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**Migration, Mobility and School Education in India:  
Empirical Evidence from Madhya Pradesh and  
Chhattisgarh**

**Madhumita Bandyopadhyay**



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## **Abstract**

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Statement: All the views expressed in the paper are of the author(s).

# Migration, Mobility and School Education in India: Empirical Evidence from Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh

**Madhumita Bandyopadhyay**

## Introduction

With the advent of growing industrialisation and urbanisation, internal and external mobility of people has become a common phenomenon across the world. According to the definition given by the Dictionary of Human Geography, “migration is permanent or semi permanent change of residence of an individual or group of people.” Migration and mobility have become important areas of research with interdisciplinary perspective. Like other social sciences and developmental research, researchers engaged in the field of education (Schaft, 2005) also are now making efforts to understand the link of migration and educational development in the context of different social settings.

In most cases, migration from rural to urban areas<sup>1</sup> or from smaller towns to cities are seen largely as opportunity related in terms of job opportunities for better earning, educational opportunities and also improvement in quality of life as well as social status of people. As mentioned by Schaft (2005), “Residential improvement is therefore often understood as an investment in one’s human capital, with movers gravitating towards areas yielding the highest return on that investment (Lichter and Costanzo, 1987; Massey, 1990)”. While in some countries, ‘pull factors’ in terms of better job prospects, higher income etc. become more important to determine the flow of migration, in some other countries, the ‘push factors’ like loss of livelihood, natural calamities, political crisis, lowering down of productivity of land, impoverishment of households etc. become very much crucial and force people to migrate out of their ‘place of origin’. There are also instances when decision for migration is controlled by both types of pull and push

factors. In addition to outmigration of labour caused by push and pull factors, other reasons for mobility of students is getting transferred from one school to another school due to various reasons. All these have considerable consequences on education of children.

With this backdrop, drawing references from secondary sources and also from an empirical study conducted under CREATE (Lewin, 2011, 1), this paper explores some aspects of migration as well as school transfer and its linkage with basic education of children.

## Understanding migration and mobility in Indian context: Conceptual Framework

Migration is not a new phenomenon in India. Historically speaking, India has many communities who are known as nomads<sup>2</sup> and they are known for practice of pastoralism and possess indigenous knowledge and skills. It is also mention worthy that, migration on a massive scale started during the colonial period under the Indian indenture system, a system of indenture that is, a form of bonded labour to various colonies of European powers to provide labour for the (mainly sugar) plantations. Although the indentured system stopped legally but outmigration or immigration continued unabatedly after Independence as well. While initially it was mainly the migration of unskilled labour, but during later period, migration of more and more highly educated and skilled people became prominent in the name of brain drain (Khadaria). Although this

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2 According to Sharma (2011), “India alone is estimated to have a nomadic population of at least 60 million (between 7-10% of the population) (National Convention, 2005 in Krätli & Dyer, 2009).” It is estimated that there are 11 crore (a crore is 10 million) Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic people in India.

migration of knowledge workers is still continuing, the country is also experiencing increased flow of rural to urban migration which is seasonal in nature and most prominent phenomenon of all types of migration in India.

According to the 2011 census, only 31% of the population of India lives in urban areas. According to the United Nations, the urban population of India will be less than 35% in 2020 and approximately 40% in 2030. During 1991-2001, 41.1 million people were recorded as migrants who moved from one state to another within India. The Census of India also acknowledges that migration of people is also one of the important contributing factors for the growing urbanisation. By 2030, another 225 million people will be added to the Indian urban areas, more than the population of Japan and Germany combined. A recent article of Bhagat (2009) has given a clear picture of internal migration in India which has increased during the decade of 1991-2001 along with improvement in the economic scenario. Earlier studies also have pointed out to rural migration but those with some education and capital to survive (Oberai and Singh, 1983; Skeldon, 1986). People with higher level of education or economic status find it easier to establish linkages with urban economy through socio-cultural channels, put their foothold in the city and avail the opportunity offered through migration (Kundu and Sarangi, 2007). The NSSO data also indicate that the migration rate was as high as 23.3% in the highest monthly per capita expenditure (MPCE) category in rural areas in 1999-2000. This became only 4.3% in the lowest MPCE category.

Many studies have also attempted to understand the consequence of migration of these underprivileged people which is more familiar in terms of 'distress seasonal migration' (Smita, 2011). Generally such migration is termed as *palayan* or escape. As Saxena (1994, 1257) has rightly pointed out that these poor and landless labourers "do palayan to survive". She stated that, "They travel long distances along with their small children, leaving their homes to remain away for months every year and sometimes for years together. Forced to do physical work beyond human limits they face ruthless exploitation and women face sexual exploitation too" (Saxena, 1994, 1257). The former NCPDR chairperson, Shanta Sinha says:

"The contemporary times whilst bringing advances in many areas, has also intensified the danger to childhood and has been extraordinarily harsh to many children in our country. More and more children are vulnerable and marginalised today. Having no food to eat, and little or no health support, they live precariously, experiencing hunger daily and suffer malnourishment, their lives claimed tragically by infant and child mortality. Older children succumb to trafficking and are working as migrant child labourers, usually away from their homes. Children travel long distances across States. Networks of sourcing children from one end of the country to another, exists across India, from Manipur to Chennai, Bihar to Punjab, Kerala, Rajasthan, Orissa to Mumbai and Gujarat. On their way to work and even in the work places, it is an undisputed fact that children are subject to abuse, torture and gross exploitation."

The problem of migrant children is not a recent one, it has become prominent since the past few decades particularly during the post liberalisation period in the 90s and it is still continuing despite having many enactments including protection of child labour Act of 1986 which has been revised in 2006 and other related enactments like the most recent RTE Act, 2009<sup>3</sup>.

3 The Constitution of India has enough provisions for preventing the practice of child labour. "Article 24 says: "No child below the age of 14 years shall be employed in work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment." There are also a number of enactments to protect the interests of children. The employment of children below the age of 14 is prohibited under the Children (Pledging Labour) Act, 1933; (ii) the Factories Act, 1948, and the Mines Act, 1952; (iii) the Motor Transport Workers Act, 1961; and (iv) the Bidi and Cigar Workers (Condition of Employment) Act, 1966. The Plantation Labour Act, 1951, prohibits the employment of child labour during night, that is, from 7 p.m. to 6 a.m. Children are permitted to work in plantations only if a certificate of fitness is granted by a certifying surgeon. The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986, while allowing children to engage in family-based work or recognised school-based activities. (Factories Act, 1948) and so on. Apart from the provisions on child labour that exist in the Acts of Parliament, there is the National Policy on Child Labour (NCLP) announced by the Union Ministry of Labour in August 1987."

Katakam (2006) has given an account of Muslim children who are engaged in zari making units in Mumbai slums. Ironically, these children are bonded labourers and they never get any chance to go to school. Loopholes in child labour prevention Act and other related Acts and lack of proper rehabilitation plans are some of the reasons for continuation of bonded child labour, he insists. In addition to these child workers, there are children who are homeless and live on the streets. In view of the increasing problems of urban poverty, the recent report of UNICEF (2012) on urban children states, "Estimates suggest that tens of millions of children live or work on the streets of the world's towns and cities – and the number is rising with global population growth, migration and increasing urbanisation."

### **Exploring the link between education and migration**

Rossi (2008) has assessed the impact of migration of youth and children in developing countries. It has focused not only on migrated children and children of migrant parents but also children left behind by their migrant parents as foster children who are sent to foster family by their parents. Many studies (Cox-Edward and Ureta, 2003 ; Hanson and Woodruff, 2003) have argued that migration has positive impact on education of these children, left behind by their parents (single or both) as the remittances sent by parents significantly reduce the dropout rate and improves attendance (Cox-Edward and Ureta, 2003). Hanson and Woodruff (2003) had also found that remittances impacted positively on completion rate as well in the context of Mexico and also on academic achievements as seen by Bryant (2005) in the context of Philippines.

In addition to children who are normally affected by migration of parents and themselves under normal conditions, forced child migrants and child victims of trafficking are very special groups of migrants. Of the estimated 14.2 million refugees worldwide 41 per cent are believed to be children below the age of 18 around 36 % of 24.5 million people are estimated as displaced because of conflict. According to a report, (UNICEF, 2012) at least 4 million children are thought to have migrated whether by themselves or with their families in India alone (p-36). Most often, these children are (Maurya, O.P. 2002)

denied basic needs like food and safe water leading to their malnutrition.

As informed by Ramachandran (2003, 20): "Although it is assumed that urban areas are endowed with better educational facilities and therefore have higher enrolment as well as attendance rate, it does not hold true always when it comes to the context of education of urban deprived. Although the proportion of urban population in India is 30% of the total population, more than 1 million children are found out of schools. Majority of these children live in urban slums." According to a study (Tsujita, 2009) based on household survey in Delhi slums, only just over half the children are in schools. It also shows that a high over-age and dropout ratio exists among slum children. Another study (Jha and Jhingran, 2005) pointed out that migration is likely to impact on education of children in the urban slums due to occasional long visits to place of origin causing their absenteeism, and also make it difficult for them in understanding the language used at school. A study conducted by Padhan (2007) has provided a detailed account of migrant children who had to dropout due to several reasons related to migration in Patnagarh subdivision of Orissa.

One can also find that there is a lack of willingness of government as far as making provision for education of migrant children. It is not enough to have an enabling policy of education, it should be translated into action. Many times insensitivity of administrators and government apathy exclude these children from education system. Many times, migrants are evicted and relocated at the site of migration resulting in loss of jobs and livelihoods and it also drastically impacts children's education. The urban government and planners never put education of poor migrant children on their priority resulting in never enrolment and dropout of such children particularly girls.

These problems are rooted in their cultural differences from their neighbours, peer groups and teachers who often call them 'as beggars, children of beggars or even thieves'. Their segregation takes place within their habitation and also within the classroom if they get enrolled in a school. Drawing reference from different studies regarding learning of immigrant students, Vedder *et al* (2007) has mentioned that "Proficiency in

the national language is essential for social participation in social settings.”

In India, teaching in mother tongue is not a new policy agenda. After Independence, Kothari Commission Report (GOI, 1964) followed by NPE, 1968, NPE, 1986 and its POA, 1992 and later on other policy documents like SSA guidelines and RTE Act, 2009 all have upheld the importance of mother tongue as medium of instruction in elementary schools. However, despite these, many migrant children are not provided with education in their mother tongue. Children residing in inter-state border areas and for migrant families residing in another state/region, face tremendous problems to cope with the school culture and medium of instruction causing their alienation from schools and also from their own culture. Inadequacy in teachers with knowledge of language of migrant children, non availability of text books and teaching- learning materials in those schools also impact the education of these children.

During a recent study (Bandyopadhyay, 2011) conducted in 2008-2011, migration was found as a common phenomenon in the semi-urban areas where children were also engaged as child labourers in unorganised sectors. In many of these schools, teachers narrated their helplessness to ensure regular participation of children because of their frequent mobility within the town in search of work or due to visits to their native places.

### **Policy Initiatives and Concerns for Migrant Children**

From the above data, it is understandable that India is facing several challenges to address the needs of migrant children. Nonetheless, government initiatives including Sarva Siksha Abhiyan and Rashtriya Madhyamik Siksha Abhiyan both have created some scope for the country to achieve its long-standing goal of achieving universalisation of school education at the elementary and secondary levels. The focus on seasonal migration has been found in SSA guidelines and RTE Act, 2009 through which the government of India has made mapping migration-prone areas, and educational coverage of migrant children a mandate for all States. The aspect of mobility of these families has also been recognised. It is now a requirement for administrations in both sending and receiving areas to work together to

ensure schooling of migrant children.

The Section 10 of the RTE Act states that it is the duty of every parent and guardian to admit their children aged between six and 14 in a neighbourhood school for pursuing elementary education and Section 8 of the same Act defines the term ‘compulsory education’ to mean the duty of the government to ensure and monitor admission, attendance and completion of elementary education by every child. However, “the Act does not speak about how the government or the local bodies were going to ensure attendance of children whose parents kept moving from one place to another very frequently in view of their vocation”(Mohamed, 2012). While answering to the frequently asked questions regarding education of migrant children, Raina (2012) has stated that “There are two options: if children migrate with parents, particularly small children, the schools in the migrated areas have to admit all children even if they can not produce transfer certificates. Or if parents demand that their children should be given education in their native place while they are away for work, appropriate governments/local authorities shall have to ensure the availability of free residential schools”.

Some government documents like the reports of Joint Review Missions also have raised concern for education of migrants. The internal government discussions also have focused on this issue as well. It was found that, States like Gujarat proposed for coordination between States to ensure coverage of migrant children particularly those of neighbouring states of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. Similarly, Tamil Nadu took steps for intra-state sharing of information on migrant children by setting up inter-state coordination bodies for effective coverage of migrant children.

In the light of RTE Act, 2009, Sarva Siksha Abhiyan has witnessed some changes in its guidelines. As per the new guidelines, SSA encourages identification of districts, blocks and villages/cities or towns from where or to which place there is a high incidence of migration (GOI, 2011, 42). Since the RTE Act mandates bringing such children to regular schools both in districts where they stay or in districts to where they seasonally migrate, SSA envisages for innovative and effective strategies for special training along with following strategies recommended by SSA are: (a) seasonal hostels or residential camps to retain children in the sending villages/urban habitat during the period of migration, (b) transportation facility to and from the school in the vicinity of the worksite, and if it is not practical then work-site schools should be provided at the location

where migrant families are engaged in work, (c) peripatetic educational volunteer/s who can move with the migrating families to take care of children's education during the period they are on the move from school at one location to school at the other, and, (d) strategies for tracking of children through migration cards / other records to enable continuity in their education before, during and after migration. The Panchayati Raj Institutes could also be involved in special intensive efforts required for migrant children ensuring that they are provided educational opportunities through establishment of seasonal hostels (GOI, 2011, 119).

### School Transfer and Education

Student mobility due to transfer from one school to another is a common phenomenon in case of promotion of students from lower to higher levels in case the school does not provide the next level of education. In India, although most habitations are now provided with primary school within one km but large number of habitations and villages are still devoid of upper primary/ middle schools and also high schools. Under this situation, the children after completion of their primary education need to take readmission in a middle school to continue their education and for this purpose they need to take transfer certificate from their previous schools. In addition, increase in number of private schools has also made this situation more complicated. Since many parents perceive that private schools provide better quality education than government schools, they withdraw their children from government schools and admit them in private schools if they can afford it.

Although this phenomenon of student transfer so far has not attracted much attention of researchers in India, some research on this aspect has already been conducted in other countries. For example, in United States students transfer takes place on a massive scale and this has been a common concern of many researchers (Rumberger *et al*, 1999; Rumberger, *et al*, 1979) for many years. Rumberger and others (1999) have focused on the mobility of students that has been caused by reasons other than promotion (P-VI) and examined mobility from school perspective which was often detrimental to achievement of students. Rumberger's study showed that students tend to suffer psychologically, socially and academically from mobility. These students often experience difficulty in making new friends and fitting in socially to a new school situation. Mobility not only impacts students who change schools, it impacts classrooms and schools. Major reasons for mobility of students as per his study were change in residence;

to escape bad situations rather than to actively seek a better situation; schools forcing students to leave school for social and academic reasons like poor performance, indiscipline etc. Quality and resources in schools and its capacity to engage students effectively also impact students' mobility. It has also been found that mobility increases the risk of dropping out. Rumberger *et al* (1999) have also suggested series of activities including daily follow- up by parents, regular monitoring by the district authority to ensure education of students who get transferred, maintenance of records of transferred students, and provision of funds to schools for establishing programmes that improve the integration of new students.

Similarly, a report of 1994 by United States General Accounting office also has pointed out, "Elementary School Children who move frequently face disruption to their lives, including their schooling." Another study has raised concern for high drop out rates that prevail among children who experience transfers (GAO, 1994, 8). It becomes quite difficult for these children to adjust with the new environment, teaching methods and curriculum that vary from one school to another. As a result of all these, "they may have difficulty in catching up all subjects by the end of the school year", the study points out (GAO, 1994, 2). A few more studies (Cillespie, *et.al*.1999; Alexander *et. al*. 1996) have also discussed about the Socio-economic background of migrant students.

Drawaing reference from an empirical study, the linkage of Migration, school transfer and schooling of children has been explained in following section. The study has been conducted in 36 villages selected from three clusters of three different districts. While 11 villages were selected from Rajnandgaon district of Chattisgarh state, 11 villages from Rewa and 14 villages from Dindori Districts were selected from State of Madhya Pradesh. Each of these three clusters formed a contiguous geographical unit and roughly represent three different positions on a continuum of development. The top cluster, Rajnandgaon is a developed rural area; the middle cluster, Rewa is located in a less developed rural area and the bottom cluster, Dindori is a highly underdeveloped rural cluster, inhabited predominantly by tribal (*Baigas*) population. Community and school survey was conducted in 2008, 2009 and 2010 in all these 36 villages as well as in 88 schools located in

these villages for collecting data.

The analysis of data has revealed that the quality of education has not reached a desirable level and inequality exists in terms of access at large, even after the implementation of many incentive schemes like the Mid Day meal, Free School Text book, Uniform and Scholarships. There exists considerable inequality in provisioning of schools. Although barring a few, all villages have primary schools but only a few have upper primary schools and even fewer have secondary schools. Location disadvantage is a crucial aspect particularly in the tribal cluster and distance to schools from home is a serious issue for non-attendance and low transition to upper primary.

It has also been found that despite high investment, many schools suffer with poor physical and academic facilities and provisioning of adequate number of qualified and trained teachers continues to be a major issue. Some of the schools have very low Teacher Pupil Ratio and some have very high Teacher Pupil Ratio. Some schools have 1: 83 while some have less than 20 students per teacher. This uneven distribution has an impact on the teaching and learning process (Govinda and Bandyopadhyay, 2010, 2011b; Bandyopadhyay, Umavati and Zeitlyn, 2011). School attendance is a critical factor for performance. Earlier studies have shown that higher attendance was related to higher achievement for students of all backgrounds (Epstein and Sheldon, 2002) and students absenteeism has long term academic and social effects. The data also indicate that absent students are at higher risk of poor performance and repetition than the children who attend school regularly (Bandyopadhyay and Das, 2011). It has also been observed that dropouts continued in almost all 88 schools in all the three areas in the successive years of 2009 and 2010 as well. However, many teachers and SMC members were found unaware and indifferent about the problem of absenteeism, low learning level and dropout of children from these schools (Bandyopadhyay and Dey, 2011).

Despite improvement in access and enrolment, substantial number of children in these 36 villages remained never enrolled and many others left school early, even before completing primary education. Several children were reported to be transferred from

one school to another which might have impacted their education, Several children were also reported as migrants or experienced migration in different ways. Some accompanied with their parents who migrated out of the village and some others were left behind with relatives and guardians. In this context, it is necessary to find out the educational background of the children who got transferred from schools or migrated out to understand their future prospects in education.

The data obtained from households in 2008 have revealed that there are altogether as many as 117 children between three to 15 years old migrated out of the villages under study along with their parents. Most of these children, as highlighted in Table 1 migrated for more than six months. Majority of them migrated from the villages located in Rewa which were covered by this study. In addition, seven children in Rajnandgaon and 15 children in Rewa stayed back with their relatives and guardians i.e. other than parents while their parents reportedly migrated out of the village.

**Table 1: Number and proportion of migrant children**

Period of migration	Rajnandgaon		Rewa		Dindori	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 3 months	0	0	0	0	1	25
3 to 6 months	6	22.3	0	0	1	25
More than 6 months	12	66.7	95	100	2	50
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source:** Household data, 2008

Although many research studies on migrant children argue that these children often get engaged in economic activities, most of these migration affected children in sample were not engaged in any economic activity. The information regarding main activities of the children who were engaged was available for only 70 migrant children. Out of these children, only 13 were found helping their parents in household work and six were engaged in farming or other economic activities. The remaining (51) reported that they were not engaged in any work. However, three out of 18 working children could not attend school. Thus, data indicate that impact of migration on schooling of children in our study area was not as drastic as it was found in many other areas

affected by migration. Data on educational status was available for 59 out of 117 migrant children. More than half of these children were studying in primary grades (Grade I-V). Highest proportion of children were of eight years old and they were enrolled in Grade II-III. The data suggest that in general, most of these migrant children were enrolled in schools and like other children, their parents too were investing on their education i.e for purchasing books, reading writing materials, school fees, private tuition and so on.

Majority of the children (225 or 44%) who got transfer certificates in 2009 were in grade V followed by 93 (18%) children enrolled in grade VIII. As many as 84 children enrolled in Grade IV also took transfer certificates from their schools in 2009. It is noteworthy that around three-fourth of the children (376) who took TC were from primary grades. Age in grade analysis of 'Transferred' students reveals that 140 (27%) out of 514 children were already over aged as per their respective grades in which they were enrolled in 2008.

The academic background of the students before they got transferred and migrated will help to understand the extent of their potential risk of being excluded despite changing schools. One can assume that children with poor academic performance and low learning levels might have high risk of exclusion even after their migration or school transfer. The evidence of academic performance of these children can be seen with respect to the result of competency scores of Hindi (language) and Mathematics conducted for Grade IV and Grade V in 2008. This test was conducted to examine the basic skill of children in language and Mathematics for research purpose. It is interesting to see that overall performance of most of the children who took TC was quite well. Around 20% children performed reasonably well (50-70%) in both the subjects. However, children's performance in Mathematics was much better than Hindi. While 25% of the children scored more than 90% in Mathematics, their proportion became only 12% in Hindi. It is noteworthy that around 32% of these children learnt very little despite spending 4-5 years in these schools. More support is needed for these children after getting transferred and re-admission at the higher level.

**Teachers' and head teachers' opinion about the migration and transfer phenomena**

Since it is the teachers and Head teachers who need to provide support to those students who move out of their schools and enter another school, their opinion seems to be very important for taking further initiatives to address this issue of school transfer. It is also applicable to those who migrate to a new place. As many as 256 teachers were interviewed during the school survey and around 21% of the teachers in Rajnandgaon, 16% in Rewa and 13% in Dindori pointed out that these students who migrate out and get transferred to other school tend to face difficulty in catching up with the syllabus and thereby their studies get affected. While 6% of the teachers in Rajnandgaon, 2% in Rewa and 21% in Dindori insisted that these students face difficulty in social adjustment, a very large proportion of the teachers (64% in Rajnandgaon, 54% in Rewa and 47% in Dindori) were of the opinion that the students generally adjust well in the new environment. Around 8% of the teachers in Rajnandgaon, 15% in Rewa and 5% in Dindori reported that the transferred students did not face any problem in his/her classes.

Similarly, information was also provided by head teachers of schools with respect to transition and school transfers. Around 23% of the school Heads reported that they provided transfer certificates and marksheets to make the process of admission easier for the students. Around one-fifth of the school heads did not visualise any problem in transfer and transition while another one-fifth reported that parents need to be motivated to get the children admitted in other schools after taking transfer certificates. Maintaining records of transfer cases has been an important work but it has come to light that around 18% of head teachers did not maintain any records while 74% maintained their records. It was also found that while around 40% could not keep any records of transition cases after taking transfer, around 27% reported that they kept the records of transition. Majority of these Head teachers reported that generally these children who were transferred to other schools did not have any problem during post transfer period and in the opinion of another 14% head teachers, children gradually got adjusted with the school. Only four head teachers recognised the fact that some children might have faced some difficulties while adjusting with the new school environment and they deserve adequate attention.

## Conclusion

This section summarises the main conclusions of this paper and formulates a number of recommendations based on these conclusions. The above discussion has shown that migration is not a new phenomenon in India. From the above discussion it has already emerged that like migration, student mobility due to school transfer also has considerable impact on children's access to and participation in schools. It has already been discussed earlier that both, migration and school transfer can have positive impact on children if it increases the possibility of accessing education of better quality otherwise it can have a drastic impact not only on education but also the psycho-social development and socialisation process of children.

Education of these children is also associated with the availability of schooling facilities in the 'receiving' area and its quality of the service provided to these children. Although various Acts including child labour protection Act and Right to free and compulsory education Act have been introduced but implementation of these Acts by law enforcing agencies is very important to educate these children. Following RTE Act, SSA guidelines has already been changed, but the initiatives are yet to be taken in those areas which are prone to high incidences of outmigration. Inter-sector collaboration of different Government departments, private-public partnership and collaboration with NGOs and local government are required for developing a plan in advance for these children. Authentic estimation of the number of migrants, their children and schooling status of these children, duration of migration, the way they live and specific problems they face due to migration are all to be taken into consideration. Malnutrition and mental depression are common problems for many of these migrant children and schools are required to handle these children with extra care.

The teacher-student relationship is a central concern for overall improvement of quality of education. It has to be remembered that many of these migrant as well as transferred students live in difficult circumstances and are first generation learners. Strengthening the support function of schools with large numbers of migrant students or newly transferred students may

require additional financial resources. These schools may require additional classrooms and teachers and teaching learning materials for maintaining quality.

The data of empirical study show that, many villages in the study area are devoid of educational facilities after primary level leading to school transfer of several children. Efforts should also be made to develop integrated schools so that children can continue their education in the same school from the beginning. Upgradation of primary schools in a planned manner may facilitate these children to continue their education. In addition, transport facilities and escorts can also be alternative arrangements for these children. Making parents and SMCs aware about these children need to be taken more seriously.

Identification of children migrated or potential migrants or those who require to be transferred from one school to another need to be taken care of at the school and local levels. The academic and social background of these children need to be shared with the new schools where they get enrolled after taking TC. Better coordination between administrative staff at the block and district levels and also with school teachers and heads can help these children. A Child tracking system needs to be developed and strengthened to understand outflow and influx of migrant children from/into the districts and States. In addition, follow-up mechanism is also needed to see the status of schooling, attendance and performance after getting TC from the school they were enrolled initially.

For migrant children residential schools are to be provided with all kinds of facilities. School mapping exercises and school development plans need to incorporate the problems of migrating and transferred children to prevent the dropout of these children. The context specific and child centred activities are to be part of local governance to translate the policies into action for making right realities for these children.

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