused by poverty and the decline of employment opportunities in rural areas. Consequently, migration is often the only choice and also a critical influence for the rural poor in India and the majority of the rural population migrate to urban settings (Spencer, 2003). Ever since independence, a number of schemes have been launched to provide employment opportunities at the origin to arrest mitigate distress and forced migration. The MGNREGA can be termed as the latest in the 'new generation' of welfare schemes targeting the rural poor.

One of the avowed aims of the MGNREGA scheme was to significantly arrest distress migration of villagers to other areas in search of work, since at least 100 days work in a year would be provided to the genuine beneficiaries in their own native places. Other 'attractive' features of the scheme have been: (a) the accent on transparency, (b) 'eliminating' the role of contractors, (c) provision of social audit for overseeing the progress of on-going works and (d) direct remittance

of the wages into the bank/post office accounts of the workers. The Table below should provide an idea about the popularity of MGNREGA among the respondents.

Table 5.30: Whether the Respondent worked under MGNREGA

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	116	58
2	No	84	42
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It can be seen that the largest proportion of respondents (58.0 per cent) had worked under the MGNREGA. The possible reasons for their opting for the present line of work could be: (a) work under this Employment Guarantee Scheme is provided for only 100 days in a year, (b) the wages paid under this scheme were felt to be inadequate, or (c) despite stipulations regarding timely payment of wages, some of the respondents may have found the time gap and the more involved procedures to be rather frustrating.

5.5.32. Whether wages under MGNREGA were better than the present ones

MGNREGA was conceived as a means for providing livelihood security (employment guarantee) to the targeted rural poor people. In fact, income factor is always considered as a key in motivating people, particularly from rural areas, to migrate to urban centres in search of employment opportunities. It is understood that the rural population highly rely on agricultural work and there is less scope for non-agricultural work in rural areas. Since most of the people belonging to the economically deprived sections do not hold any land, they have very limited employment opportunities in the 'off-season'. The Employment Guarantee Act was believed to be a ray of hope for the rural poor, who would no longer have to migrate to distant places in search for work. This could also ensure that the education of the children would not be disrupted. The issue of concern has now been whether those respondents who have had some experience with the MGNREGA perceived that the wages under this scheme were better than what they have been earning at their present worksites. The Table below depicts their perceptions on this issue.

Table 5.31: Whether wages under MGNREGA were better than the present ones

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	44	37.9
No	72	63.1
Total	116	100.0

Source: primary data

It could be seen that 63.1 per cent of the respondents (who had worked under the MGNREGA) stated that their present wages were better than what they were being paid under the Employment Guarantee Scheme. Two factors must have influenced this type of response. One, the payments at the worksite were more regular; and two, the present employment was for almost throughout the year, whereas the MGNREGA employment is only for 100 days in a year.

5.5.33. Caste-wise land ownership at native place of the respondents

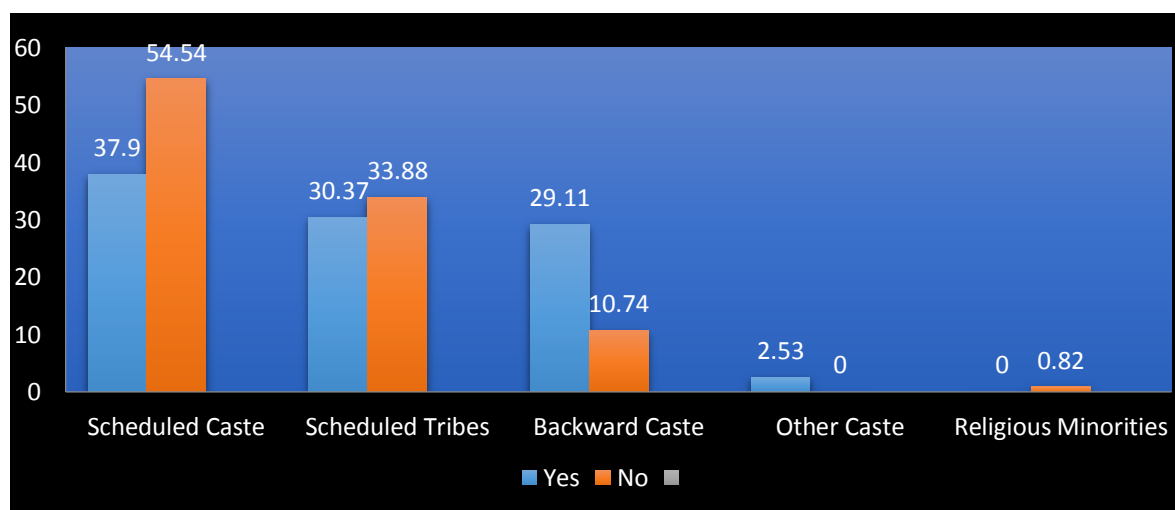
Land is a very significant asset for people, especially those residing in rural areas. Ownership of land means much more than enabling one to put this to agricultural use. A person owning a piece of land, however, small in area, enjoys a degree of social status in his or her community. In times of need, that person can more easily approach financial institutions for loans, since he or she can produce collaterals like land documents. He or she would be less vulnerable to fall prey to loan sharks, with their very cruel rates of interest. In fact, a report of the government of India highlights that landless is main reason not only for economic deprivation, but also social exploitation in society (Five Year Plan, 2002-2007).

It is observed that most of the migrants are landless and majority of them belong to the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe category. Historically, the social construct in India has been a caste-based feudal structure having regional variations, and land relationship defines the traditional system of social division of labour in India ((DRC, 2006). The Table below depicts the land ownership status of the respondents.

Table 5.32: Caste-wise land ownership at native places of the respondents

Caste	Response		Frequency
	Yes	No	
Schedule Caste	30	66	96
Scheduled Tribe	24	41	65
Backward Caste	23	13	36
Other Caste	2	0	2
Religious Minorities	0	1	1
Total	79	121	200

Source: primary data

Chart: 5.12: Caste-wise land ownership at native places of the respondents
(In percentage)

Source: primary data

One cannot fail to notice the very high proportion of landlessness among the SC and ST respondents – 66 out of 96 for SCs and 41 out of 65 among STs. In the case of both BC and OC respondents, those owning at least some land were more in number than those who were not holding any. Such a situation explains why the proportion of SCs and STs is very high among the internal migrants.

5.5.34. Extent of land held, if any

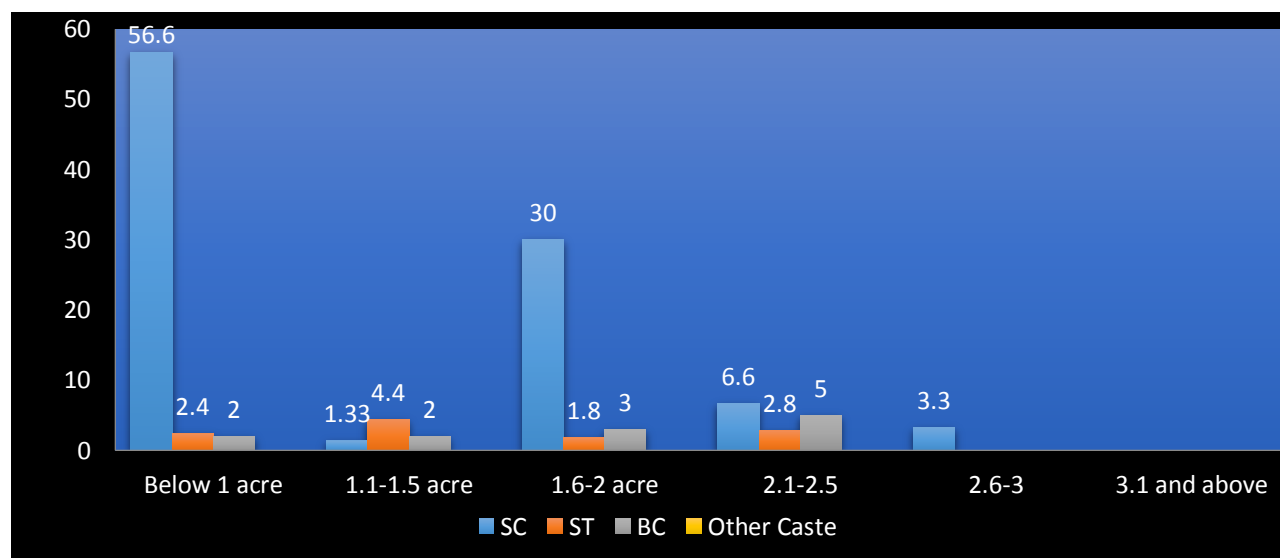
Ownership of land is only one issue; but the extent of that is of greater consequence. A small landholding may be un-remunerative and unable to ‘feed’ all the family members. The Table below presents the extent of land held by the respondents who confirmed that they owned some land in their native places.

Table 5.33: Extent of land held, if any

S. No.	Extent (in acres)	Caste				Total
		Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	Backward Caste	Other Caste	
1	Below 1 acre	17	13	7	0	37
2	1-1.5 acre	1	5	2	0	8
3	Above 1.5- 2 acres	9	2	4	0	15
4	Above 2-2.5 acres	2	4	4	0	10
5	Above 2.5 – 3 acres	1	0	5	1	7
6	4 and above 4 acres	0	0	1	1	2
Total		30	24	23	2	79

Source: primary data

Chart: 5.13: Extent of land (in percentage)

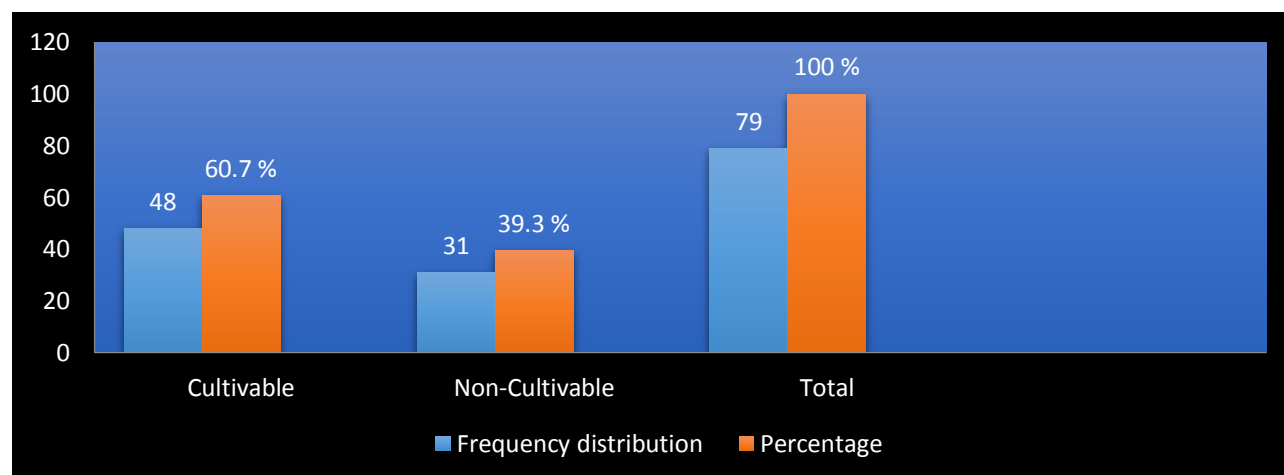


The majority of the respondents, belonging to all social groups (overall, 37 out of 79), confirmed that they owned less than one acre each of land. While no uniform pattern could be seen in the 1-1.5, 1.5-2 and 2-2.5 acreage ranges, still, it was clear that the higher acreage levels were, mostly, dominated by BC and OC respondents. It emerges that majority of the SC and ST respondents own lesser areas of land and they face difficulties in cultivating this due to poor irrigation facilities.

5.5.35. Type of land owned by the Respondents

It has already been brought out that the majority of the respondents owned less than 1 acre of land. A related issue is whether such a land was fitting for cultivation or not. In many instances, land allotted to persons under the various land distribution schemes of both the centre and state governments is unfit for cultivation because of issues like: lack of proper irrigation facilities and presence of rocks and weeds which have first to be removed before the land becomes cultivable. This may entail heavy expenditure, which may poor ‘allotters’ cannot afford. The Table below depicts the quality of land owned by the respondents.

Chart: 5.14: Type of land owned by the Respondents



One can draw only cool comfort from the fact that the majority of the respondents (60.7 per cent) confirmed that their land was cultivable. Even for them, there are other costs like that of seeds, fertilizers, insecticides and irrigation, which may oblige them to take loans. There is always the possibility that the income from the agricultural produce may not be commensurate with the expenditure incurred. Hence, migration to urban settings may be the only income-earning option

for them. In many instances, such persons received some bulk amounts (which they invest on their fields) from the mediators in the village itself and are forced to work in different sectors such as construction industry or brick kilns for a certain period of time to offset the loan.

5.5.36. Caste wise type of the land held by the Respondents

Usually, the migrants from the deprived sections do not own fertile and cultivable lands. Even such lands may be located in irrigation-deficient and hilly areas and have to largely depend on the rains. The Table below depicts the caste-wise distribution of the type of land held by the respondents.

Table 5.34: Caste wise type of the land held by the Respondents

S. No.	Caste	Type of Land		Frequency
		Cultivable	Non-cultivable	
1	Scheduled Caste	16	14	30
2	Schedule Tribe	13	11	24
3	Back ward Caste	17	6	23
4	Other Caste	2	0	2
5	Religious Minorities	0	0	0
Total		48	31	79

Source: Primary data

One cannot fail to notice that very significant proportion of the SC (14 out of 30) and ST (11 out of 24) respondents owned non-cultivable land. By contrast, the BC and OC respondents were in a much better position.

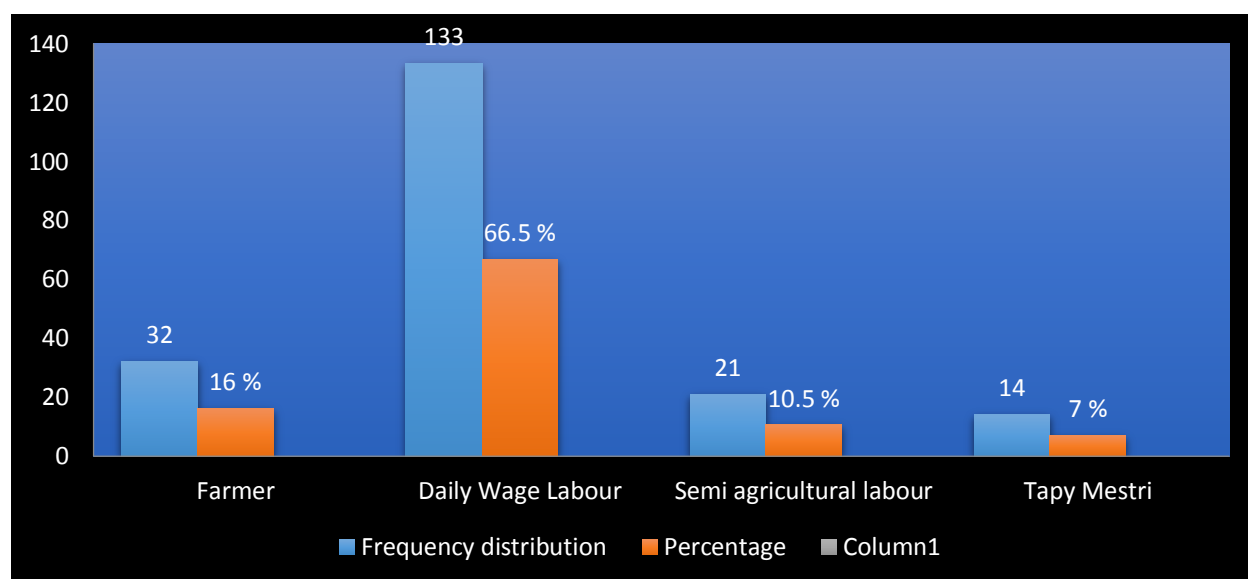
5.37. Occupations of the respondents in their native places

The decision to migrate can be largely conditioned by the fact that the primary occupation of that person is unable to provide him or her gainful employment at the native place. The Table below depicts the occupations of the respondents at their native places.

Table 5.35: Occupations of the respondents at their native places.

S. No.	Caste	Occupation				Frequency
		Farmer	Daily Wage labourer	Semi-Agricultural labourer	Mason	
1	Scheduled Caste	13	66	10	7	96
2	Schedule Tribe	11	44	6	4	65
3	Backward Caste	13	11	9	3	36
4	Other Caste	2	0	0	0	2
5	Religious Minorities	0	1	0	0	1
Total		39	122	25	14	200

Source: primary data

Chart: 5.15: Occupations of the respondents at their native places

It could be seen that the largest proportions of SC, ST and BC respondents were working as daily wage labourers. The next highest category, in terms of numbers, for all the castes was that of farmers. This was followed by a semi-agricultural labour. Interesting, the profession of mason,

which entails a certain degree of specialisation, was dominated by SC, ST and BC respondents only.

5.5.38. Liabilities of the Respondents

Many people are opting for migration due to economic constraints in their origin places where they have liabilities for different reasons such as agriculture, construction of the house and maintenance of the family. The earnings at the native place may not be able to liquidate the liabilities, more so when the interest rates are high. The Table below can give an idea whether the decision to migrate was prompted by the pressure of liabilities.

Table 5.36: Liabilities of the Respondents

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	127	64.0
2	No	73	36.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It was not totally surprising that as high as 64.0 per cent of the respondents confirmed that they indeed had liabilities. No wonder, migration emerged as the only option for them to meet their liabilities.

5.5.39. Extent of liabilities of the Respondents

Now that it has been established that as high as 64.0 per cent of the respondents had liabilities, one may be able to form an idea about the extent of such liabilities.

Table 5.37: Extent of liabilities of the Respondents

S. No.	Amount	Frequency	Percent
1	Rs.30,000-50,000	34	26.7
2	Rs.50,000- 75,000	30	23.6
3	Rs.75,000-1,00,000	45	35.4
4	Rs. 1,00,000 – 1,50,000	12	9.4
5	Rs.1,50,000 – 2,00,000	6	4.7
Total		127	100.0

Source: primary data

It is rather shocking to learn that 35.4 per cent of the respondents (who had liabilities) were required to pay back amounts in the Rs 75,000-1,00,000 range. The other liability ranges were Rs 30,000-50,000 (26.7 per cent), Rs 50,000-75,000 (23.6 per cent), Rs 1,00,000-1,50,000 (9.4 per cent) and Rs 1,50,000-2,00,000. One shudders to think of how these respondents would be able to fully settle their liabilities – more so when they have also to meet their living expenses and spend on health care, etc., on their meagre earnings. It is possible that they are ending up paying only the interest amounts and the principal amounts are remaining ‘intact’.

5.5.40. Sources of loans for the respondents

It is obvious that many of the respondents have had to secure loans from a variety of sources to meet their pressing needs. The Table below depicts the ‘preferred’ loan sources of the respondents.

Table 5.38: sources of loans for the respondents

S. No.	Source for Liabilities	Frequency	Percent
1	Bank	12	9.4
2	Non-Banking Institutions	4	3.1
3	Money Lenders	98	77.1
4	Micro Finance Institutions	13	10.2
Total		127	100.0

Source: primary data

It has already been established that the majority of the respondents are either landless, or do not own much land. Hence, their access to institutional financial sources would be restricted. It was, therefore, not surprising that the largest proportion of the needy respondents (77.1 per cent) had to depend on money lenders. A ray of hope amidst all this gloom was that as high as 10.2 per cent of these respondents took recourse to micro-finance institutions like self-help groups, which had more liberal terms of repayment.

5.5.41. Savings of the respondents

The basic intention behind saving money is to ‘save for the rainy day’. However, with meagre earnings – that too in an alien place, one wonders whether the respondents could have to have any savings. The Table below depicts the responses on this issue.

Table 5.39: Savings of the respondents

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	67	33.5
2	No	133	66.5
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It did not come as a total surprise that the larger proportion (66.5 per cent) of the respondents did not have any savings. It indicates the financial scarcity and poor economic planning such as savings among the migrants. Though the phenomena of migration highly depends on socio-economic conditions, there is no proper mechanism, either by state or civil organisations, to create awareness about financial sustainability among migrants.

5.5.42. If yes, the avenue in which the Savings are being Deposited

Even though migration highly depends on the socio-economic lives of the migrants, lack of policy and development practices, the dialogue on the financial requirements of migrant workers has been limited to remittances (Hass, 2007). Further, it continues to impact the level of poverty and inequality among migrants. However, the definite financial needs and risk management instruments for migrants and their households at different levels are being neither addressed by existing financial inclusion models nor adequately debated with the aim of financial inclusion of migrants. It has already been brought out that only 33.5 per cent of the respondents were able to make some savings. The Table below will depict the avenue in which the savings amounts are being deposited by the respondents.

Table 5.40: If yes, the mode of Household Savings

S. No.	Avenue	Frequency	Percent
1	Savings in Bank Account	8	11.9
2	Chit Fund Company	6	8.9
3	LIC Premium	4	5.9
5	Chitti's	49	73.1
Total		67	100.0

Source: primary data

It was not entirely surprising that investing in LIC premiums was the least preferred option for the respondents. Chitty is an informal financial arrangement with a group of persons, where each person contributes an agreed-upon amount every month. Every month, there is an 'auction' where members bid for the accumulated amount, which is handed over to the successful bidder. This arrangement was found to be the most popular option for 73.1 per cent of the respondents. It was slightly encouraging to note that as high as 11.9 per cent of the respondents were depositing their savings in banks. After that, registered chit fund companies too emerged as reasonably popular options (8.9 per cent).

5.5.43. Whether the Respondent faced any Security and other challenges

The migrants are always familiar with various challenges at both working sites and living shelters and it includes: lack of ensuing legal provisions of working conditions, poor arrangements at shelters and unhygienic vicinities. Further, it is also a known fact that many migrants move to far-off places, which could be far off from their 'roots'. They could be vulnerable to numerous security and other challenges since they would be working in totally alien surroundings. On top, the issues are like a totally different language and cultural milieu. It is also possible that many of the locals may consider them as intruders out to grab the jobs meant for them. The perception of the respondents about challenges at work sites are mentioned below.

Table 5.41: Whether any challenges faced at the worksite

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	151	75.5
2	No	31	15.5
3	Partially	18	9.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

At the destination of migration, the majority of migrants faces various challenges at work sites due to poor attention by the management of the companies and weak observation by the concerned government authorities. Of the 200 respondents, 151 (75.5 per cent) are facing various challenges at the worksite, whereas 31 respondents said that they do not face any challenges. The remaining 18 respondents (9.0 per cent) emphasized that they have partially challenges. In most of the cases,

adjustment with the challenges at worksites is essential for migrants because they are working in the informal sector where there is no proper legal provisions and poor observatory mechanism in limited provision as well as no social protection of the migrants.

5.5.44. Type of challenges faced at the worksite

It has been repeatedly mentioned that most of the migrants move to alien places having a different language and culture. These may lead to certain types of challenges. The Table below depicts the types of challenges faced by the respondents at the worksites.

Table 5.42: Type of challenges faced at the worksite

S. No.	Type of challenge	Frequency	Percent
1	Different culture	7	4.6
2	No basic facilities for women	57	37.7
3	Different Language	13	8.6
4	Horrible Living conditions	38	25.1
5	All the above	27	17.8
Total		151	100.0

Source: primary data

It can be seen that the issue of ‘no basic facilities for women’ figured the highest (37.7 per cent) in the type of challenges. The next area of grievance was ‘horrible living condition (25.1 per cent). Rather surprisingly, ‘different culture’ and ‘different language’ did not emerge as very serious challenges. One cannot fail to ignore the fact that as high as 17.8 per cent of the respondents mentioned all the items listed in the above table as the challenges faced by them.

5.5.45. Whether the respondent ever faced harassment by either the contractor or any other at the destination

Many studies have spoken about the various types of harassments that persons, especially those belonging to the weaker sections, face at the places of work. These could include: being forced to work long hours (without proper compensation), being subjected to abusive language and the women being sexually exploited. The Table below depicts the harassment experiences of the respondents.

Table 5.43: Whether the respondent ever faced harassment by either the contractor or any other at the destination

S. No.	Response	Respondents	Percent
1	Yes	54	27.0
2	No	146	73.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It is slightly comforting to note that the majority (73.0 per cent) of the respondents mentioned that they did not face any type of discrimination at the worksite. Still, one cannot totally ignore the 27.0 per cent of the respondents who mentioned that they experienced harassment such as physical and mental abuse. One of the respondents, Anitha (29 years old), alleged: *“The sector is highly male dominated and I have to face every day harassment from in-charge work inspector and other work observatory people called ‘maistris’. The way they talk with women is very vulgar and we (women) are victims, sometimes, sexually”*.

5.5.46. Perceptions about migration

Migration generally takes place when persons perceive of ‘greener pastures’ elsewhere. There could also be the ‘fear of the unknown’. Once a person stays at a new place for some time, he may find his hopes either met, or belied. The Table below depicts the views of the respondents on this issue.

Table 5.44: Perceptions about migration

S. No	Perception	Frequency	Percent
1	As an opportunity	73	36.5
2	As a compulsion	91	45.5
3	Both an opportunity and compulsion	36	18.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It was rather disquieting to note the rather fatalistic attitude of majority of the respondents, since 45.5 per cent of them felt that the decision to migrate was taken because they had no other go. However, this was somewhat balanced by a more adventurous and optimistic outlook by 36.5 per

cent of the respondents who found this as an opportunity. Interesting, 18.0 per cent of the respondents found both good and bad elements in migration.

5.5.47. Would the respondent encourage others to migrate?

Migration can be either a pleasant or unpleasant experience for the particular person. He or she may have migrated to a different place on their own volition. However, after staying in that place for some time, he or she may be in a position to advise others whether to migrate or not. The Table depicts the attitude of the respondents on this issue.

Table 5.45: Would the respondent encourage others to migrate

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	43	21.5
2	No	101	50.5
3	No response	56	28.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It did not come as a total surprise that just above 50.0 per cent of the respondents stated that they would not encourage others to migrate. A conclusion that could perhaps be drawn from the 28.0 per cent non-committal responses is that they considered migration as a necessary evil.

5.5.48. Whether any agreement was signed with the management

It has already been highlighted that the majority of the migrants were illiterates. Therefore, they could not be expected to be aware about employment opportunities in far-off places. It is in such a scenario that agents and brokers step in. The employers, on their part, may want to be sure that the potential worker will uncomplainingly perform the tasks allotted to him. One way to ensure compliance is to make the 'new recruiters' sign (or at least affix his thumb impression) on the agreement form. Such an agreement is considered more necessary in the case of inter-state than intra-state migrants. The Table below presents the responses regarding signing on agreement forms.

Table 5.46: Whether any agreement was signed with the management

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	61	30.5
2	No	139	69.5
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It is encouraging to note that as high as 69.5 per cent of the respondents said that they had not signed any agreement forms. Thus, their chances of becoming a sort of bonded labourers were very less. However, the remaining 30.5 per cent confirmed that they had signed agreements to work for a certain period of time. The majority of the respondents who has signed an agreement are inter-state migrants. This indicates that the tendency of mediators at the origin itself, drawing the potential workers into agreements is less in the construction sector compared with those in brick kilns and other sectors.

5.6. Summary

The incidence of labour migration is high in sectors such as construction sector where the demand for labour is very high. While migration to other places in search of employment is very common in almost all parts of the country, the proportion of migrants varies from state to state. This chapter investigated the socio-economic conditions of the internal migrants, legal and policy protection available for them and the challenges faced by them at the destination. The chapter identified various elements that trigger the need for migration and the sort of work the migrants get at the worksites. To assess these aspects, the social and economic backgrounds of the migrants were examined. The study also sought to establish the correlation between migration and poverty. For this purpose, issues like the professions of the respondents and land ownership at their native places were also studied.

It emerged that caste is the most determining factor in land ownership since this can decide the economic stability of an individual or a family. This chapter also tried to identify the wage difference between not only male and female, but also between intra-state and inter-state migrants. For instance, migrants from within the state have a high possibility of getting better wages through established networks in the worksites. On the other hand, inter-state migrants may not be in a

position to demand better wages since they could be considered as outsiders. On top, there could be language and cultural issues. It was observed that the existing rural-urban disparities in the pattern of employment are leading to a high incidence of migration to urban areas. In addition, the economic necessity of the household, lack of education and skills force the rural poor to look for unskilled jobs in urban areas. A very significant fact noticed was that the majority of the respondents are illiterates, more so, among Scheduled Caste (SCs) and Scheduled Tribe (STs).

The chapter also attempted to highlight the living and working conditions of the migrant labourers at the worksites. It was seen observed that the majority of the migrants at the destinations are suffering from poor standards in every respect such shelter, health facilities, nutrition and security. It is pertinent to highlight here that the work required from the labourers is excessively high and wages are below the legal minimum level. There are, hardly, any mechanisms to address the grievances of the migrants. In some cases, women and the girl children are forced to cope up with home (domestic) responsibilities as well as like and work in unprotected environments. It leads to most of the children either compromising on or being irregular to their schooling. As far as the legal aspects are concerned, it was also observed that the basic clauses of all legal acts related to labour and child rights are, generally, being flouted with impunity, raising the exploitation levels to the extreme. True, there has been a spate of legislations, intended to protect the interests of the labourers, including the migrants. Unfortunately, in the absence of a proper monitoring mechanism, there is a lot of scope for not adhering to the law of the land. A very disturbing aspect that came to the fore was that the majority of the migrants does not have an insurance cover (even though work in the construction sector can be very hazardous). The banking sector too has tended to ignore this section of the population.

The next chapter will examine the impact of migration of the parents on the education of the children and the challenges faced by the children at the worksites. It will also focus on various policy approaches and their implementation levels for ensuring access to education to the children of migrants. Further, it will also scrutinise the policy awareness among parents and children and the participation levels of parents in institutions like the PTA.

CHAPTER - VI

Internal Migrant Children Education: Field Survey Data Analysis

The previous chapter assessed the socio-economic conditions of the respondents and their views on working conditions, financial developments and other policy perspectives such as social security and legal provisions, in order to address their welfare. The present chapter also attempted to assess the impact of parental migration on the education of their children. While doing so, it covered the status of educational possibilities at the destination, challenges and policy approaches and the implementation levels. Further, it examined the participation of the parents in various aspects such as Parents Teachers Association (PTAs) which is considered as key for decentralisation of school education. The present chapter will be divided into two sections. The first section will examine the education of the children who accompany their parents to the destinations and second, the children who are left behind at origin. Since children cannot respond to the questionnaire, the data regarding their education has been collected from the parents, in the presence of the children.

6.1. Introduction

In recent decades, the universalisation of elementary education (UEE) has been a major objective of nations, particularly in developing countries like India. India has an advantage of having huge human resources. Since the majority of them are under 14 years of age, such resources can be converted into an effective human capital for development in the nation. To get benefit out of this advantage, India has to facilitate education to every child, since that would, subsequently, lead to empowering the citizens in every aspect by making them a part of the development process. However, the country has, in this process, to overcome many challenges due to varied stratifications based on socio-economic, political and geographical factors. As a result, the goal of education for all remains an elusive goal for many children. From this perspective, migrant children in the construction industry have been facing challenges in accessing education due to poverty and feeble policy intervention towards them by the state. In fact, migration, as discussed in chapter-II, has grown as an integral part of the current economy at the national and international levels. However, internal migration can have major development and poverty repercussions for individuals and their families, both at the origin and destination areas. It has been estimated by a

human development report that the number of internal migrants is about four times than the total number of international migrants and internal migration is very high in countries like India (UNDP, 2009). It has been roughly estimated that about 40 million internal migrants, along with nearly 15 million children, are being accommodated in the construction sector (Sarade, 2008; Trade Union, 2011-12 and Smita, 2009). It has been highlighted that nearly 4-7 million children are engaged as child labourers in the construction sector alone. This figure could be more than the estimates if one counts all children in this sector (Construction workers federation of India, 2006). It also emerges that internal migration for labour is characterised by severe deprivation of basic needs such as food, hygienic living conditions and health and education. Indeed, the children of migrants are adversely affected in many aspects due to the movement of their parents. From the education dimension alone, they face disruption of regular schooling, adversely affecting their social resources formation which also leads to adding to the inter-generational transmission of poverty. Consequently, the goal of universalisation of elementary education (UEE) largely remains elusive because of the failure in inclusion of highly disadvantaged and deprived sections like migrant children in India. It is also realised that the issues and challenges of migrant children and their education has been given less priority in both the policy and research domains. Particularly, the educational conditions of migrant children, policy approaches and implementation levels and parental participation levels in decentralisation or democratisation of the education system have been ignored in research studies.

The present chapter will primarily look into those aspects to understand the repercussions of migration of parents on children and their education. Further, it will also try to examine the policies which are meant for migrant children education and the awareness among respondents. The chapter has taken the educational status of the children who are also left behind at their native places to properly understand what elements influence the education of children of migrant labourers. For this purpose, the chapter will examine the issue on the basis of a survey on migrant children in the construction sector of Rangareddy district, Telangana. The chapter will be organised into two sections - (i) Children who accompanied their parents to the destinations, and (ii) children who were left behind in their native places.

(i) Children Who Accompany the Parents to the Destinations

The Table below should help one to discern any possible gender bias of the parents in deciding which child to take with them to the destinations.

Table No.6.1 Gender of the Child

S. No.	Gender	Frequency	Percent
1	Male	109	54.5
2	Female	91	45.5
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

Rather surprisingly, a greater proportion of boys (54.5 per cent) were taken along to the destinations. It is possible that many such families were not having girl children. Otherwise, the general preference would be for girls since they could perform domestic chores and look after their younger siblings who cannot be left behind due to their extremely small age.

6.2. Age of the child taken along and the gender

It has already been mentioned that majority of the children taken along were males. The Table below should give an idea of the age distribution of the children. It is surmised that children in the smaller age groups cannot be left behind and those who are relatively older may be 'useful', either for performing domestic chores, or for being inducted into the workforce.

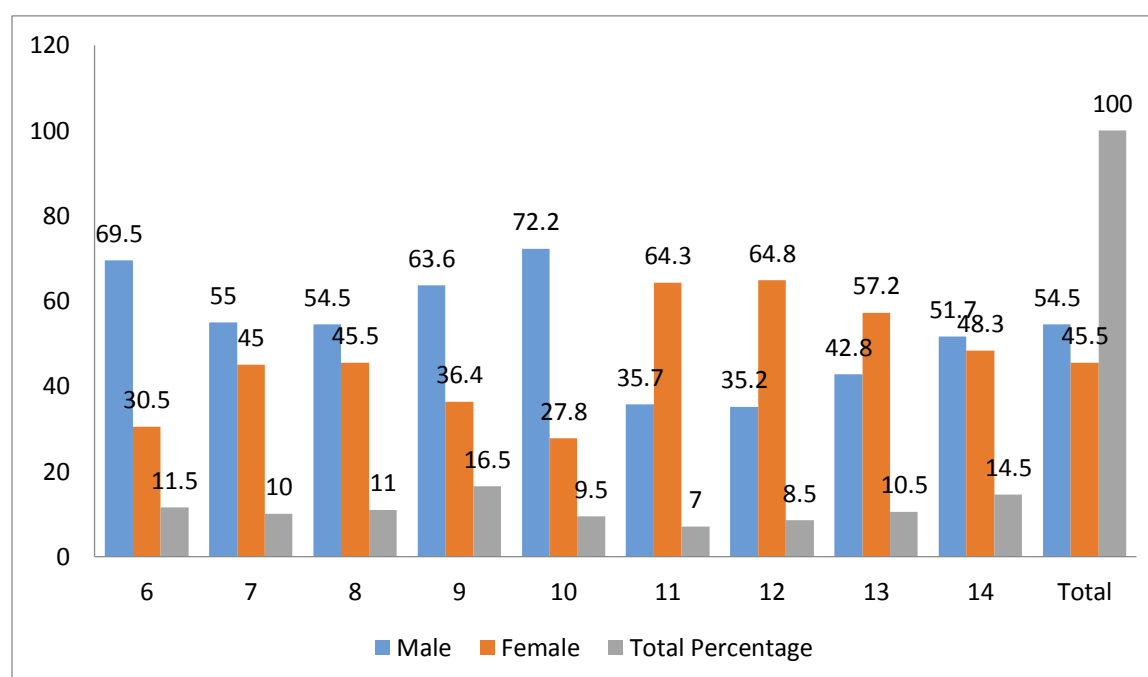
Table .6.2: Age of the child taken along and the gender

S.No.	Age of the Child	Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
1.	6	16	7	23
2.	7	11	9	20
3.	8	12	10	22
4.	9	21	11	33
5.	10	13	5	18
6.	11	5	9	14
6.	12	6	11	17
7.	13	9	12	21
8.	14	15	14	29
Total		109	91	200

Source: primary data

An interesting observation is that, while the proportion of boys was more up to the age of 10 years, generally there were more girls from the age of 11 years onwards. Obviously, the parents felt that these girls could, at least, help in attending to domestic chores, including looking after their younger siblings.

Chart 6.1: Cross tabulation of age of the child and gender (in percentage)



6.3. Whether the Child is Studying

The study has already established that education is the first ‘casualty’ for the children of internal migrants. Issues like the reluctance of ‘regular’ schools to admit children in mid-term, disregard of the children themselves and the general tendency of migrant parents to involve their children in activities other than studies could be cited as reasons for such a state of affairs. The Table below depicts the situation in the study:

Table 6.3: Whether the Child is Studying

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	52	26.0
2	No	148	74.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It did not come as a total surprise that an overwhelming proportion (74.0 per cent) of the children were not studying. As Reed (2014) and Smita (2008) emphasised that the majority of the children at the destinations have less chance of accessing schooling with multi-facet challenges and it is noticed in the study.

6.4. Reasons, for children not attending school

It has already been established that majority of the children were not attending school. The Table below presents the reasons for this.

Table 6.4: reasons, for children not attending school

S. No.	Reasons	Frequency	Percent
1	Working as child Labour	30	20.2
2	Taking Care of younger siblings	48	32.4
3	School far away	18	12.1
4	Engaged with Household works	9	6
5	Child not interested	4	2.7
6	No school in the mother tongue	37	25
7	Child getting married	2	1.3
Total		148	100.0

Source: primary data

It could be seen that the largest three proportions were: taking care of younger siblings (32.4 per cent), no school in the mother tongue (25.0 per cent) and working as child labourers (20.2 per cent). It was slightly encouraging to note that reasons like ‘child not interested’ and ‘the child getting married’ did not emerge as the major reasons for the children not attending school.

6.5. Class in which studying and gender of the Child

It has already been brought out that children of internal migrants face a number of challenges in accessing education (and continuing to study). The Table below depicts the classes in which the children were studying.

Table 6.5: class in which studying and gender of the Child

S. No.	Class in which Studying	Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
1	1	7	2	9
2	2	8	2	10
3	3	9	4	13
4	4	8	1	9
5	5	2	1	3
6	6	2	0	2
7	7	1	3	4
8	8	1	1	2
Total		38	14	52

Source: primary data

One cannot fail to find a glaring gender disparity in the matter of getting the children even a smattering of education. While a total of 52 boys were going to school, the corresponding figure for girls was only 14. Yet another significant observation is that the general fall in numbers as one goes to the next class of study. The number of school attending children is very less after primary education. It indicates there is a high probability of the children dropping out from schooling while their age grows. In fact, the possibility of drop out is very high among girl children not only in continuing their education, but also in their enrolment in schools.

6.6. Age and the class in which the child is studying

The internal migration of the parents can lead to children studying in classes inappropriate to their age. This is due to factors like irregular schooling, children dropping out to accompany their parents to the destinations, poor parental observation and deficit in learning. The Table below presents the on-ground situation regarding the respondent children.

Table 6.6: Age and the class in which the child is studying

S. No.	Age of the Child	Class in which Studying								Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
2	7	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
3	8	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	5
4	9	1	4	5	4	0	0	0	0	14
5	10	0	0	4	2	2	0	0	0	9
6	11	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2
7	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	13	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	3
9	14	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2	6
Total		12	9	11	7	3	2	4	3	52

Source: Primary data

It can be seen that only 16 children are studying in the class appropriate to their age. Obviously, the education of majority of the children is disrupted due to the constant movement of their parents.

6.7. Type of School in which the Child is Studying

The choice of school can be conditioned by the financial condition of the parents and the willingness of the particular school to admit the child, especially in the mid-session. The Table below presents the position about the type of school which the respondent children were attending.

Table 6.7: Type of School in which the Child is Studying

S. No.	Which school studying	Frequency	Percent
1	Government	45	86.5
2	Private	7	13.5
Total		52	100.0

Source: primary data

It has, already, been brought out that the majority of the migrant parents are earning low incomes. Many of them would be unable to afford the high fees usually charged by private schools. It was, therefore, not surprising to note that an overwhelming 86.5% of the children were studying in government schools.

6.8. Educational status of the children and their parents

It is an established fact that an educated parent (especially the mother) would be in a better position to understand the value of education for his/her children. No wonder, it has been rightly said, 'Educate a woman and you will be educating her entire family'. An illiterate parent is more likely to consider education as a waste of time and that the family income could be boosted by putting the child to work. The tendency may be to look for short-term benefits at the cost of the future of the children in question. The Table below presents the position regarding the educational status of the children vis-a-vis that of their parents.

Table 6.8: Educational status of the children and their parents

S. No.	Is the Child Studying	Education Qualification of the Parents				Total
		Illiterate	Primary Education	Secondary and Above Secondary Education	Above School Education	
1	Yes	33	7	10	2	52
2	No	101	14	27	6	148
Total		134	21	37	8	200

Source: primary data

It did not come as a total surprise that parents of the majority of the children who were not attending school were themselves illiterate. An even more amazing (and heart-warming) fact was that a very noticeable proportion of illiterate parents were sending their children to school. The surmise about parents with an element of literacy should be in a better position to understand the value of education for their children is somewhat refuted by the fact that 66.6 per cent of parents with primary education, 72.9 per cent with above secondary level education and 75.0 per cent with above school education were not sending their children to school. This suggests that the level of education of the migrant parents alone may not be enough to decide whether or not to send their children to school.

6.9. State of Origin of the child and his/her educational status at the destination

The internal migrants in the study area (Rangareddy District in Telangana state) were found to be originally from the states of Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, West Bengal, Bihar and Jharkhand. It is surmised that those children hailing from the first two states would not have much issues with the Telugu medium since that language would be the mother tongue for most of them.

However, for children hailing from West Bengal, Bihar and Jharkhand, Telugu are an alien language to them. This factor should have an impact on the enrolment of children originally belonging to the different states. The Table below should help one to confirm or refute this supposition.

Table 6.9: State of Origin of the child and his/her educational status at the destination

S. No.	State of Origin of the Migrant	Response		Total
		Yes	No	
1	Telangana	13	23	36
2	Andhra Pradesh	29	24	53
3	Odisha	9	37	46
4	West Bengal	0	29	29
5	Bihar	1	27	28
6	Jharkhand	0	8	8
Total		52	148	200

Source: primary data

The above Table has, to a large extent, substantiated the above premise, since 36.1 per cent of the children from Telangana and 54.7 per cent of the children from Andhra Pradesh are attending school. Among the other four states, Odisha (with 19.5 per cent) ‘Performed’ reasonably well, probably because Andhra Pradesh and Odisha are neighbouring states and people hailing from the bordering districts may be fairly conversant with the language of their neighbours. The schooling status of children of migrants originally hailing from the other three states was found to be almost zero.

6.10. Caste-wise Distribution of the children and the type of school Attended

The socio-economic conditions of the parents can also be major determinants of the schooling status of the parents. It was brought out in Chapter 5 that the largest proportion of migrants were from the Scheduled Castes, followed by Scheduled Tribes and Backward Castes, in that order. Also, the monthly family incomes of the majority of the respondent parents were found to be Rs. 6,000 or less. These factors could be expected to impact: (i) whether the children were attending schools, and (ii) if attending, the type of school in which admitted. The Table below should reveal the on-ground situation in the study area.

Table 6.10: Caste-wise Distribution of the children and the type of school Attended

S. No.	School of Child Studying	Caste				Total
		Scheduled Caste	Scheduled Tribe	Backward Caste	Other Caste	
1	Government	25	9	10	0	45
2	Private	1	0	5	1	7
Total		27	9	15	1	52

Source: primary data

Government schools were found to be the most favoured option in the case of SC, ST and BC respondent children. The almost nil fees in these schools must have, largely, impacted the choice of type of school. However, the lone other caste respondent was found to be studying in a private school.

6.11. Drinking Water and Toilet facilities in the Schools

The study area can be very warm for most part of the year. Drinking water should, logically, figure among the minimum basic facilities for the children attending school. The issue of toilets in schools has come into sharp focus in recent times, more so after the Swacch Bharat campaign was launched all over the country. The Table below should give an idea about the on-ground status of these two types of facilities in the study area.

Table 6.11: Drinking Water and Toilet facilities in the Schools

S. No.	Having Facilities in School	Drinking water		Total	Toilets		Total
		Government	Private		Government	Private	
1	Yes	43	7	50	14	5	19
2	No	2	0	2	31	2	33
	Total	45	7	52	45	7	52

Source: primary data

The situation regarding availability of drinking water was: Government schools (43 out of 45) and private schools (7 out of 7). Government schools ‘performed’ even more poorly in the matter of toilets (14 out of 45), as compared to private schools (5 out of 7).

6.12. Existence of any Seasonal or Residential hostels

Seasonal and residential hostels at both the origin and the destination can help to prevent the drop out among migrant children. In fact, the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh experience has proved that the concept of schools at work sites and seasonal hostels helped the children to continue their education without any irregularity. In case such hostels exist near the native places of the migrants, they would have the option of admitting some of their children there. The Table below should depict whether the concept of these type of hostels has caught on in the study area.

Table 6.12: Existence of any Seasonal or Residential hostels

S. No.	Response	
1	Yes	-
2	No	200
	Total	200

Source: primary data

The 100.0 per cent negative responses indicate that no such hostels were available for the children left behind by the migrants.

6.13. Whether the child has dropped out from schooling

As UNICEF (2013) emphasised, nearly 80 million children are dropping out without completing basic schooling. This is a major challenge to universalisation of elementary education. The majority of such children are from very vulnerable sections such as those of children of internal labour migrants. Unfortunately, a considerable section of the children who are dropping out from schooling due to various circumstances, are in the construction sector. Most of the become child labourers which accounts for 4-7 million in the construction sector (Construction Workers Federation of India, 2007). In most of the cases, migrant children do get affected their education due to migration which lead to either drop out and being out of school. The Table below should depict the drop out situation in the study area.

Table 6.13: Whether the child has dropped out from schooling

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	178	89.0
2	No	22	11.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It was very shocking to note that as high as 89 per cent of such children have dropped out from schooling at some time due to different reasons. This should serve as a wake-up call for administrators and activists in the field of education. It is not enough to set up schools. Efforts should also be made to arrest the trend of children dropping out of school.

6.14. Reasons for Dropping Out

The distress migration of the parents can have a confrontational impact on the education of their children. However, it is difficult to estimate the number of drop out children due to their mobile nature (Pescaru, 2015). The Table below presents the reasons for children, in the study area, dropping out of school.

Table 6.14: Reasons for Dropping Out

S. No.	Reason	Frequency	Percent
1	Migration	148	83.1
2	Child not interested	10	5.6
3	Poor financial condition	20	11.2
Total		178	100.0

Source: primary data

It could be seen that migration of the parents emerged as the most predominant reason (83.1 per cent). This was followed by poor financial condition (11.2 per cent) and child not interested (5.6 per cent). The challenges posed due to migration and the possible solutions to these have already been discussed. The issue of poor financial condition is a major challenge, since it could force the particular child to start earning money for sustaining the family, even when child labour is banned

by law. Ways need to be devised so that poverty does not become a hurdle for the education of a child.

The challenge of ‘child not interested’ is equally a cause for alarm. Curriculum formulators should ensure that the course content is interesting, meaningful and practical relevance to such children. There is no point in teaching abstract subjects that would only scare the children.

6.15. Challenges in attending School at the Destination

A mention has already been made of financial issues which prevent children of a large number of migrants from attending school. The Table below depicts some of the other challenges.

Table 6.15: Challenges in attending School at the Destination

S. No.	Challenge	Frequency	Percent
1	School far away from the site	63	32.5
2	Language Barrier	59	29.5
3	Have to take care of younger siblings	51	25.5
4	House hold responsibilities	9	4.5
5	No challenges	18	9.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It could be seen that the largest proportion (32.5 per cent) stated that the school was far away from the work site. This was followed by the language barrier (29.5 per cent) and the compulsion to look after the younger siblings (25.5 per cent). Amidst this ‘gloom’ there is a ray of hope since as high as 9 per cent of the children stated that they did not face any challenge in attending school. The issue of remote location of the school can oblige the parents to drop and pick their children, which may be rather difficult due to the long working hours in the construction industry. The language barrier can be very discouraging, especially for the children of inter-state migrants. The requirement of looking after the younger siblings and attending to household responsibilities can weigh heavily on the girl children.

6.16. Awareness about Parent Teachers Association (PTAs) Meetings in School

Participation of the community becomes more significant in the creation and producing results of programmes in any field, including education. In the education sector, the constituted bodies such as School Management Committees (SMCs) and Village Education Committees) have failed to bring in complete involvement of parents in the education of their education. In this context, the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) has been identified as a key initiative to improve access, enrolment and the quality of education. It is also being increasingly understood that the education programmes such as the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) and Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) could success at the micro level if the parents take greater interest in the educational progress of their children. Participation in PTA meetings can be possible only when the parents are aware about such an institution. The Table below depicts the awareness level of the parents about the PTA.

Table.6.16: Awareness about Parent Teachers Association (PTAs) Meetings in School

S.No.	Response	Frequency
1.	Yes	13
2.	No	187
Total		200

Source: primary data

It is rather shocking that 187 (out of 200) respondent parents were not aware about the existence of the PTA in the schools in which their children were studying. Thus, they could not be expected to know much about how their children were performing in their studies and the possible remedial action needed in case of any learning deficiencies in their children.

6.17. Participation in PTAs Meetings

It has already been brought out that the majority of the parents were not even aware about the existence of PTAs. It would, now, be interested to know from the Table below whether those parents who were aware about this institution were taking it seriously.

Table.6.17: Participation in PTAs Meetings

S. No.	Response	Frequency
1	Yes	11
2	No	2
Total		13

Source: primary data

It can be seen that 11 (out of 13) respondents who knew about the PTA did actually participate in its meetings. Of these 11 parents, 10 stated that they attended the PTA meetings in the schools in their origin places, but not in the destinations (migrated working sites). However, only one respondent parent, whose child is studying in a private school, is participating in the PTA of the school at the destination. This shows the poor involvement of migrants in the education of their children at both the origin and the destination. It also exposes the poor attempt of the government towards enriching the process of democratisation of school education.

6.18. Awareness about RTE Act and 25 per cent quota

Many welfare schemes launched by the government do not fully reach the intended beneficiaries due to lack of awareness and illiteracy of the persons for whom these schemes are meant. It is also possible that appropriate awareness campaigns are not being launched by the concerned agencies. In such cases, there are always possibilities of either the funds being fraudulently ‘siphoned off’ or being utilised for undeserving persons. The RTE Act and the stipulation about 25 percent quota in private schools for children belonging to deprived sections of society are two important initiatives launched by the government. The Table below should give an idea about the extent to which the respondent parents are aware about these very important provisions.

Table 6.18: Awareness about the RTE Act and 25 percent quota

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	34	17.0
2	No	166	83.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It made for very unhappy interpretation that an overwhelming proportion (83.0 per cent) of the respondent parents did not know about either of these. No wonder, they could not avail of the benefits provided to them under the RTE Act.

6.19. Whether RTE Act was invoked to Secure School Admission

The RTE Act contains provisions regarding reservation of 25 per cent seats for children belonging to disadvantaged and weaker sections in private schools. This provision provides not only quality education to poor and disadvantaged children, but also provides a common place where children sit, eat and live together irrespective of caste, class and gender helps to narrow down those divisions of society. However, the experiences so far indicate that many private school managements, driven by the profit motive, do want to join these children because the government has the authority to decide the fees in respect of these children.

It has already been brought out that most of the parents were not aware about the RTE Act. The Table below will give an idea about how many of those who were aware of the Act actually invoked it to secure school admissions for their children.

Table 6.19: Whether RTE Act was invoked to Secure School Admission

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	18	70.6
2	No	16	29.4
Total		34	100.0

Source: primary data

It can be seen that 18 (out of 34) parents had actually exercised their rights under the RTE Act for seeking admission of their children in private schools. It is possible that those who did not use the Act were either deterred by the procedures involved, or were satisfied with the status quo.

6.20. Challenges Faced in Invoking the RTE for Securing Admissions

It is rather unfortunate that, despite all good intentions of the government, vested interests can manage to find loopholes in the rules for denying the legitimate benefits to the genuinely deserving

persons. The illiteracy of the intended beneficiaries and ignorance about the fact that no school can deny admission to a child on the ground of non-furnishing of transfer certificate, many private schools are refusing admission on the plea, 'Transfer certificate not produced'. Such a situation is occurring due to lack of supervision and monitoring by the concerned administrative authorities. Many parents are ignorant about the persons to whom their grievances are to be presented. The Table below presents the two major challenges faced while seeking admission in private schools under the RTE Act.

Table 6.20: Challenges Faced in Invoking the RTE for Securing Admissions

S. No.	The challenge Posed	Frequency	Percent
1	Demand for Transfer Certificate	11	61.1
2	The plea of 'No Vacancy'	7	38.9
Total		18	100.0

Source: primary data

It can be seen that in the majority of the cases (61.1 per cent), the excuse of 'No Transfer Certificate' was used to refuse admission. The plea, 'No Vacancy' was used in the rest of the cases. The conclusion that could be drawn is that even when parents try to invoke the RTE Act, the private school managements are able to flout the rules with impunity. Obviously, there is no proper monitoring mechanism for keeping a tab on such undesirable practices.

6.21. Awareness about the Mid-day Meal Scheme

The mid-day meal scheme aims to encourage poor children, belonging to disadvantaged sections of society to attend school more regularly and help them concentrate on classroom activities. Kumar (2014) highlighted that the mid-day meal scheme produced stability in attendance, with poor dropout rates, and increased the nutritional status of pupils from poor income families.

Table 6.21: Awareness about the Mid-day Meal Scheme

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	178	89.0
2	No	22	11.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It could be seen that the majority of the respondents (89 per cent) are aware about mid-day meal school. All the 11 per cent respondents who did not know about the scheme were found to be from the Scheduled Tribes, residing in very remote areas.

6.22. Whether the Mid-day meal is being provided in the School

Awareness about welfare schemes like the MDM is one side of the coin. The other issue is whether this is actually being provided in the schools in which the children of the respondents are studying. The Table below depicts the situation in the study area.

Table 6.22: Whether the Mid-day meal is being provided in the School

S.No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	42	80.8
2	No	10	19.2
Total		52	100.0

Source: primary data

It could be seen that the majority of the respondents (80.8 per cent) confirmed that the MDM is being provided in the schools in which the children were studying. It emerged that all these children were studying in government schools. The others were studying in private schools, where it is not mandatory to serve the MDM.

6.23. Availability of any worksite school at the destination

Reed (2014) argues that setting up schools near the worksites could help in not detaching children from schooling and the learning environment. No wonder, a number of states and a few NGOs

have been running schools near the worksites of the internal migrants. The table below should reveal the situation in the study area.

Table 6.23: Availability of any worksite school at the destination

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	114	57.0
2	No	83	41.5
3	Do not know	3	1.5
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

Close to 60.0 per cent of the respondents confirmed about the availability of schools near their worksites. Rather intriguingly, 1.5 per cent were not sure about this issue. This points to a noticeable degree of ignorance and illiteracy among the internal migrants. Obviously, such persons would not be sending their children to school.

6.24. Whether the child is being sent to a worksite school

It is one issue to have a facility in place and another to actually utilise it. The same goes for schools near the worksites of the internal migrants. Also, one of the reasons cited for the poor access to education for these children is the ‘location of schools far away from the worksites.’ Worksite schools are intended to address this issue. The Table below would reveal the ‘extent of utilisation’ of such schools by the families of the respondents.

Table 6.24: Whether the child is being sent to a worksite school

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	30	25.9
2	No	84	74.1
Total		114	100.0

Source: primary data

It is rather unfortunate that, despite the availability of schools at the worksites itself, the largest proportion of children of internal migrants (74.1 per cent) were not studying there. Either the children were not going to school at all, or were studying in some other schools.

6.25. Reasons for not sending the children to worksite schools

The question that arises is: are worksite schools serving the purpose for which these were set up? One also needs to examine the factors are diminishing the popularity of such schools. The table below should help one to form an opinion on this issue.

Table 6.25: Reasons for not sending the children to worksite schools

S. No.	Reason	Frequency	Percent
1	Child working	19	22.6
2	Language Barrier	27	32.1
3	Child not interested	4	4.7
4	Going to regular school	34	40.4
Total		84	100.0

Source: primary data

It was slightly encouraging to note that as high as 40.4 per cent of the children were attending regular schools, which were obviously considered to be better than worksite schools. The next higher proportion (32.1 per cent) was regarding the language barrier. This should be more applicable in the case of inter-state migrants. A very highly noticeable reason (22.6 per cent) was that the child was working. It slightly relieved to find that very few respondents stated ‘child not interested’. This suggests that many children would like to study, but is prevented from doing that due to the circumstances in which they are placed.

6.26. Management of Worksite Schools

It could be assumed that private individuals would not be very much interested in running such schools since most of the clients would not be able to afford the fees. Thus, the onus for this would fall on: the government, NGOs, or a collaborative effort of the government and NGOs. The Table below depicts the situation in the study area.

Table 6.26: Management of Worksite Schools

S. No.	Managed by	Frequency	Percent
1	Government	-	-
2	Non-governmental Organisation	103	88.8
3	Govt. and NGO collaboration	13	11.2
Total		116	100.0

Source: primary data

It is obvious that no worksite school in the study area is being run solely by the government. As high as 88.8 per cent of such schools are being run by NGOs and the rest, in government-NGO collaboration. This points to the rather shoddy performance of the government in addressing the educational challenges being faced by the children of internal migrants. It may be mentioned here that in the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh, the then government did establish some worksite schools. However, these were later closed due to lack of coordination among the concerned departments.

6.27. Provision of Mid-day meal in worksite schools

It emerged from the discussion on Table 6.32 above that a significant proportion of children of internal migrants were going to regular schools, rather than worksite schools. One possible reason for that could be the MDM facility available in regular schools. The Table below could help in confirming or refuting this surmise.

Table 6.27: Provision of Mid-day meal in worksite schools

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	4	13.3
2	No	26	86.7
Total		30	100.0

Source: primary data

It can be seen that an overwhelming proportion (86.7 per cent) of respondents gave negative responses on this issue. In fact, majority of the migrants are facing conditions of poverty. In case mid-day meals are provided to their children, the parents may feel more inclined to send them to schools. That way, at least the children would be assured of at least one meal in a day.

6.28. Whether worksite schools are issuing certificate in return migration

It has already been mentioned, in the context of utilisation of the 25 per cent reservation facility for admission to private schools, that many children are denied admission for want of transfer certificates from the previous schools. The Table below would reveal whether worksite schools are any better in this regard.

Table 6.28: Whether worksite schools are issuing certificate in return migration

Response	Frequency
Yes	-
No	30
Total	30

Source: primary data

None of these schools were issuing certificates that could facilitate re-integration of the children in the appropriate classes and schools. These worksite schools cannot provide certificates because they are being run by non-governmental organisations (NGOs). Collaboration between government and NGOs can help in providing a degree of recognition to the children who have studied in worksite schools.

6.29. Whether Worksite schools are being run by Rajiv Vidya Mission

The then government in the erstwhile state of Andhra Pradesh had established a number of worksite schools under the Rajiv Vidya Mission. The Table below would reveal whether any such schools were there in the study area.

Table 6.29: Whether Worksite schools are being run by Rajiv Vidya Mission

S. No.	Response	Frequency
1	Yes	87
2	No	113
Total		200

Source: primary data

It could be seen that only 43.0 per cent of the respondents (most of them circular migrants) confirmed that such schools were present. The majority of the respondents who denied the existence of these schools were first time migrants to the study area who could not be expected to have much awareness about this issue.

6.30. Existence of Early Childhood Care Education Centres (ECEC) at the worksites

It has been recognised that ECCs can bring about significant improvements in the health and educational outcomes for children below 5 years of age. If the migrants are able to utilise these, the need for making their slightly elder children to look after the younger siblings can be obviated to a large extent. The Table below presents the situation in the study area.

Table 6.30: Existence of Early Childhood Care Education Centres (ECEC) at the worksites

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	2	1.0
2	No	198	99.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It can be seen that 99.0 per cent of the respondents stated that there were no such centres at their worksites. Obviously, the absence of these gave many migrants the excuse for making their children attend to their younger siblings. As a result, many children continue to be denied access to schools.

6.31. Whether the Child is working as a Labourer

It has been mentioned in the earlier chapters that many children who accompany their parents to the destinations are ending up there as child labourers. This is despite the fact that laws and Acts such as Child Labour (Prohibition and Abolition) Act, 1986,¹ prohibit child labour.

¹ This Act is one of the most debated ones regarding children. It outlines the regulations where and how children can work and where they cannot work.

Table 6.31: Whether the Child is working as a Labourer

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	27	13.5
2	No	173	86.5
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

The very high proportion of ‘No’ responses (86.5 per cent) needs to be taken with a pinch of salt, since many children may not be in the direct labour force. It is also possible that some respondents deliberately denied that their children were working as labourers, since they were afraid that the researcher would report the fact to the concerned authorities.

6.32. Need for putting the child to work

It is a known fact that internal migration is largely prompted by financial considerations. After arriving at the destinations, the migrants may find that their wages alone cannot sustain their families. One way out could be to put their children to work so that they would bring in supplementary income. The Table below depicts the responses in this regard.

Table 6.32: Need for putting the child to work

S. No	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	For Supplementary Income	23	85.2
2	Child not interested to go school	4	14.8
Total		27	100.0

Source: primary data

It was not surprising to note that 85.2 per cent of the respondents mentioned ‘For Supplementary Income’. The rest justified their action on the plea, “In any case, the child is not interested to go to school.”

6.33. Amount Earned by the Child in a day

It has already been mentioned that children are being put to work to bring in extra income for their families. The moot question is regarding the ‘opportunity cost’ involved. Such children are surely

missing out on education, which could have ensured a better future for them. The Table below depicts the amounts earned by such children.

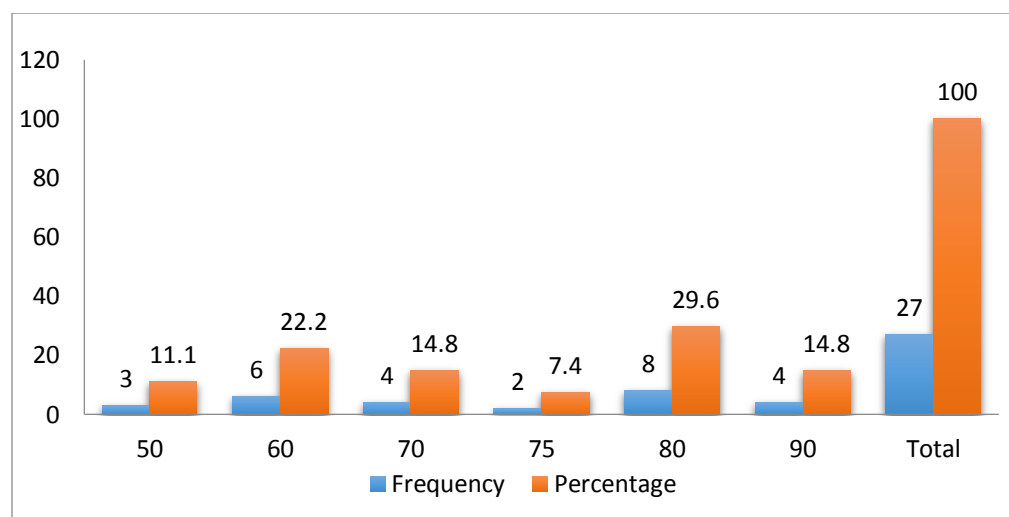
Table 6.33: Amount Earned by the Child in a day

S. No	Daily income of the child	Frequency	Percent
1	50	3	11.1
2	60	6	22.2
3	70	4	14.8
4	75	2	7.4
5	80	8	29.6
6	90	4	14.8
Total		27	100.0

Source: primary data

It could be seen that these children are certainly not being paid ‘fair wages’. The daily wages range from Rs 50 to 90. Since their nature of work is in the unorganised sector and against the spirit of the Laws banning child labour, they cannot even press for higher wages. The ‘employers’ seem to be exploiting the desperation of the migrant families and paying much less for the work they are extracting from such children.

Chart 6.2: Amount Earned by the Child in a day (in percentage)



Source: primary data

6.34. Awareness that child labour is a crime

It is rather unfortunate that just like taking or receiving dowry, the practice of child labour is going on unabated. The dire financial conditions are forcing many parents to go against the law of the land. The Table below would depict how many of the respondents were actually aware that they had been ‘justifying’ a wrongful practice.

Table 6.34: Awareness that child labour is a crime

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	6	37.0
2	No	21	63.0
Total		27	100.0

Source: primary data

It is not surprising that the majority of the respondents (63.0 per cent) did not know that the practice of child labour is a crime. Most of such respondents were found to be illiterate. Even the rest, who were aware about this, were ‘encouraging’ this practice due to their poor financial conditions.

ii) Whether Children were Left behind at the Origin

The discussion till now had been about the children who accompanied their parents to the places of migration. It would only be proper to now examine the condition of those left behind at the native places to see whether the condition is significantly better than that of those who went with their parents to the new locations. The first issue of concern would be the number of children left behind.

Table 6.35: Whether children were left behind at the Origin

S. No.	Response	frequency	Percent
1	Yes	95	47.5
2	No	105	52.5
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

An interesting fact that emerged was that in majority (52.5 per cent) of the cases, the children were not left behind at the places of origin. The possible reasons have already been discussed.

Table No. 6.36 Number of Children of school-going age left behind at the Origin

S. No.	Number of such children		Total
	1	2	
1	91	4	95
Total	91	8	99

Source: primary data

It can be seen that 91 respondents had each left one child of school-going age back at their native places, and 4 respondents has left two such children each. The remaining 105 respondents had taken their children along with them. It could be deduced that migrants who have more number of children, prefer to leave behind at least one child at least, at home where some family members could take care of these children.

6.35. Gender of the child left behind

It has already been mentioned that children accompanying their parents to the destinations can be exposed to the rigors of city life, which include: unsafe living conditions, a polluted atmosphere, uncertain education and the greater probability of becoming child labourers (despite a host of laws banning child labour). It would be of interest to ascertain, from the Table below, whether there was any gender bias when deciding which child to leave behind at the native place.

Table 6.37: Gender of the child left behind

S. No.	Gender of the Child	Frequency	Percent
1	Male	60	63.2
2	Female	35	36.8
Total		95	100.0

Source: primary data

Not surprisingly, parents were found to more incline to leave their sons behind at the native places. A charitable explanation for this phenomenon is the greater anxiety about the safety of their daughters, if they are left behind at home. On the other hand, the girl child can be perceived as

more ‘useful’ for the migrants since she could assist in household tasks such as cooking, cleaning and taking care of her younger siblings.

6.36. Age of the children left behind

Migration to other areas in search of work is mostly prompted by financial conditions. In the case of internal migrants, who have no assured shelter, the decision to leave behind some of their children can be heart-wrenching (especially for the mothers). Such a decision can be largely determined by the age of the children and whether they can look after themselves in the absence of the parents. The Table below depicts the ages of the children who were left behind by the migrant parents.

Table 6.38: Age of the children left behind

S. No.	Age of the Child	Frequency
1	6	6
2	7	12
3	8	20
4	9	10
5	10	11
6	11	8
7	12	12
8	13	7
9	14	9
Total		95

Source: primary data

It could be seen that there is a greater probability of children between the ages of 7 to 12 being left behind at the native places. Maybe their parents feel that these children can look after themselves to some extent. Also, their ‘utility’ at the destinations may be considered to be less. Children above the age of 10 years can be more supportive to the parents at the destinations since they could be deployed on tasks like taking care of their younger siblings, household responsibilities and, sometimes, even supplement the family income.

6.37. Whether going to School

It has been repeatedly mentioned that the education of children accompanying their parents to the destinations can suffer due to a number of reasons. It would be of interest to know whether the children left behind at the native places have a better access to education, since they do not have to face issues like: being forced to attend to domestic chores, language issues (in cases where the parents migrate to totally different ‘language zones’), reluctance of the school authorities to admit children in the mid-session and getting drawn in the child labour ‘market’.

Table 6.39: Whether going to School

S. No.	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	42	44.2
2	No	53	55.8
Total		95	100.0

Source: primary data

It is rather enigmatic that despite the absence of a number of debilitating factors found in the case of their migrant counterparts, only 44.2% of the children left behind have been attending school. One possible explanation for this state of affairs could be that the ‘local guardians’ of these children are forcing them to perform domestic chores, instead of motivating them to study.

6.38. Age of the child and the class in which studying

It may be logical to expect that since such children are not subject to disruptions in the schooling, most of them would be studying in the classes appropriate to their age. The Table below should help in clarifying matters in this regard.

Table 6.40: Age of the child and the class in which studying

S. No.	Age of the Child	Which class studying						Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	
1	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	4
2	7	5	3	0	0	0	0	8
3	8	1	4	7	0	0	0	12
4	9	0	2	3	3	0	0	8
5	10	0	0	2	3	1	0	6
6	11	0	0	0	2	0	1	3
7	12	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total		10	9	12	8	1	2	42

Source: primary data

It can be seen that only 4 children at 6 years of age were studying in the appropriate class. About 5 children (out of 8), aged 7 were studying in class-I and only 3 children in class-II. In case of children at the age of 8, 1 child was still in Class-I, 4 were in Class-II and 7, in Class-III. For the age of 9 years, 2 were in Class-II, 3 in Class-III and 3 in Class-IV. Further, out of 6 children aged 10 years, only 1 child was studying class-V whereas 3 children were in class-IV and 2, class-III. The lagging behind in education could also be seen in the case of children aged 11 years, since 2 children were still in Class-IV and only 1 was in Class-VI. Finally, only one child at 12 years age group was studying in class-VI. Though there were children in the 13-14 years age group, it was noticed that there were not attending any form of formal schooling. It can be seen that most of the children are not in a class appropriate to their ages.

6.39. Type of school in which the Child studying

It may not be totally incorrect to assume that majority of such children would be studying in government schools, due to the low (or no fee) free structure in these schools. The Table below can confirm or refute this supposition.

Table 6.41: Type of school in which the child studying

S. No.	Type of School	Frequency	Percent
1	Government	39	92.5
2	Private School	3	7.5
Total		42	100.0

Source: primary data

The above premise seems to have been confirmed since the majority of children (92.5 per cent) who were left behind are going to government schools. It shows that the majority of migrants who are striving to survive in urban settings have only government schools as the option for their children.

6.40. Reasons for not attending school

Initiatives like the Right to Education Act were launched with very noble intentions. However, many children are not attending school for a number of reasons, which are depicted in the Table below.

Table 6.42: Reasons for not attending school

S. No.	Reason	Frequency	Percent
1	Working as a Labourer	23	43.9
2	Child not interested	10	18.8
3	Fear of the School	4	7.5
4	Health issues	3	5.6
5	Household Responsibilities	8	15
6	No School in the village	5	9.4
Total		53	100.0

Source: primary data

A very glaring fact that comes to light is that, despite the plethora of legislations banning child labour, these are being flouted with impunity. This is evident from the fact that as high as 43.9 per cent of the children were not attending school since they were working as labourers – even at their native places. Another 18.8 per cent were not interested to attend school, while 7.5 per cent had a

fear of the school. It is pertinent to mention here that 9.4 per cent were not attending school since there were no schools in their villages. The other reasons like health issues and attending to household responsibilities were relatively less significant, in terms of numbers.

6.41. Person(s)/Institutions taking care of the children left behind at the Places of Origin

Many migrants are forced to leave their children back in their native places. Since many such children could be in an impressionable age, it becomes almost imperative for someone to look after them in the absence of their parents. The Table below depicts the situation in this regard in the places of origin

Table 6.43: Person(s)/Institutions taking care of the children left behind at the Places of Origin

S. No.	Person(s)/Institution	Frequency	Percent
1	Elders and Relatives	78	82.2
2	Government Hostel	15	15.7
3	Children are alone	2	2.1
Total		95	100.0

Source: primary data

Not surprisingly, in an almost overwhelming number of cases (82.2 per cent), the elders or other relatives were looking after these children. This was followed by 15.7 per cent children who were staying in government hostels. It was rather shocking to note that 2.1 per cent of the children were staying alone. This suggests the desperate condition of their families, where even the relatives were either unable, or unwilling, to take care of such children.

6.42. Need for more programmes for education of internal migrant children

Though a few policy approaches and initiatives are in place to address the educational needs of children of migrants, many such children are still out of school. This indicates the failure of such programmes. It is rather unfortunate that even today there are many families which consider education as a luxury and that the time spend on studies could be more profitably utilised for earning money. Since majority of the respondents were illiterates, it could be surmised that they would not feel the need for more educational programmes for their children. The Table below can confirm or refute this surmise.

Table 6.43: Need for more programmes for education of internal migrant children

S. No	Response	Frequency	Percent
1	Yes	142	71.0
2	No	4	2.0
3	Cannot say	54	27.0
Total		200	100.0

Source: primary data

It came as a pleasant surprise that the majority (71.0 per cent) of the respondents agreed about the need for more programmes for the education of their children. Still, one cannot totally ignore the 27.0 per cent of the respondents who were non-committal on this issue. Obviously, it was a case of ‘the mind saying something, and the heart something else’. It was also possible that due to issues like illiteracy and extreme poverty, such respondents did not have much clarity on this issue.

This chapter tried to examine the educational status of children of internal migrants. It also explored the educational facilities, children challenges to attend school and the status of out of school children. In addition, it examined whether policy approaches which sought to address the educational needs of children of internal migrants were operational or had become ‘defunct’ due to a number of complexities. Other issues covered included the possibilities of parental participation in the education of their children and their awareness about their needful involvement in education through PTA meetings and so on. It also covered the role of non-governmental organisations and the government involvement in providing education to children of internal migrants.

The next chapter will primarily summarise the various arguments put forth in the earlier chapters. Further, it will synthesise the key observations and findings of the study. This will be followed by some recommendations or suggestions.

CHAPTER - VII

CONCLUSION

This chapter will blend the various arguments discussed in the previous theoretical and field work related chapters. In addition, the present chapter will also present the findings of the study. This chapter summarises the socio-economic aspects of internal migrants, exclusion of children of internal migrants from schooling and the lack of policy interventions from the state constitute major challenges in achieving Universalisation of Elementary Education (UEE) in India. In addition, this chapter will offer suggestions and recommendations for including highly deprived and excluded children of internal migrants in mainstream schooling.

Education can play a pivotal role in promoting socio-economic advancement in any society. In fact, it has been posited in this research that one of the factors that account for low performance of human capital is the lack of access to basic education for certain sections of children in Indian society, even though ‘education for all’ is considered as one of the major Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Accordingly, nations across the globe, prioritised the provision of education to all the citizens in their respective policy frameworks, on the belief that educated human resources are essential for the growth of the nation. India has also has taken up several such policies since its independence. As a result, some progress has been achieved in accomplishing Universalisation of Elementary Education (UEE). Some of the key policies have enacted in India that include: SSA, Mid-day Meal scheme, Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya and the Right to Education Act. In addition, the government has also initiated several flexible schooling options such as EGS and AIE under SSA, etc., to include all children in mainstream education. Despite these policy interventions, a certain section of children find it hard to afford mainstream schooling for a long time.

Against this backdrop, the present study attempted to understand the factors that are preventing certain sections of children from accessing basic education. The study identified that lack of proper mechanisms to implement the policies cause significant damage that restricts the access of schooling to many children. Consequently, the aim of achieving UEE largely remains an elusive goal in India. Without doubt, several new challenges emerged, along with long-standing issues such as caste, gender and region in the process. One of such challenges that the present study

focused on related to the exclusion of children from schooling due to the internal migration of their parents from rural to urban areas.

Children of internal labour migrants are one segment among various groups who have been neglected and ignored by both the state and civil society in India. As a result, they continue to remain as a highly vulnerable section in society, where they are largely excluded from availing their basic rights. Internal migration is not a new phenomenon in India. Earlier, migration was highly dominated by rural-rural pattern until liberalisation policies came into existence in the last decade of the 20th century. Since then, the pace of urbanisation has started to accelerate. The rapid growth of urbanisation led to regional imbalances in not only development related aspects, but also in creating employment opportunities. Since liberalisation policies have received significant state support, the rural economy of India, which highly depends up on agriculture, has experienced a drastic decline due to the sudden upsurge of industrialisation. However, the state have taken various policy initiatives such as SGSY, SGRY, MGNREGA, which sought to empower rural people to become more self-sustained, with better livelihoods and employment opportunities. However, these policies have not had much impact since they not only failed in ensuring guaranteed employment, but also could not arrest the large-scale mobility of rural people to urban areas. In this process, rural-urban migratory pattern has started to dominate other patterns of migration in India. The major emphasis of the internal migration in the post-liberalisation phase was on providing better employment opportunities in urban areas since such opportunities have almost drying up in rural areas.

Due to the imbalances in regional growth, labour mobility from less developed rural segments to the most economically developed urban areas has become a common occurrence. For example, at present, there are approximately about 100 million circular migrants and about 30 million seasonal migrants work in the Indian urban labour force (Smita, 2008 and Akhter, 2009). The construction sector is one of the major sectors to accommodate a high proportion of the migrant population in urban areas. It is estimated that the construction sector employs about 40.9 million workers; the majority of whom are unskilled and have poor literacy levels. The migrants often face deprivation in exercising their basic rights in the worksites. In spite of several legal provisions, such as the Minimum wages Act, 1948; Inter-state Migrant Workmen Act, 1979; Building and other Construction Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1996, and

Unorganised Workers Security Act, 2008, which aimed to address the challenges and needs of migrant workers, these workers, generally, remain live in vulnerable conditions due to the lapses in policy implementation. In this scenario, it is the children who face extreme hardships where they are forced to migrate with their parents to the worksites.

As brought out in the review of literature, migration of parents from the origin to the destination has severe repercussions on the children and their growth. It is found that disparities often result in poor education levels of the children. This becomes particularly obvious in the case of the children from disadvantaged backgrounds. When parents migrate, children are either expected to accompany them to the destination, or are left behind at the origin. Though no official data is available about children affected by internal migration, it is estimated that about 15 million children migrate with their parents in India (Smita & Akhter, 2011). Often migrants do not find jobs in one particular place for long period, leaving them to travel, time and again, to different locations. Due to their constant movement, the migrated children are forced to remain out of school for a long period. As a result, they experience irregularity in schooling, which leads to high dropout rates and to become part of the labour force as child labourers. For example, Srivastava (2011) and Dasgupta (2010) argue that most of the children of seasonal and circular migrants do not attend school because they are 'on the move' for a long time and schools do not accommodate them through re-integration due to their high rates of absenteeism. As a result of migration of the parents, millions of children take up household responsibilities at both the origin and the destination (Reed, 2014). Although the government has recognised school education as a fundamental right of every child under the Right to Education Act, 2010, majority of the children of migrant labourers remain out-of-school, due to the absence of a strong policy mechanism in India. The present research argues that the exclusion of internal migrant children from school education results in inter-generational transmission of poverty, which further adversely impacts the development and growth of the country.

The main aim of the study has been to assess the socio-economic conditions of the internal migrants. Subsequently, it also examined the educational conditions and challenges posed by internal migration in the construction sector in Rangareddy district, Telangana. In fact, issues, such as educational facilities for children of internal migrants and the level of participation of the parents in the education of their children at both the destination and the origin, have been grossly ignored

in the research domain. With this background, the present study sought to fill the research gap, in terms of understanding the available educational facilities and challenges faced by the children of internal migrants in the construction sector. Further, the present study also assessed the socio-economic dimensions of internal migrants and their participation levels in various aspects related to the education of their children.

The study has been conducted with the following objectives:

- a) To study the socio-economic dimensions of internal migrants,
- b) To examine the policy approaches in response to internal migrants and education of their children, and
- d) To find out the educational facilities, challenges faced by the children of internal migrants, awareness about the relevant policies and participation levels of their parents in the education of their children.

The instant study was undertaken in Rangareddy district of Telangana state. The district was selected for field research, because it is located very near to Hyderabad city which is the capital city of Telangana state. The district was considered to be an ideal place for the construction industry with an increasing demand for housing and commercial construction.

Both primary and secondary data have been used for the study. The secondary data sources included: books, articles in selected journals and reports prepared by different organisations and various government bodies. Primary data were largely obtained from the field work carried out in four selected Mandals of the district. The study relied on various quantitative techniques. The total sample size of the study was 400, including 200 migrants and 200 children of migrants. Data on socio-economic profiles of the respondents, educational facilities for the children of the respondents, challenges faced in both the origin and the destination, and awareness and participation levels of the respondents were collected through structured questionnaires. Since children could not be expected to be able to respond to all the questions, the section of questionnaires related to the education of children was compiled in the presence of the parents.

Findings of the study

The findings of the study will be covered in two sections: i) socio-economic issues relating to the internal migrants and ii) educational conditions and challenges being faced by children of internal migrants.

i) Key findings related to the migrants in general

This section of findings will be further classified into three parts: a) socio-economic aspects, b) institution and policy mechanism, and c) lack of institutional arrangements

a) Socio-economic aspects

- From the field survey, it was observed that majority of the respondents were from marginalised sections such as Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs), followed by Backward Castes (BCs). Of the 200 respondents, 96 were from Scheduled Castes; 65, from Scheduled Tribes and 36, from Backward Castes. Only 2 respondents were from Other Caste (OCs) and 1 was belonging to a Religious Minority. This finding was in conformity with that of Hossain, et.al, (2014) that the majority of the migrants in the urban unorganised labour force is from marginalised and socially deprived sections.
- It is also found that about 137 respondents do not have Pucca houses and only 60 of them have proper constructed houses at their native places. However, 3 respondents were not having any sort of house at either the origin, or the destination. This state of affairs regarding the majority of migrants, particularly circular migrants, must be because they are constantly moving from one place to another in search of employment.
- As far as educational levels among respondents is concerned, there is a correlation between education and the type of occupation after migrating to the destination. Of the 200 respondents, 127 respondents were without any basic education; 25, were having primary education; 30, had secondary or higher secondary education and only 8 respondents had education above the school level. Most of the illiterates (115) were found to be from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This suggests that majority of the migrants are illiterates and unskilled. It is, therefore, not surprising that they receive poor wages. However, a few migrants are capable of earning high

wages, irrespective of their educational backgrounds, since they are engaged in caste-based hereditary professions like carpentry.

- As far as land holdings is concerned, it is observed that a majority of the respondents does not own any land. The study found that only 79 (out of 200) respondents were holding land. Of the 79 respondents who were holding land, only 48 respondents had cultivable land. The 45 SC/ST respondents who were holding land, did not own more than 1.5 acres each. It shows that the majority of the migrants does not have land ownership.
- This study observed a 'high fertility rate' among the respondents. Large family size often leads to financial distress. As a result, many families remain stuck in poverty and deprivation. It emerged that 59 respondents (29.5 percent) were having two children and nearly 111 respondents (55.5 percent), three or more than three children.
- Since the construction sector requires persons with high physical capacities to work, it was not surprising to note that male migrants (122 out of 200) were much more in number than females. The largest proportion of male respondents was found to be in the 25 to 45 years age bracket. In the case of female respondents, this was the 20-35 years one.
- Bonded labour or debt bondage is least known form of slavery and it has taken much attention by the National Commission of Human Rights to eliminate this system. In the field, it is observed that as high as 69.5 per cent of the respondents said that they had not signed any agreement forms. Thus, their chances of becoming a sort of bonded labourers were very less. However, the remaining 30.5 per cent confirmed that they had signed agreements to work for a certain period of time. The majority of the respondents who has signed an agreement are inter-state migrants. This indicates that the tendency of mediators at the origin itself, drawing the potential workers into agreements is less in the construction sector compared with those in brick kilns and other sectors.

b) Institutional and Policy Mechanism

- An important issue is related to the access to Public Distribution System (PDS) among the respondents. Out of the 200 respondents, a total of 169 respondents have ration cards. Interestingly, most of the respondents who do not have ration cards were SCs and STs, hailing from very remote

areas. Their ration cards at the origin had been cancelled by the State due to their absence, whereas, in the destinations, they could not procure these cards, because of their constant migration from one place to another. Thus, it was a 'lose-lose' situation for them. In addition, only 87 respondents of the 169 have been getting rations every month. Another 82 respondents did not get rations for the last couple of months. It was also noticed that majority of the respondents who were not getting rations under the PDS fall under the inter-state migrant's category. This brings out that the intra-state migrants had better chances of getting benefits out of social and welfare programmes than the inter-state migrants. In this connection, attention is drawn to the study conducted by Chand (2012), where he highlighted that the migrants are not only in danger, but also debarred from welfare services and privileges in urban settings.

- As far as exercising political rights are concerned, majority of the respondents have voter ID at their origin places. As a result, none of them could vote in their destinations during the elections. They are unable to participate in voting back in home due to the heavy expenditure involved in travelling to their origin place. Also, such a travel would involve loss of income at work places, since most of the migrant workers are daily wagers. Internal migrants often cannot participate in the voting process. It is also found that there are only 92 respondents voted in the 2014 General Elections. The possibilities of intra-state migrants participating in the voting process are higher than those of their inter-state counterparts. It indicates that the rising frequency of internal migration is almost negating the resolve of the Election Commission of India to ensure almost total adult franchise.
- A total of 76 (including 22 females) respondents stated that they work more than 8 hours a day. Despite the clear stipulation in the Unorganised Workers Security Act, 2008 that the working hours must not exceed 8 hours in a day, this is generally not the 'norm' in the construction sector.
- Internal migrants in the construction sector are facing wage disparities. In spite of legal provisions, such as the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, to ensure minimum wages, there is wage differences, based on gender, social status and origin of the migrants. Of the 200 respondents, a total of 65 female respondents were getting wages between Rs.100 and Rs.200 per day. On the other hand, 84 male respondents were earning wages between Rs.200 and 250 wages per day. Further, it also found that there was no inter-state migrant respondent getting more than Rs.200 wage per day.

However, 28 respondents from Telangana and Andhra Pradesh stated that they were earning close to Rs.250 per day.

- The study also examined the access to social and health schemes among internal migrants in view of the fact that health services can be very expensive in urban areas more so when the government hospitals provide poor services. It emerged that 189 out of the 200 were not getting any non-wage benefits, because they were working in the unorganised sector. Most of the respondents were unable to access various government schemes once they moved out from their jurisdiction of the Panchayats. True, the RSBY is considered as a significant health service scheme that benefits those in the below poverty line category. However, it has largely failed to benefit the migrants (Chandrasekhar & Dore, 2014). Of the 200 respondents, 186 were not having access to Rastriya Swastha Bhima Yojana (RSBY), or any insurance scheme. As a result, 169 respondents had been spending between Rs.500- 2500 per month towards health expenses. It shows that due to the poor access to social policies, internal migrants face a financial burden in availing health services in expensive private hospitals. From this perspective, it can be inferred that the internal migrants are spending a large portion of their earnings to meet medical expenses. In the bargain, many of them are left with hardly any savings of their own.
- As far as MGNREGA is concerned, it was envisaged that the Act would significantly reduce the mobility from rural to urban areas by providing assured employment (at least for 100 days) in their own villages. However, due to poor implementation and lack of accountability and transparency, the intended benefits are not reaching many genuine claimants. Mohapatra (2014) emphasises that, although the Employment Guarantee Act came into existence with very noble intentions, issues like lack of transparency in implementation and insufficient community participation have tended to negate the spirit of the Act. In case the State policy can address these two issues, it would be possible to prevent large scale migration from rural to urban areas. It emerged from the study that 116 respondents have already availed employment under MGNREGA in their origin. Of these 116 respondents, only 44 respondents stated that they had received better wages and regular payments of wages under the Employment Guarantee Scheme than what they were now getting at the present work sites. This leads to the conclusion that MGNREGA has failed in fulfilling its promises of employment guarantee due to irregular work schedules and improper payments. Since the

programme was intended to provide employment on a seasonal basis, it has also failed to prevent migration to other areas, in search of work.

- As Baisakh (2012) and Sharma (2014) pointed out, the rural employment schemes, such as SGRY and MGNREGA, have dissimilar objectives from each other and the indifferent performance of these programmes led to denial of the benefits to large sections of the deprived and poor rural people. In this regard, one of the key observations is that mobility and economic conditions are inter-linked with each other. That means, poor employment opportunities force people to migrate. Usually, rural population, particularly from marginalised sections, such as Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, are largely dependent on agriculture-based employment. From the study, it is found that 122 respondents were daily wage labourers; 39, farmers and 25, semi-agriculture labourers. It shows that programmes such as SGSY, SGRY, NRLM and MGNREGA, which sought to provide employment opportunities in rural areas, have not been very effective in controlling migration due to their contradictory and inconsistent objectives. All this has led to continuous distress and intensified migration to urban settings.

c) **Lack of Institutional Arrangements**

- As discussed earlier, economic deprivation is one of the major reasons that can force one to migrate to 'greener pastures'. In spite of many efforts by the government of India and the RBI to bring the highly excluded segments of the Indian society into financial inclusion, the internal migrants are largely not covered under any of these policies. As the Ranga Rajan Committee (2008) recommended, SHG-Bank linkage programme is one of the key tools to financially empower the poor and excluded sections. The internal migrants have been grossly neglected and ignored under this policy. The present study found that of the 200 respondents, 127 have debts due to reasons like agriculture related, house construction, illness in the family and marriage. As far as the source for debts is concerned, a total of 98 respondents said that they depended on money lenders, 13 respondents had received credit from micro-finance institutions, 2 respondents borrowed money from the bank and 4 respondents depended on Self-Help Groups (SHGs). While SHGs is a successful initiative about whose success the government takes pride, in the case of migrant labourers, only 4 out of 78 respondents are members of SHGs. Further, it is found that 133 respondents were not having any savings while the rest, who have some savings, often invest these

savings in (Chitty)¹ chit funds schemes. It shows that the majority of the internal migrants does not have access to formal banking services. This highlights the need to provide financial services through the formal banking system. Though the government aims to achieve financial inclusion by providing better banking services to the deprived and marginalised sections, it appears that we have many ‘miles to go’ before this objective is properly achieved.

- Majority of the respondents opined that they face several challenges at the worksites. One of the major problems that they mentioned was related to basic facilities at their shelters. It is found that women and children often experience difficulties due to poor health and security related issues.

Based on the above findings, it can be asserted that the majority of the internal migrants are unable to access most of the benefits under social protection and welfare programmes of the government. As a result, the migrants are ‘obliged’ to bear the entire burden on the little wages they earn. Further, it is also found that the social status of the respondents is one of the determining factors for migration since the majority of the marginalised sections such as Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes do not own land at their origin. Consequently, these factors force rural deprived sections, with restricted employment opportunities, to move into urban settings in order to find livelihood opportunities. However, it is also found that dreams are shattered when they are forced to live in harsh conditions in urban areas. As they continue to experience exclusion, the poverty and deprivation transcends from one generation to the other.

ii) **Key findings of educational conditions and challenges faced by child respondents**

This section will be covered in two parts - children at the destination and children left behind at the origin.

a) **Children at the Destination**

- As far as the educational status of children at destination is concerned, it is observed that most of the children do not attend school. Of the 200 children respondents, only 52 of them were attending schools.

¹ Chitty means a transaction under which a person enters into an agreement with a specified number of persons that every one of them shall subscribe a certain sum of money by way of periodical installments over a definite period. Such financial activity may be conducted by either organised financial institutions, or may be unorganised schemes conducted between friends and relatives.

- The study found that there are different reasons that restrict children from attending school. These include: working as labourers (30 respondents), taking care of their younger siblings (48 respondents), school located far away from the worksite (18 respondents), being engaged in household tasks (9 respondents), lack of schooling facility in the mother tongue (37 respondents), disinterest in studies (4 respondents) and child getting married (2 respondents). In short, the children get distracted due to different family-based, institutional and social barriers etc.
- The study observed that there are no ECECs, or Anganwadis, for children below 5 years of age in any of the worksites. As a result, the young siblings, who are below 5 years old are not oriented towards attending school, whereas many of the elder children, who are above 5 years old, do not attend mainstream schoolings since they are required to take care of their younger siblings at the worksites.
- In spite of strict legal provisions such as Child labour (Prohibition and Prevention) Act, 1986, against the practice of child labour, the ground reality in the construction sector is very disturbing and poses significant challenges to the government. It was found that many such parents are not aware that child labour is against the law of the land. In addition, many children are engaged in 'invisible' labour, which includes working as domestic workers in the households near the worksites.
- Another key observation is that the majority of the child respondents and their parents are not aware about PTAs. It was found that only 7 parents knew about PTAs. However, those who were aware about the PTAs used to participate in the meetings at their origin - but not at destinations. Poor awareness and lack of parent participation in PTAs lead to negating one of the highly prioritised goals of the RTA Act - the democratisation of school education.
- The study also found that there is no bridge course and residential or seasonal hostels at both the origin and the destination which are essential for children of internal migrants to continue their education. Certainly, lack of bridge courses can lead to learning deficiencies among the children, which would impede their re-integration into the formal education system.

- It is noted that there is no relation between parent's education levels and the schooling status of their children. A total of 33 parents of the school going children are illiterates. No wonder, such parents would not be able to fully understand the need for educating their children.
- It is also observed that migration can delay the education and study of the children in a class appropriate for their age. For example, 40 children out of 52, who attend the schools are currently enrolled in a far lower grade compared to their age. As discussed earlier, a continuous dropout from school, with poor attendance, can lead to enrolling in a class that is normally not appropriate for their age.
- The study identified a huge discrepancy in gender wise enrollment. For example, out of 52 children who were enrolled in the school, only 14 were girl children. As discussed earlier, it is largely the girl children who are made to attend to domestic chores and take care of their younger siblings.
- Further, it was also identified that the local governments at both the origin and the destination have failed to facilitate education for the children under any policy such as SSA or at least to map the migrant children. The Right to Education Act has also stressed the significance of local government bodies in bringing migrant children back into mainstream schooling. However, their role in facilitating education for the migrant children is minimal.
- Due to several challenges, it is found that children are most likely to drop out of their schooling. A whopping number of 178 children out of 200 have dropped out one or more times. As a result, they are quite often irregular to schooling, affected by learning deficiencies and largely alienated from schooling environment.
- The study observed that 166 respondents parents do not aware about either Right to Education act or 25 percent reservation quota which mandates private schools to reserve 25 percent of the total seats for children coming from poor background under the act. Whereas only 18 respondents who are aware about the quota. However, when applied under the quota, all their applications were rejected with a reason that the children failed to get TCs from their earlier school. Whereas section 15 of RTE act clearly indicates that any child should not be denied admission throughout the year due to non-availability of TCs. It clearly indicates the lapse in the implementation of RTE act.
- From the study, it is found that about 114 child respondent affirm about the existence of schools at worksites and only 30 respondents attend these schools. All the worksite schools are being

regulated by the non-governmental organisations (NGOs). However, the schools run by NGOs are unable to provide mid-day meal and certification, upon completion of the course, which helps the children to re-integrate into appropriate class at origin once they return. In addition, the study observed that the majority of these worksite schools are shut down for most of the days due to their location and other reasons. It shows that government has failed to frame programme and policies in order to address the educational needs of deprived internal labour migrant children. In addition, the failure of implementing the mid-day meal programme in NGO based worksite schools are one of the major concerns. In these circumstances, as Jagannathan (2001) emphasises that, the collaboration of the government with NGOs could outspread education to underprivileged and excluded children such as internal migrant children. In addition, it could also help to bring out of school children into school with improved quality.

- Another key observation is that the child respondents who have been on circular migration, pursued their education in worksite schools that are operated by RVM under SSA till 2014 in the erstwhile government of Andhra Pradesh with the collaboration of an NGO called Aide et Action. These worksites schools have provided education to migrant children at worksites with the provision of mid-day meal and certification to re-integration them in the school system upon their return to their respective origins. It also provided education in their respective languages for the inter-state migrant children. But these worksites schools were shut down in 2014 with integrated by the government of India. At present, there is no worksite school operated by either state or union government. It shows that lack of consistency in policy existence and implementation by the government in providing education to excluded sections leaves the excluded sections affected.
- There are 63 respondents claimed that the school is far away from the worksite and it is difficult for parents to drop and pick up the children in schools every day because the migrants work from early morning to late in the evening during the entire week. Whereas the education act emphasised that schools should be established in short distance from the neighborhood. This reemphasizes about the lack of governmental action to strengthen the implementation of existing effective laws.

b) Children Left Behind

Regarding the educational status and conditions of children who are left at home, is collected by the parents at destination.

- It is observed that most of the children, who left behind at origin are male children that account for a total of 60 respondents out of 95 respondents. Though there are only 42 children (44.2 percent) attend the school, it is far better compared with schooling children at destination that account for only 52 (26 percent). It shows that the children who left behind have better chances of attending the school.
- Most of the children who are not attending the schools at the origin (constitute 23 children), work as labour. It shows that the children are largely victim of labour at both the source and the destination which result to their exclusion from schooling.
- Most of the children who attend schools at their origin study appropriate class against their age. It shows that children at origin have many prospects to study appropriate class against their age compared with children who accompany parent to the destination. Mostly, the children who are irregular and absent to school are staying under the guardians such as relatives and elders. The children who are staying in hostels are studying in appropriate classes as suitable to their age.
- In addition, all 42 respondents who are attending the school at origin, are accessing mid-day meal. But the migrant respondents emphasised as the children, who left by parents at origin, are missing their parent's presence in school management committees and Parent's Teachers Association (PTAs) meeting which helps parents to know the progress of the children and also an essential condition for democratization of school education.

Based on these observations, it is understood that the children of internal migrants at both origin and destination face severe exclusion from schooling. Additionally, child labour, household duties in sites and absence of ECCE are often predominantly affect the educational opportunities of migrant children. It is also observed that lack of awareness among parents about PTAs become a challenge to the democratization process of school education. The other major factor that influence the educational opportunities of the children are poor implementation of several affective policies with lack of co-ordination among concerned agencies of the government. There is less attention is given by the state to collaborate with NGOs. Apart from lack of certificate issuing mechanism from NGOs and lack of awareness among migrant parents about the provision of RTE act and its effective implementation are a few major reasons that distract migrant children from active school participation.

Suggestions or Recommendations:

The study offers a few suggestions in order to effectively implement various policies and enhance migrant children school participation. The recommendation or suggestions are divided into two sections that include a) children education and b) internal migrants.

- a. Since providing education to every child is the state responsibility, it must come up with certain innovative policy interventions at three levels that includes mapping the migrant children at both origin and destination, making necessary policy and their effective implementation. In fact, the State can take stock of the successful programs being implemented in different regions of the country. For example, migration cards at cluster, block and district level in Gujarat under SSA helped out to document the data of migrant children, which led to better policy initiatives and bringing maximum migrant children into mainstream school education. The state can effectively scale such policies to other regions in order to make sure that success can be enhanced and the entire nation can benefit from such successful policies. In addition, the local authority must be guided by respective state government in documentation of the data of migrant children. Whereas the data plays a vital in framing the policies and programmes.
- b. NGOs which run several schools have not received government recognition. Thus, government and NGO collaboration could possibly emerge as a good model. In fact, lessons could be learned from the successful model partnership such as collaboration between RVM under SSA, erstwhile Government of Andhra Pradesh and Aide et Action in erstwhile Andhra Pradesh.
- c. Local government bodies have to be proactive at both origin and destination to facilitate the process and map the children who migrate and remain at origins in order to enhance the prospects to attain education for the children. In fact, section 35 (1) of the Right to Education Act calls for a vibrant role of local bodies in facilitating education to deprived children.
- d. There is an immediate need to take up an ‘integrated approach’ to provide education for internal migrant’s children. As discussed earlier, many children between 6-14 years are unable to attend school because they are expected to take care of younger siblings under 5 years of age. Hence, setting up ECCE is essential in order to promote children participation in school.

- e. Government agencies and departments must collaborate and co-operate with each other in order to enrich child's participation in the school. Earlier, it was found that lack of co-ordination and collaboration between governments of states and departments was one of the major reasons that hamper child school participation.
 - f. Effective implementation of existing policies is a necessary condition to bring children back to the mainstream schooling. Otherwise, the goal of universalisation of elementary education may remain an elusive goal.
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- a. Since the high fertility rate among migrants with poor economic conditions are found, it requires immediate steps to operationalise family planning among migrants. It is found that most of the families are not aware about the benefits of family planning. It is evident that small family size could improve financial advancement. The high fertility rate has been one of the major reasons for either, preferring only one child to send school or completely ignoring the schooling of the children.
 - b. The government must empower internal migrants by providing banking facilities in order to guarantee their financial inclusion under JDY. Due to economic sustainability as internal migrants will enhance the chances of schooling among their children.
 - c. Government needs to enhance awareness among the migrants about their legal and social protections and rights. In fact, the success of any policy largely depends on awareness among the target groups.
 - d. As regard internal migrants, it is necessary to ensure that the benefits of important provisions, such as minimum wages, displacement allowance and medical facility under the Inter-state Migrant's Workers Act, 1979, are effectively in place. There are many instances where successful programmes have been discontinued due to institutional challenges. A case in point is the worksite initiative in the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh, which yielded outstanding results, but was later discontinued by the subsequent government.
 - e. Internal labour migrants must be recognised as citizens of the country with an inclusive policy approach rather than consider them as outsiders. As Breman (2008) argues, migrants build and sustain economies, but they are seen as perennial outsiders. The perspective needs to change with

legalised recognition of migrants at the destination and it could safeguard the child development in relation to their educational accomplishments.

- f. Though rural population highly depends on agriculture based employment, most of the migrants do not have land. At this juncture, alternative employment creation with subsidies and loans through government institutions with the aim of creating self-employment space will offer high value. Besides, the government must ensure non-farm rural activities and village entrepreneurship programmes to initiate community based and micro enterprises. This move not only ensures financial sustainability and self-esteem of rural poor, but also could ensure regular schooling of their children.

In the end, this research argues that the children of internal migrants face multiple problems in accessing education. These issues have not been properly by the policy and research domain. Though there are a few policy interventions such as Integrated Child Protection Scheme, SSA and Right to Education Act, these have not been fully effective due to the a variety of reasons. As a result, a majority of the migrant children are forced to be out of school or become part of the labour force. The challenges faced by inter-state migrant children are much more complex than those of the intra-state migrant children where problems range from culture to language.

On the whole, it is observed that lack of effective policy, with no documentary evidence related to the data of internal migrant children, is a major area of concern that excludes children from their basic right to schooling. Further, several innovative initiatives undertaken by NGOs remain only partially successful due to lack of assistance and coordination of the government. In spite of the fact that the Right to Education Act came into force, basic education has not become a reality for these children. This study, thus, attempted to understand the challenges faced of internal migrant children, with special reference to their educational needs and sought to analyse the exclusion space that deprived children of mainstream education. While lack of empathy towards the rights of the children is a major factor, the deprivation faced by migrant parents severely affects the education of their children. Finally, it is concluded that India will not be able to build progressive human capital in the country without providing basic education to all its children under the goal of universalisation of elementary education.

As it is mentioned in the first chapter that the present study has come up with two hypotheses:

- (i) *If people, due to poor livelihood opportunities, migrate from rural to urban areas, their socio-economic conditions and children's education could improve* and
- (ii) *If parents migrate to urban areas in search of livelihoods, their children's access to education will be adversely affected*

As far as the first hypothesis is concerned, it is observed that poor employment opportunities and lack of land ownership (60.5 per cent of the respondents do not have land) at origin are the key reasons for migration. Besides, there are many challenges and complications that migrants experience at destinations. The study has found that though the migration has provided some better economic opportunities for the migrants, their small incomes have been preoccupied by other unexpected loads such as ration, health expenses with lack of access to government health programmes like Rastriya Swastha Bhima Yojana (RWBHY). Migrants are also missing the benefits of social welfare programmes like PDS. It is found that 15.5 per cent do not have ration cards and 41 per cent (out of 169 respondents who have ration cards) did not get ration because of the distance to their origin places (particularly inter-state migrants) and travel expenses. Though few policies like MNREGA which is believed to be a key strategy to control migration and benefit the rural poor, it is largely failed to halt the migration because it is limited to only 100 days in a year. Further, the study also observed that most of the migrants excluded from financial inclusion initiatives of the government like Self-help Groups (SHGs). In the study, there were 63.5 per cent of respondents have debts and majority of them have depended upon either semi-formal financial institutions like Microfinance institutions or informal financial sources such as local money lenders. This observation clearly shows their continuous exclusion from the formal banking sector. In addition, migrants, particularly women and children, face severe deficits at the destination in terms of shelter, hygienic conditions, security arrangements, schooling, etc. Migrants, often, do not find work for a long period and it forces them to move to different locations. Being without work for a long time in urban areas is a big challenge to inter-state migrants compared with intra-state migrants. These conditions not only influence the migrants but their children too. As a result, the constant movement of the migrants forced children to remain out of school or irregular to school and it also led to learning deficiencies among these children. Based on these observations, the study has testified the first hypothesis and partially proved that though migration can provide

new economic opportunities for the rural unemployed people, however, it is also proved that it has also adverse effect on the education of the migrant children. In simple, it is to conclude that the educational possibilities of migrant children are deteriorating at destination.

As far as the second hypothesis is concerned, it is observed from the field survey that migration of parents has an adverse effect on the children and their education. It is evident that disparities often result in meager education levels of the children at both origin and destination. The study has found that there are only 52 children (26 per cent) out of the 200 are attending to schools. The key reasons for not attending school are Children working as labour (15 per cent), taking care of their siblings (24 per cent), geographical distance of the school (9 percent) and lack of schools to teach in mother tongue (18.5 per cent). Moreover, the parents of the children lack awareness about child labour and practicing it is a crime. Their participation in school undertakings such as Parents Teachers Associations (PTAs) and School Management Committees (SMCs) are very poor. In addition, there are no proper arrangements such as bridge courses and residential or seasonal hostel at both origin and destination that in turn lead for most of the children remain out of school with learning deficiencies and shortage of attendance. Further, it is also evident from the field survey that the children are studying in an inappropriate class (72 per cent out of 52 children who attending school) against their age due to their constant movement with their parents. On the other hand, interestingly the children who are at origin have better chances of studying in an inappropriate class as per their age. It is also witnessed that children's drop out (89 per cent of the children experienced a drop out of schooling) is very accurate. However, it is high in case of children at destination than children at origin. With reference to the functioning of the state vis-à-vis well-being of the migrants, it is observed that there are poor efforts by the local governments in both providing education for migrant children and documentation of migrants, which are considered to be significant provisions of Right to Education Act in formulating policies. It is also observed that the government has exhibited lackadaisical approach in introducing innovative methods such as worksite schools at construction sites and the continuity of schools without any lapses. It is because of poor coordination between concern departments and various state governments. In a number of cases, children could not attend to school, though schools are available, however far away from the worksites. The distance from the school has become one of the key problems in sending their children as it is very difficult for the parents to drop and pick their children every day during the working hours. Based on these observations, it is to conclude that the children of internal migrants

have been facing many problems in attending school. Though there are slender better chances of schooling to the children who left behind at origin, it is, largely, foremost challenge to the schooling of migrant children at both the origin and the destination. Thus, based on the field observations, the study has testified the *Hypothesis two* and proved that the parent migration to urban areas in search of livelihoods has an adverse effect on their children's education.

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