

## Seasonal migration and exclusion of children in school education

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### Abstract

Distress seasonal migration appears to be a reality in almost all states, although to varying degrees. Children accompanying their migrant parents for seasonal employment are the most “at risk” group of all in terms of educational vulnerability and capability formation. They are deprived of basic education and therefore become bonded to the low-skill–low-wage trap that their parents are currently in. Proper understanding of the magnitude and severity of the problem and suggesting innovative policies for breaking this vicious cycle is of utmost importance. This paper attempts to explore issues related to the socioeconomic condition of the migrant workers and their children in different working sectors, the problems faced by these migrant children in accessing educational facilities, and the incidence of child labour have been explored. Effectiveness of policies taken by Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan in ensuring education of these migrant children has also been examined. Children are observed to be growing up as replica of their parents and are inducted into the same low-skill profession from an early age. The present paper efforts have made to outline the nature and patterns of seasonal migration in different sectors, and how these annual migration cycles overlap with the annual school calendar. The paper also tried to focus on the difficulties that children face with schooling at migration sites and the conditions under which children drop out of schools, as well as the response or lack of response of school systems for the ‘Right of Migrant Children to avail Quality Elementary Education’.

**Keywords:** migration, exclusion, children

### Introduction

In 1990, at the Jomtien Conference in Thailand, 157 governments agreed to the World Declaration for Education for All (EFA) that signaled their commitment to achieve EFA by 2000. EFA was not defined succinctly, but was laid out as comprising universal access to education services “equality”; equity with regard to removing disparities “in access to learning opportunities” for certain groups, such as girls, women, “underserved” and disabled and learning acquisition and outcome in “useful knowledge, reasoning ability, skills and values.” The acquisition of learning in a range of different setting was acknowledged, but emphasis was placed on primary schooling for children of appropriate age (World Declaration 1990) [19]. Despite some large scale initiatives by some governments, the goals set in 1990 had not yet been realized. A further meeting at the World Education Forum in Dakar in 2000 led to governments of 164 countries agreeing to a programme of Action to implement the Jomtien Declaration. At the Millennium summit of the United Nations, two Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were set in education: gender equity in education by 2005 and EFA by 2015.

India made a Constitutional commitment to provide free and compulsory education to all children in the age group of 6-14. nearly sixty seven years ago. The goal, which was expected to be achieved by 1960, remains elusive, even now. Yet, universal access to elementary education remains elusive and

quality of provision erratic. In recent years, increased demand and massive expansion have brought into Indian schools huge numbers of children who might not have attended in the past. Still, large numbers, and specific groups, of children remain excluded from schooling for various reasons, jeopardizing equitable access to elementary education (Govinda & Bandyopadhyay, 2008) [6].

It is important that access and equity should go together in order to realize universalisation of elementary education. In India all programmes and plans aim at bringing gender and social gaps in enrollment, retention and learning achievement at the elementary stage. However, gender disparity does not seem to have reduced significantly over the years. Similarly problem of inequity in coverage and participation is there with different social groups and the situation remain inadequate.

The Right of children to free and compulsory education Act, 2009 promised to provide quality elementary education to children in the age group of 6-14. But still we are facing a number of challenges to fulfill the right of children to get quality elementary education. A number of reasons have been identified to explain why many children are out of education. The Majority of out of school children are belongs to Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled Tribe (ST), Children of landless laborers and construction workers. A range of alternative and innovative options have been created for covering and mainstreaming the out of school children.

## Level-wise Average Annual Drop-Out Rate in School Education (2013-14)

Table 1

Level	All			SC			ST		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Primary	4.53	4.14	4.34	4.42	3.85	4.42	7.97	7.98	7.98
Upper Primary	3.09	4.49	3.77	3.75	5.04	3.75	8.03	8.85	8.43
Secondary	17.93	17.86	17.86	18.96	18.66	18.32	27.42	26.96	27.20
Senior Secondary	1.48	1.61	1.54	2.20	1.38	1.81	3.09	2.77	2.94

Source: Educational Statistics at a Glance, 2016. MHRD, GOI.

Many complementary strategies like Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS), bridge school, Alternative Innovative Education (AIE) with provision of lateral entry into schools have also been initiated to cover the existing backlog. Thus the traditional reasons for exclusion, such as caste, gender, remoteness of location, and so on, are now at least well investigated and the possible remedies, to a great extent, reasonably clear.

There are still many categories of children in India for whom adequate and appropriate strategies are not in place for their effective education. One such substantive category is children of seasonal migrants, who are deprived to access elementary education. Even those who have attended school at some point of time are not able to continue and majority of them are becoming pushing out of the schooling system.

With the collapse of rural livelihoods in many parts of the country, hundreds of thousands of families are being forced out of their homes and villages in search of work (Livelihood) for several months every year. These migrations force adults to take their children along, making them drop out of school and closing the only opportunity available to them for an alternate future. Evidence indicates that such migrations are large and growing, and the number of children below 14 years involved may be close to 9 million (Smita, 2011) [12].

Estimates of short term migrants vary from 15 million (NSSO 2007–2008) to 100 million (Deshingkar and Akter 2009) [4]. As depicted in table below most short-term migrants belong to socioeconomically deprived groups, such as Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes, having negligible educational attainment, limited assets and resource deficits.

Table 2

Seasonal Out Migrants 2007-08			
Social Group	Short-Term Our-Migrants		
	Rural	Urban	Total
ST	20.1	3.5	18.6
SC	23.7	17.5	23.1
OBC	39.5	43.6	39.9
Others	16.7	35.4	18.4
Total	100	100	100

Source: NSSO 2007-08

Migrant children are among the most educationally marginalized in India. The right to education (under the Right to Education Act, [RTE] 2009) of migrant children remains compromised, since seasonal and temporary migration results in disruption of regular and continued schooling of children, adversely affecting their human capital formation and contributing to the inter-generational transmission of poverty (UNESCO & UNICEF, 2012) [17].

With this background here in this study attempt has been made to focus the impact of the forced migration on the children education i.e. the age group of 6-14. The exclusion of children from formal schooling, effectively denying them the right to an education, requires careful analysis. Children who fail to benefit from formal school education do not constitute a monolithic group. For some, school is genuinely outside their reach in physical terms. Some others fail to attend school, even if it is available nearby, for social and economic reasons. Some enroll in school, but do not physically participate, frequently being absent. Yet others leave school without completing even the lower primary cycle of 5 years. Some complete 5 years of schooling, but do not move into the upper primary cycle. Some are officially on the school rolls, but not engaged in learning activities; thus they are mentally absent

from class and unable to benefit from the schooling process. Many of these children may complete the lower primary or even upper primary schooling in physical terms, but fail to acquire the essential cognitive capabilities.

### Review of Related Studies

There are various studies regarding the dynamic relationship between seasonal migration and its impact on children's education in Indian academia as well as abroad. Many authors suggested that children of migrant laborers work alongside their parents. Child labor is particularly well-documented at brick kilns, where children help their parents move and dry bricks (Smita, 2008) [14]. Mosse *et al.* (2002) [9] also suggested that working alongside their parents is an important activity for many of the children who accompany their parents on a migration trip. They stated that; 'Children spend an increasing amount of their childhood in the unfamiliar and insecure migrant work-sites. From seven years or younger they begin to work on construction or brick work-sites, and are deprived of play, leisure and schooling' (Mosse *et al.*, 2002, p 78) [9]. Education is critical to the issue of distress seasonal migration because the window of opportunity that children of migrant families have is very small (Smita, 2006) [13]. There is a

significant negative association between economic and educational attainment and temporary migration, both in rural and urban areas (Keshari and Bhagat, 2012) <sup>[8]</sup>. Access of young children to primary education is diminished when they travel with their seasonally migrating parents. Seasonal migration and illiteracy are closely intertwined. Young children who accompany their parents on the trek outside are destined to continue this type of nomadic life at a later age.

Girl children endure even more deprivations than boys. In the villages, these children find acceptance neither in school nor in the larger community, and are constantly viewed as outsiders. Furthermore, because of the nature of their parents' labour patterns, these children are difficult to trace, and are therefore easily left out of the standard systemic interventions of the education system. Their mobility also means that even alternative schools – in other words, the variety of innovative and flexible schooling options created under the Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) & Alternative Innovative Education (AIE) may not help (Smita 2006) <sup>[13]</sup>.

Antman (2011) <sup>[2]</sup> finds that the male children left behind by their migrant fathers in Mexico reduce their time spent on schooling, possibly to help their families financially. Liang and Chen (2007) present a quantitative analysis of the relationship between education and temporary migration among children from rural China. Using data from the mid - 1990s from Guangdong province, they find that children who temporarily migrate with their parents are 8 percentage points less likely to be enrolled in school than the children living in rural areas of province. Scholars of Indian migration have expressed concern for poor educational outcomes among the children of migrants. Smita (2011) <sup>[12]</sup> uses qualitative evidence to suggest migration prevents children from going to, and staying in, school.

Coffey (2013) <sup>[3]</sup> in the study conducted in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh on short term migration found that among children six years and older, 17.1 per cent had never been school and larger fractions were studying at the time of the survey. Basic indicators reveal that children's health is poor, and corroborate the findings of other researchers who stress the poverty and disadvantaged faced by children in many tribal regions where short-term migration is prevalent. Among children who migrated in the past year, 85 per cent had a mother who also migrated. Put differently, among the children whose mother migrated in the past year, about 45 per cent migrated, whereas among children whose mother did not migrate, only 7 per cent of children migrated. Given the likely burden placed on relatives caring for young children and assuming that parents prefer to be with their children than not, it means sense that mothers who are away from the village longer would be more likely to take their children with them. There is a clear divergence in the educational trends of non-migrating and migrating children, with the children who migrate getting less education for each year of age than the group that does not migrate. The results also show that children who migrate are disadvantaged for each of the educational outcome. The study also reveals that migration is common among the children associated with the duration of mother's migration. Children who migrate engage in less paid and unpaid work compared to children who did not migrate, child migrants have worse educational outcomes.

Coffey (2013) <sup>[3]</sup> also finds that, there is a causal relationship leading from children's migration to poor educational

outcomes, for which there are several plausible mechanism. Migration may lead students to forget what they learned in school, or prevent them from developing relationships with teachers and classmates that help them progress through school. It may simply break the habit of going to school. Some children migrate because they are doing poorly in schools. It is possible that parents take children who perform poorly in school on migration trips, but leave their more academically-inclined children in the village. If children can decide whether or not they migrate, it may be ones who the ones who do not like school who choose to accompany their parents on migration. The study comes out with the conclusion that those children who migrate with their parents face important educational disadvantages compared to children who do not migrate. The result of the analysis suggest that expanded implementation of a government employment programme may help mitigate this effect.

Wang (2012) <sup>[18]</sup> have quantitatively analyzed the effect of migrant parents on the educational attainment of their left behind children in rural China. The result of the study shows a negative effect of parental migration on children's school enrollment, and this negative effect is larger on the school enrollment of boys than on girls'. Migration can possibly have three effects on school enrollment: disruptive effect, wealth effect, and aspiration effect. In the study, the results show that the latter two effects affects school enrollment positively, however, these positive effects are not strong enough to completely neutralize the disruptive effect, and thus, the total effect of migration is negative. The study also shows that the negative effect of migration is larger on the school enrollment of boys than on that of girls. In addition, the deleterious effect of parental migration starts at the very beginning of compulsory educational stage for boys, and the disruptive effect persists throughout all primary and secondary educational stages for boys. But for girls, parental migration only has a significant effect at secondary school stage.

Rivard (2013) conducted a study in Indonesia and evaluates the effect of belonging to a seasonal migrant household on the likelihood of attending kindergarten and senior secondary school, as well as the impact of migration on household education expenditures in Indonesia. Both linear probability models and ordinary least squares models are used to evaluate these relationships. The results indicate that belonging to a migrant household has a statistically significant impact on the probability that a four to six year- old child will attend kindergarten, and a weakly significant impact on the probability that a teenager will attend senior secondary school. In addition, migrant households were found to have lower education expenditures than non-migrant households.

Action Aid South Asia, an international NGO (2004), conducted a survey on incidence of child migration in three districts of western Odisha comprising Bolangir, Nuapada and Bargarh. The study covered 5 blocks in the three districts. From each of the village with incidence of migration, 30 families having regular seasonal migration were chosen as sample for the study. They found that more than half 51 percent of the children surveyed are currently out of the education system. Close to one-third 28 percent children have never had the opportunity to go to school. Of the 49 percent who have been to school, the study revealed that most of the children, who had migrated for work, had to repeat classes as they were unable to appear for the final examinations. These

incidences have given rise to the phenomena that, children as old as 15 are studying in the class 5<sup>th</sup> standard. Only 9 percent of the children have provision of schools at work sites run by Sarva Siksha Abhiyan, and worse is that 4.8 percent of children migrated on their own as per the study.

Jyotna Jha (2007) <sup>[7]</sup> has conducted a study in 41 villages across 11 Indian states. The work focused on the understanding the life situations of poor households and their impact on educational choices. The paper uses selected data to highlight the relationship that exist between migration and school participation. Seasonal migration for short or long periods to other areas for agricultural or non-agricultural wages is a common strategy to cope during lean seasons or to add to the family's income in rural India. Single migration is more common as compared to family migration. The impact of single, almost entirely male, migration does not appear to be uniform in all families and in all places. In some cases, it means greater exposure leading to a positive attitude towards education, translating into the enrollment of children in school. Additional income also brings greater stability and aspirations for the future, leading to an enhanced interest in the schooling of the children. However, parental migration does not usually lead to this positive change everywhere. The migration of the father also means additional responsibility for the children. They are expected to help their mother in taking care of all big and small requirements at the home and outside. Also, it means greater freedom, and children, especially boys are completely on their own in such situations. In such circumstances, even if the child is enrolled, it is not uncommon for him or her to drop or be irregular due to the lack of monitoring. The exact impact of migration also depends on a number of other aspects, including the kind and duration of migration, and the social and economic positioning of the family.

Family migration, male migration (i.e. adult males who migrate for long durations and leave their families behind) also creates grave challenges for the regular and continued schooling of children, because children are often compelled to support their mothers in both household and income generating activities (Smita, 2006) <sup>[13]</sup>.

Family migration, though less common than single migration is widely practice in certain areas. It is especially prevalent in tribal areas. Children's migration with parents is mainly on account of two reasons- there is nobody to look after them in the village or they are needed at the place of migration for work or to take care of younger siblings. Whatever the reason, when children migrate with parents, it becomes difficult for them to continue with their education. The need for survival is paramount in such cases and education becomes secondary. None of the children migrating with families in the research study reported going to school at the place of migration (Jha, 2007) <sup>[7]</sup>.

Thus, from the above review of related literatures it is clear that seasonal migration has a negative impact on the school education of children. The children who accompany their parents to the migration site experience a serious difficulty in their schooling. At work sites, little hands and feet are invariably drawn into the labour process by the employer, by contractors and by parents. The overlapping of the migration

cycle with the school calendar makes studying in school impossible for these children. The vulnerability of children is aggravated because they do not have access to the kinds of support which non-migrant children automatically have. Even where migrant children have access to schooling, the status of government schools in the migration prone regions is dismal (Smita, 2008) <sup>[14]</sup>. On the other hand the children who are left in the village also face problems because of the long absence of parents and lack of guidance.

### Causes of Distress Seasonal Migration

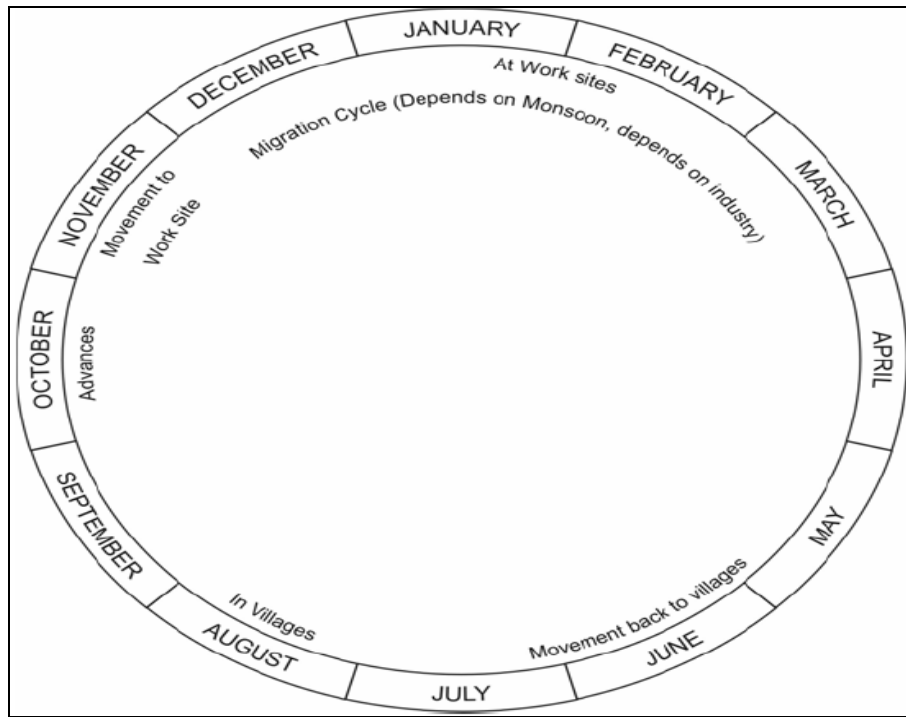
Seasonal migration has long been a practice for improving livelihoods in rural areas, with some male members of the family leaving the village for part of the year to look for paid work. In the last few decades, however, there has been growing incidence of 'distress seasonal migration'. This occurs due to the lack of livelihood options after the harvest of the monsoon crop (*kharif*) in most rain fed parts of the country, which gives rise to indebtedness and food insecurity. This forces the entire family to leave home in search of work in order to survive. Persistent drought and environmental degradation have led to the escalation of this trend. Children, who have no choice but to accompany their parents, drop out of schools and are forced into hard labour. There are also a number of pull factors for distress migration, including the high seasonal demand for manual labour in agriculturally rich areas and labour intensive industries (Smita, 2011) <sup>[12]</sup>.

### Migration Sectors and Geographies

The incidence of migrant labour is high in industrial sectors such as brick making, salt manufacture, sugar cane harvesting, stone quarrying, construction, fisheries, plantations and rice mills. Agriculturally rich areas also attract a large number of migrant labourers for sowing, harvesting and other operations. While migration for industrial work often extends for long periods of between six to eight months once a year, migration for agricultural work tends to be of short duration and take place several times a year.

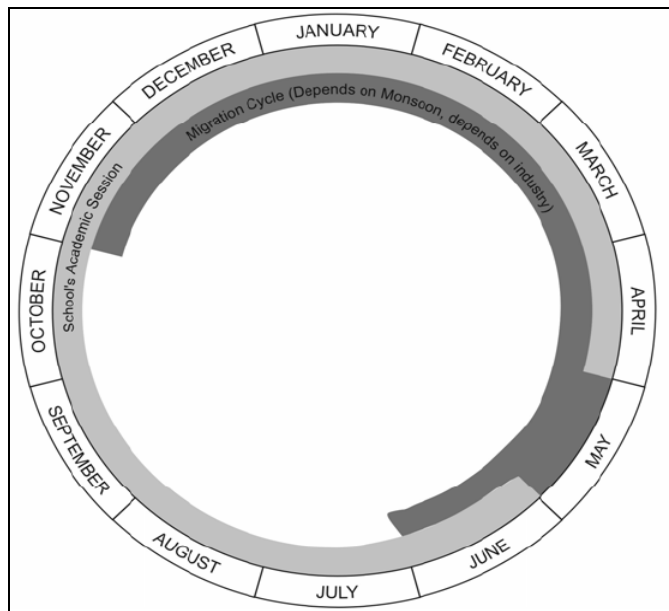
### The Seasonal Migration Cycle

Labour contractors provide cash advances to poor families in villages during the lean post-monsoon months, in return for which families pledge their labour for the coming season. Migrations begin around October–November with migrant families spending the next six to eight months at the work sites, and then returning to their villages before the next monsoon. Once the rains are over, they again prepare to leave their villages. This cycle is typical of the lives of hundreds of thousands of the poorest rural families in many parts of India (see Figure 1). This type of labour mobility is seasonal for two reasons: (i) because of the uneven rhythm of the economic activities over the year – peak periods alternating with slack periods, and (ii) because of the open air character of production processes, which makes it necessary for work to stop with the onset of the monsoon. This seasonal migration cycle overlaps with six to seven months of the school calendar, which means that children who are enrolled can go to school only from June until November, after which point they usually drop out (see Figure 2).



Source: Smita (CREATE, NUEPA)

Fig 1



Source: Smita (CREATE, NUEPA)

Fig 2: Overlap of the Migration Cycle with the School Calendar

**Migrant Children and Education**

Distress migration is an insidious promoter of child labour. The NCRL notes a high incidence of child labour in a number of sectors. Poor families with no additional support in their villages have little recourse but to take their children along when they migrate for work. At work sites, little hands and feet are invariably drawn into the labour process by the employer, by contractors and by parents, because wages are based on piece rates, rather than time spent. The vulnerability of children is aggravated because they do not have access to the kinds of support which non-migrant children automatically have. Even where migrant children have access to schooling;

the status of government schools in the migration prone regions is dismal. Even progressive states such as Maharashtra and Gujarat have areas of high-migration where schools are less than satisfactory. Poor education possibilities push children further into migration. As a result of large-scale enrolment drives the names of most migrant children are now on school rolls, but in reality they are often out of school, being drawn into labour at work sites, and falling irreversibly into the annual cycle of migration.

Education is critical to the issue of distress seasonal migration because the window of opportunity that children of migrant families have is very small. As stated earlier, they often begin working by the age of 6 or 7 years old, and are working like adults within a few years. They therefore face a life of hardship from a very young age. They are subjected to hazardous travel between villages and work sites, and a life of severe deprivation at work sites. Girl children endure even more deprivations than boys. In the villages, these children find acceptance neither in school nor in the larger community, and are constantly viewed as outsiders. Furthermore, because of the nature of their parents' labour patterns, these children are difficult to trace, and are therefore easily left out of the standard systemic interventions of the education system. Their mobility also means that even alternative schools – in other words, the variety of innovative and flexible schooling options created under the EGS & AIE – may not help.

India recognized the Right to Education as a fundamental right in 2005 and it has been implemented in 1<sup>st</sup> April 2010. The country is also striving to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), of which the second goal is to achieve universal Elementary education by 2015. India is also a signatory of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989). Amidst this positive scenario, there is little attention to the plight of the children of migrant labour, although year after year their ranks are swelling. In India, the Ministry of Human

Resource Development (MHRD) and the state education departments do not even have data with respect to this category of children, let alone a strategic plan in place to address related concerns. Urgent steps are thus needed for their education and development if the UEE targets and the MDGs are to be achieved.

It is also relevant to add here that while this paper focuses on seasonal family migration, male migration (i.e. adult males who migrate for long durations and leave their families behind) also creates grave challenges for the regular and continued schooling of children, because children are often compelled to support their mothers in both household and income generating activities. Furthermore, while this paper focuses on rural to rural migration, the issue of rural to urban seasonal migration also deserves greater attention.

### **Child Labour at Work Sites**

From young ages, children are drawn into the labour process by employers and contractors and also by their parents. So while children are not officially 'employed' and employers do not acknowledge their presence at work sites, employers nevertheless benefit from this free labour, which is significant in volume but is subsumed under the category of 'family labour'. In almost every sector, sets of tasks are specifically delineated for children to perform. Additionally, girls must often manage household chores and mind younger siblings, in order to release their parents for paid work. Many parents make their older daughters accompany them simply for this purpose. Migrant children face a life of hardship and insecurity from their infancy. Many children are born at work sites to over worked, undernourished mothers, in dingy, unhygienic dwellings with no medical assistance. Mothers are forced back into work soon after childbirth, and have little opportunity to rest or care for their infants. Babies are often left by themselves or in the care of an older sibling. A distressing lack of nutrition, clean water, mother's care, hygiene, medical assistance, basic comfort and security characterize the lives of children at work sites. Babies and toddlers frequently use their parents' work implements as playthings. Crawling close to furnaces, cutting themselves on sickles, and getting bitten by insects are everyday occurrences for these children. They receive no immunization, and their illnesses remain untreated. As they grow older, children are subjected to hazardous travel between villages and work sites each year. At work sites they are rapidly 'apprenticed' to conduct adult tasks. Children with physical and mental disabilities are also often brought along by parents due to a lack of support in their home villages, and they are often simply left by themselves at the settlements all day while their parents work. Children get drawn into labour from the early age of 6 to 7 years old, and are usually full-fledged labourers by the age of 11 or 12.

### **The Challenges of Providing Schooling for Migrant Children and the Response of the State**

#### **Lack of Data and Information**

After a decade of intensive efforts for UEE under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), the central and state governments still do not have data with respect to children of seasonal migrants. Nor is there any understanding about migration sectors or the flow of migrant labour within and among states. The basic source of this information should be the village and

the local school, but local bodies, village education committees and *panchayats* do not keep track of migration.

As noted above, although schools could be a primary source of this information, they keep no records of children who remain absent for several months every year or who have dropped out due to migration. Unfortunately, data collection on this issue has been neglected, ignored or suppressed until quite recently. In the future there is need to collect information on when and where children go and for what work, as well as about how long they stay away and when they return. School level data consolidated with other levels of data will help to explain what is happening in different clusters, blocks and districts with respect to migration.

Surveys on out-of-school children by education department could be another important source of data on migration. Currently, these surveys are targeted at villages, and usually take place during the migration period (December-January). Thus the hundreds of thousands of children who have migrated for work are not counted. Further, these surveys do not count drop-out due to migration within their definitions of 'out-of-school'. These departmental surveys should be extended to cover migration sites, as well as the individual children who drop-out. They should also re-examine their definitions to incorporate drop-out that occurs due to migration.

### **Overview of School Systems in 'Sending Areas'**

The 'sending areas' of most states are typically the remote and poorest regions, and districts in these areas are likely to have weaker governance as compared to other areas. In migration-prone districts and blocks in several states have poorer school infrastructure, lower levels of maintenance, more adverse pupil-teacher ratios, less frequent monitoring and greater delays in supply of text books and materials than in other areas. The poor infrastructure and governance actually push more children into migration, rather than motivating them to stay in their home villages to study.

### **Schooling Issues in Sending Areas**

For the children of industrial migrants, the window of opportunity for study in village schools is usually about four months (from July to October). After that time they will move with their families, and return the following April or May. For agricultural migration, however, the pattern is less predictable as the movement of families is attuned to the crop cycles in their areas. These children may therefore leave the village several times each year for short durations of 4-6 weeks, or they may remain away for longer periods if their parents simply shift from one work site to another without returning home. Due to recent enrolment drives, most children's names are now on school rolls, but no records are kept regarding the large numbers who leave school mid-session and stay out for long periods. Their names remain on the registers, despite the fact that attendance plummets. This issue is neglected even at the upper levels of monitoring, including cluster resource centres (CRCs) and block resource centres (BRCs).

### **Schooling Issues in Receiving Areas**

Work sites in most sectors of intra-rural migration are located in remote areas, away from habitations and major roads. The majority of work sites, therefore, do not provide access to schools. Schools can sometimes be found near brick kilns and

sugarcane sites as these are more likely to be located near villages or municipal areas, but local authorities are not generally aware of the needs of migrant children and do not believe it is their job to ensure they are in school.

Migrants in many sectors, however, do not have access to schools at all. This includes, for example, migrants who shift constantly from one work site to another (charcoal makers, a section of sugar cane cutters, etc) or short duration agricultural migrants who may move several times a year. There are also work sites (i.e. salt pans) which have only a few families and a handful of children, and therefore a school may not be feasible. For such children there is no possibility of schooling during periods of migration.

### Drop-out Due to Migration

Seasonal migration causes a strange kind of drop-out, which is not captured by conventional ways of looking at the problem. It is possible for these children to be enrolled in schools and to attend for the first few months of the school session, (i.e. from July to October), but to then drop out for the remaining months to accompany their parents to migration sites. By the time they return the following April or May, the school session is already over. Thus, these children have the strange predicament of having their names on school registers, but dropping out for part of the year. Over time, the learning deficit this causes gradually leads them to drop-out of school completely.

### Conclusion

The basic clauses of all legal acts related to labor and child rights are flouted, raising exploitation levels to the extreme. There are, for example, no mechanisms to address grievances. Employers try to maximize their profits by keeping producers at barely survival level. These vulnerable seasonal migrant do not have a voice. Government need to generate work, where these migrant people are not exploited and provide schemes to improve their agriculture in their respective village, so that they don't migrate. They need to provide childcare and educational facilities for the children who migrate along, so that they can cope with mingle with the main stream. The condition of the migrant children can improve in the long run only through capability formation and education. These excluded children are to be brought within the ambit of educational system – at the destination as well as source areas. A beginning was made under the SSA through *Mobile School*. Provision of a mobile teacher along with the migrating families & children would have been a better solution but its operational viability is questionable.

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