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## MIGRATION, GENDER DISPARITY AND CHILD WELL-BEING



**Monalisha Chakraborty and Subrata Mukherjee**

# MIGRATION, GENDER DISPARITY, AND CHILD WELL-BEING

Monalisha Chakraborty

PhD Student, Institute of Development Studies, Kolkata

[cmonalisa44@yahoo.com](mailto:cmonalisa44@yahoo.com)

Subrata Mukherjee

Associate Professor, Institute of Development Studies, Kolkata

[msubrata100@gmail.com](mailto:msubrata100@gmail.com)

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## **List of Abbreviations**

ARI Acute Respiratory Infection

CRC Convention on the Rights of the Child

FGD Focus Group Discussion

GIFT Gulati Institute of Finance and Taxation

IIA Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives

NSSO National Sample Survey Organisation/Office

SES Socio Economic Status

UNICEF United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization



## Executive Summary

Migration has a multi-faceted effect on individuals, families, societies, economies, and cultures, at both the place of origin and destination (Shen *et al.*, 2009). Migration may affect children's life positively or negatively through changes in family life, access to health care, and education. Moreover, in a patriarchal society like India, where females constantly face discriminatory behaviour in the areas of health care, nutrition intake, education, and other opportunities, it is important to study the effect of gender on health and treatment-seeking behaviour of the child based on the family's migration status within the household, an issue that receives relatively less attention.

The present study is a modest attempt to understand the relationship between parental out-migration and its effect on child health and education, and whether there exists a gender gap in such dimensions. The study was conducted in four districts of West Bengal, that is, Jalpaiguri, Birbhum, Murshidabad, and Nadia, comprising 19 villages (16 Primary Sampling Units or PSUs consisting of 987 households), of which 38.33 per cent were inter-state migrant households, 11.15 per cent were intra-state migrant households, and 50.52 per cent were non-migrant households.

The study found that a substantial proportion of children in rural West Bengal were living separately from either one or both parents due to parental internal out-migration. In the study, the number of Muslims was somewhat higher than that of others in the samples; even among migrants, most belong to the Muslim community. Among inter-state migrants, most had migrated to Kerala (36.6 per cent), followed by Maharashtra (31.5 per cent), and Karnataka (5.5 per cent). As regards their work profile, 60.6 per cent of the workers were engaged in construction works, followed by 15.0 per cent, who were working as drivers, while the rest were daily wage labourers. Most of the workers had migrated through contractors.

The study was conducted among 1635 children, comprising 779 (47.65 per cent) boys and 856 (52.35 per cent) girls. While 28.09 per cent of the children were found to be underweight, 10.04 per cent were overweight, and 24.39 per cent of the children were stunted. The migration of parents was found to have affected the nutritional status of the children, though the relation was not significant. The incidence of children being underweight was found to be higher, at 30.5 per cent, among the children of intra-state migrant households, whereas the corresponding figure was 28.2 per cent among girls. On the other hand, the incidence of children being overweight was found to be higher among the children of non-migrant household, at 10.4 per cent, and among boys, at 11.43 per cent.

Most of the children were found to be suffering from various ailments, including fever followed by cough and cold, diarrhoea, skin disease, and Acute Respiratory Infection (ARI), though both ARI and diarrhoea were seasonal. The study found that 96.1 per cent of the mothers of inter-state migrant households had reported taking their children for treatment-seeking after the onset of illness, which is higher than the figure of children belonging to intra-state migrants and non-migrant households.

Almost all the girls (100 per cent) belonging to the inter-state migrant and intra-state migrant households were currently attending school, while most of the drop-outs were boys belonging to inter-migrant households (1.9 per cent) and non-migrant households (1.8 per cent). One of the major reasons for this is that most of the boys aged more than 10 years engage themselves in work for pay in the village or migrate to other States for work. Moreover, as men migrate and the decision-making power in the household shifts into the hands of women, it is observed that the family resources are spent on the girl child's education and health, which is perceived as a path for reducing gender disparity. In Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur (Kerala), and Bengaluru (Karnataka), most of the workers were found to be engaged in construction works, at 56.45 per cent and 20.41 per cent, respectively, in the two States, followed by helpers and rag-pickers. Most of the workers had migrated through contractors, and the average ages of the migrant workers in Kerala and Bengaluru in Karnataka were 22 years and 24 years, respectively. The average monthly incomes of the workers ranged from Rs. 12,500 to Rs. 25,000, depending on the type of work. The average annual remittances sent by the respondents to their homes ranged from Rs. 80,000 to Rs. 1,80,000.

Most of the workers reported little chance of bringing their wives and children to the destination region, as living there was an expensive proposition, and they would face problems in finding dwellings to stay with their families. Some of the workers even reported not having any information about their children's health and education. While 38.18 per cent of the respondents reported that their wives and children were facing problems due to their absence from home, 34.41 per cent of the respondents reported that their absence was affecting their children's education. However, most of the respondents in Thiruvananthapuram, Thrissur, and Bengaluru reported that they were not able to go anywhere else or back home due to the absence of any working opportunities elsewhere and also because they were earning a high wage rate in the place of their migration.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

With the advent of rapid urbanisation worldwide, the bulk of the people, mostly in low- and middle-income countries tend to migrate to urban areas in search of employment and better livelihood (World Migration Report, 2018). India too has experienced an unprecedented level of migration since the 1980s (Lusome and Bhagat, 2006). Migration in for economic reasons has especially increased in India over time, and appears to drive the internal migration of men. According to the Census of India, 33 million people migrated for employment-related reasons in 2001, with the figure rising to 51 million in 2011, with over 80 per cent of them being male migrants (Census of India, 2001; 2011). The National Sample Survey Organisation/Office (NSSO) estimated that 32 million people had migrated primarily for employment-related reasons in 2007-08, of which 80 per cent were male. In 1992-93, 41.5 per cent of the urban male migrants cited economic reasons for migration, with the corresponding figures going up to 51.9 per cent in 1999-2000, and 55.7 per cent in 2007-08. Evidence from the 2011 Census suggests that the annual rate of growth of labour migrants nearly doubled, rising to 4.5 per cent per year between 2001 and 2011, from a corresponding figure of 2.4 per cent during the previous decade (Census of India, 2011).

Consequently, a substantial fraction of the children were experiencing parental migration during the course of their childhood, and had to either accompany their migrant parents or were left behind by one or both parents (Fellmeth *et al.*, 2018). However, in most cases, due to economic constraints or the transitory nature of their work at the destination, migrants were often forced to leave their children behind in their hometowns for long periods of time (Valtolina and Colombo, 2012). This situation galvanised rising concern about the potential costs and benefits of migration, particularly for the children who had been ‘left behind’.

Assessing the incidence of migration and its consequences is a strenuous exercise. Remittances, which constitute one of the best-explored outcomes of migration, play a vital role in fortifying recipient households against economic shocks and income vulnerability. Studies have found that despite the economic benefits emanating from the migration of labour, the absence of parents in the household may directly lead to decreased care, stimulation, and supervision of children. Moreover, there is no clarity on the extent to which such migrations can replace the contributions that a migrant can make to the household if s/he were physically present at home. There is abundant evidence in literature to show that children may suffer in different ways from the disruption caused to their family life, and to access to health care and education during the process of migration (Meng and Yamauchi, 2015; Pescaru, 2015). However, studies have also

found that left-behind children have better health than the children of non-migrant households, which may be ascribed to the use of remittances for children's education and health needs (Kuhn, 2003; Bryant, 2005). Recently, there has been some consensus that remittances allow credit-constrained households to reduce child labour and spend more on education and other investment goods for the upbringing of children (Yang, 2008). Nevertheless, migration can also have a negative effect on children's educational outcomes and well-being since the prolonged absence of a close family member may disrupt child development and education. As family composition and roles change, children may themselves be required to take on more child-rearing and household responsibilities and play a part in supporting the household (Hanson and Woodruff, 2003). Some research has thrown up evidence of the negative consequences of parental out-migration on the physical (Shen *et al.*, 2009) and psychological health of the children left behind (Gao *et al.*, 2010). Furthermore, the children of migrants face significant stress, lose adult role models, and suffer parental absence at an early age, which could irreversibly damage the child–parent bond. It is difficult to disentangle the two effects described above because of the considerable challenges involved in separating them due to the increase in income resulting from migration, on the one hand, and the parental absence caused by this migration, on the other hand (Yang, 2008).

### **1.1. Parental Out-migration and Gender Disparity among Children Left Behind**

Literature shows that migration does have some adverse effects and the final picture is rather ambiguous (Ping and Pieke, 2003). In addition, there may be significant gender differences in outcomes for children of migrant households depending on the context (Kabeer, 2000). In South Asian countries and India, societies with strong patriarchal norms and a high degree of son preference and gender discrimination are pervasive. Moreover, in these communities, daughter's education is viewed as a waste financially because the expected returns from educating daughters do not exceed the costs, and investing in female education becomes unattractive to parents. In addition, gender differentials in nutritional status are reported during infancy, with discriminatory breastfeeding and supplementation practices. There are reports that infant girls are breastfed less frequently, for shorter durations, and over shorter periods than boys (Das Gupta, 1987).

Gender disparities have also been reported in the provision of health care, nutrition, education, and resource allocation among both adults and children, mostly in the northern and western states of India. However, studies indicate that the migration of family members and remittances

generated through migration are important factors affecting girls' educational outcomes (Antman, 2012; Giannelli and Mangiavacchi, 2010; McKenzie and Rapoport, 2011). Migration and associated remittances may have positive effects on girls' education, since remittances from migrant workers lighten the household budget restraints and additional resources may be invested in girls' schooling (Hanson and Woodruff, 2003). Moreover, migration-induced changes in the head of household (for example, from male to female) may lead to a shift in expenditure preferences, with a higher spending on girls' education (Antman, 2012). On the other hand, the absence of family members may lead to curtailment in the supervision of children, with more work being assigned at home to children staying behind (Giannelli and Mangiavacchi, 2010). Typically, girls have to take over domestic chores and the burden of caring for other family members, especially younger siblings, which may negatively affect their school attendance (McKenzie and Rapoport, 2011). While a considerable number of empirical studies have uncovered the significant effects of migration and remittances on female education (Antman, 2012; Giannelli and Mangiavacchi, 2010; McKenzie and Rapoport, 2011), the exact channels through which migration and remittances influence the schooling of girls remain under-explored (Antman, 2012).

Relatively little research has assessed the potential trade-offs between increased material resources and the less-easily quantified consequences of parental absence such as the availability of child supervision (Kandel and Kao, 2001), especially for India. In this context, this study tries to assess if the gender of the child determines the relationship between the status of parental migration and its effect on the health and education, and expenditure incurred on health care of the accompanying, left-behind, and non-migrant children. Furthermore, the study considers the types of migration of parents, including mother's migration with specific causes. The study provides empirical evidence on the effect of parental out-migration on reduction in gender inequality among children. Furthermore, the study attempts to examine if male out-migration strengthens female decision-making power in the household, and if it influences girl child's health and education. The study takes West Bengal as the study area and includes other States to focus on both inter-State and intra-State migration. The study focuses on the entire population with special reference to children.

## **1.2. Objectives**

The objectives of the study are to:

- Assess the relationship between parental migration status and its effect on the health status of children;

- Determine if there exists a gender gap in health and education among children based on parental migration status;
- Analyse if the child's gender influences the household decision for health care, choice of health care providers, and health expenditure based on parental migration status;
- Explore if there is any gender difference in the choice of the educational institution and educational expenditure among migrants and non-migrants; and
- Identify any possible corresponding shifts in decision-making power in the household as a result of male out-migration.

### **1.3. Significance of the Study**

The parental migration status is an important aspect for determining the welfare of children. The migration of the father and mother differently affects the health and education of both children who accompany the migrant parents and those who are left behind. Furthermore, the well-being of children depends on whether they are being accompanied by their mother or not. Nonetheless, though most of the studies highlight the importance of the family structure for child health and education, they fail to explain the different types of migration undertaken by their parents which could affect the health and education of the children left behind. While focusing on gender discrimination and child health care, many researchers have found that boys receive more preferential treatment as compared to girls when a household undergoes tight resource constraints. In his study, Borooah (2004) found that girl children faced biases in getting proper nutrition and full immunisation resulting in a high degree of female mortality and decline in sex ratios. Anderson and Ray (2009; 2012) have shown that poor treatment and care of female children at home are the leading causes of excess risks faced by girls as compared to boys during each stage of their lives. These issues call for more detailed investigation and analysis of the incidence of parental migration and its relation to gender disparity in child well-being, and how migration types affects gender disparity, in general, allowing women to access a state of increased autonomy and empowerment. Moreover, in a patriarchal society like that of India, where females face persistently discriminatory behaviour in terms of health care, nutrition intake, education, and access to other opportunities, it is important to study the effect of gender on health and treatment-seeking behaviour of the child within the household, an issue that has received relatively little attention.

## **1.4. Methods**

### ***1.4.1. Existing Definitions of Migration***

Migration is a multifarious phenomenon, which involves a sustained or permanent sojourn at the place of residence (that is, civil divisions) where the migrant was not born, but has acquired some significant social ties to this new place of residence. The UN Convention on the Rights of Migrants defines a migrant worker as “a person who is to be engaged, is engaged, or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State which he or she does not belong to” (UNESCO, 2017). In the Indian Census, where administrative or political units are taken, migration is defined as the change of residence from one civil division to another, and the volume of migration to a considerable degree is a function of the size of the areas chosen for compilation (Census of India, 2001). The NSSO (64<sup>th</sup> Round) has considered migrants as those who have changed their usual place of residence from one State to another (NSSO, 2007). The United Nations made a distinction between short-term or temporary migration, covering movements with duration ranging between 3 and 12 months, and long-term or permanent migration, referring to a change of country of residence for the duration of one year or more (UNESCO, 2017).

### ***1.4.2. Our Operational Definition***

The present study considers migrants as those individuals who have stayed outside their home district (usual place of residence) for at least three months in the last one year for earning a livelihood. Our operational definition excludes all short-term migration of less than three months and all migrations which did not occur due to income-earning activities. We further divide migration into two types: (1) intra-State migration (that is, migrating from the home district to another district but within the State); and (2) inter-State migration (that is, migrating from the home district to a place outside the State).

### ***1.4.3. Defining Well-being***

The concept of child well-being varies, resting on the specific needs and vulnerabilities that children face (White *et al.* 2003; Waddington 2004). The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) pledges a rights-based framework for approaching well-being wherein children are envisioned as right-holders, though they depend on families, communities, and societies to attain the minimum standards of wellness (UNICEF, 2008). Child well-being can be understood as the realisation of children’s rights and the fulfilment of opportunities for a child to reach his/her potential (Bradshaw *et al.* 2007). Based on reviewed literature, the following

definition of child well-being is considered in this study: “child well-being is a multidimensional state of personal being comprised of both self-assessed (subjective) and externally-assessed (objective) positive outcomes across six realms of rights and opportunity: education, physical health, housing conditions, protection, access to communication, and emotional health” (Bradshaw *et al.* 2007).

#### ***1.4.4. Study Area***

This study considers West Bengal as the source State of migration and includes other States to focus on both inter-State and intra-State migration. Initially, a primary survey was conducted in the Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur cities in Kerala, and Bengaluru in Karnataka, where there is a huge incidence of migration from West Bengal. After information was obtained on the source destination of the migrants, the districts of West Bengal from where the maximum labour migration takes place, have been taken as the study area. These include the Murshidabad, Birbhum, Jalpaiguri, and Nadia districts of West Bengal.

#### ***1.4.5. Why West Bengal?***

The flow of migration to West Bengal from different parts of the Indian continent is an old phenomenon, which can be traced back to the beginning of the nineteenth century when the process of urbanisation began in the areas of eastern India, following the example of Kolkata city. Hence, from the very beginning, there was a flow of migrants into the State of West Bengal from the other parts of the country. However, the scenario has changed a lot over the previous decade. Now, more and more people have migrated to other States, including the distant States. One of the main reasons for this phenomenon is the lack of employment opportunities in the home States. According to the Census of India (2011), West Bengal ranks fourth among the States from where people have migrated in search of work. Between 2001 and 2011, nearly 5.8 lakh people migrated from West Bengal (including from both rural and urban areas), next only to Uttar Pradesh (37.3 lakh), Bihar (22.6 lakh), and Rajasthan (6.6 lakh).

#### ***1.4.6. Constructing the Quasi-sampling Frame***

Sampling and Questionnaire: In the initial stage, in order to collect direct information from the inter-State migrant workers and to select the source place of migration from West Bengal, two survey pockets were selected where the maximum migration from West Bengal was taking place, that is, Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur in Kerala, and Bengaluru in Karnataka. A total of 111 migrants from West Bengal were interviewed in the destination region, including 62 in Kerala and 49 in Karnataka. The interviews were conducted at construction sites, junctions of the main roads, in companies, and at places of residence of the labourers.



**Table 1: Survey in the Destination States: Kerala and Karnataka (n=111)**

State	Cities	Samples
Kerala (n=62)	Thiruvananthapuram	56
	Thrissur	6
Karnataka (n=49)	Bengaluru	49

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Based on the analysis of basic information, especially the source address, scouting was done to select the primary sampling units (PSUs), and villages were identified (from where the incidence of both inter-State and intra-State migration was the maximum), irrespective of the religion and caste of the interviewees, where the detailed survey was conducted. A total of 19 villages (in 16 PSUs) were identified in West Bengal. In each survey village, house listing was done by the village Panchayat members based on the voter list and in case of a shortfall in the respondents, the rest were compensated by snowballing. Only households having children aged 0 to 14 years were selected. The households were further stratified as follows:

1. Households with no migrant workers;
2. Households with only intra-State migrant workers; and
3. Households with only inter-State migrant workers.

A sample size of 60 households was allotted to each PSU, and attempts were made to interview 30 households with migrant workers and 30 households with non-migrant workers. Among the households with migrant workers, sample sizes of 15 each were allocated to strata (2) and (3). In case of a shortfall in the sample, the sample size was compensated from the adjacent stratum.

For conducting a quantitative survey, standardised structured questionnaires were prepared on household- and child-related issues, consisting of both open-ended and close-ended questions. The questionnaires were first prepared in English and then translated into the local language. The questionnaires were pre-tested at sites other than the study sites, that is, in Bira, and North Twenty Four Parganas (where a pilot survey was held), and were then finalised and administered among the study participants.

**Table 2: Survey in the Source State: West Bengal (n=987)**

Districts	Blocks	Gram Pan-chayat	Villages	Samples
Jalpaiguri (n=244)	Dhupguri	Gadong I	Kajipara	64 (NM-32, M-S-15, M-OS-17)
			Bhotpara	60 (NM-32, M-S-15, M-OS-15)
			Purba Dangapara	60 (NM-30, M-S-10, M-OS-20)
			Kholaigram	60 (NM-30, M-S-8, M-OS-22)
Birbhum (n=253)	Murarai	Paikar I	Kutubpur	72 (NM-37, M-S-14, M-OS-21)
	Rampurhat II	Margram II	Margram	60 (NM-30, M-S-9, M-OS-21)
		Budhigram	Budhigram	62 (NM-30, M-S-7, M-OS-23)
		Imamnagar		40 (NM-32, M-S-15, M-OS-17)
		Dhalla		20 (NM-10, M-S-1, M-OS-9)
Murshidabad (n=240)	Hariharpara	Hariharpara	Dasturpara	60 (NM-32, M-S-15, M-OS-17)
			Gobargara	60 (NM-32, M-S-15, M-OS-17)
	Behrampur	Bhakuri II	Gajdharpara	60 (NM-32, M-S-15, M-OS-17)
	MJ	Kapasdanga	Sashidharpur	60 (NM-32, M-S-15, M-OS-17)
Nadia (n=250)	Chakdaha	Silinda I	Natapuli	62 (NM-30, M-S-6, M-OS-26)
			Balarampur	65 (NM-30, M-S-13, M-OS-22)
			Chak Amdanga	57 (NM-30, M-S-4, M-OS-23)
			Poradanga	6 (NM-2, M-OS-3)
			Amdanga	30 (NM-15, M-S-2, M-OS-13)
	Karimpur II	Rahamatpur	Rahamatpur	30 (NM-15, M-OS-15)

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Note: NM=Non-migrants; M-S= Intra-State migrants; M-OS= Inter-State migrants.

For anthropometric measurements, that is, for measuring height, weight, and the head and chest circumference of the children, a weight measuring machine, a stature meter and a height measuring tape were used.

Following are the statistics for the survey conducted in West Bengal:

Number of villages: 19

Number of households: 987

Number of women: 978

Number of children (0 to 14 years): 1635

In order to complement the quantitative data, and to answer the questions that could not be captured by using quantitative data, a qualitative survey, comprising eight Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and numerous In-depth Interviews (IDIs) were held in four districts of West Bengal, and three FGDs and five IDIs were conducted in Kerala and Karnataka. All the FGDs and IDIs were recorded and transcribed verbatim. The survey took place between January-September 2019. All original names have been changed in the analysis and presentation of qualitative information.

### **1.5. Potential Challenges and Alternative Strategies**

After the entire survey was conducted, if some information was found to be missing, the telephone numbers of each of the households and each of the migrants at the source and destination places were taken so that further clarifications could be sought through telephonic interviews.

**Photo 1: Children, during a Household Survey in Bhotpara, Jalpaiguri, West Bengal**



## 2. PARENTAL OUT-MIGRATION FROM WEST BENGAL AND CHILD WELL-BEING

Despite the importance of the effect of parental migration on child well-being and gender disparity among children, the effect of migration and remittances upon the children left behind to portray the situations of children of internal migrants is still notably under-studied.

The main focus of this section is to assess if parental out-migration has any effect on the health and education of children left behind, and if there exists any gender disparity in such changes.

### 2.1. Sample Characteristics

The proportion of girls was found to be somewhat higher in the sample (52 per cent) than that of boys (47.6 per cent). While 42.2 per cent of the children of the sampled households belonged to the age group of 0 to 5 years, 36.1 per cent belonged to the age group of 6 to 10 years, and 21.6 per cent belonged to the age group of 11 to 14 years. Most of the respondents in the samples belonged to the Muslim community (67.5 per cent), and the General/Other Castes (56.2 per cent each) (Table 3).

**Table 3: Sample Characteristics of Children**

#### Aged 0 to 14 Years

Sample Characteristics	Percentage
<i>Age (Years)</i>	
0-5	42.2 (690)
6-10	36.1 (591)
11-14	21.6 (54)
<i>Sex</i>	
Male	47.6 (779)
Female	52.3 (856)
<i>Religion</i>	
Hindu	32.3 (529)
Muslim	67.6 (1105)
Christian	0.06 (1)
<i>Caste</i>	
ST	3.4 (56)
SC	20.8 (340)
OBC	19.5 (320)
General/Others	56.2 (919)

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

The proportion of Muslims was found to be higher in the samples, with 64.9 per cent of the households belonging to Muslims. Moreover, most of the sampled households, accounting for both inter-State migrant and intra-State migrant households, at 67.7 per cent and 67.2 per cent, respectively, belonged to Muslims. In the study, most of the villages wherein both inter-State and intra-State migrant households were found were Muslim majority villages (Table 4), and this association is significant. This is because the villages with the maximum number of migrants were selected for the study. In this case, the number of migrants from a Muslim majority village were found to be more than those of villages with a Hindu majority population, where the number of migrant households were found more in scattered form and less in numbers. The study found that the neighbourhood effect was greater for Muslim households. The NSSO 64<sup>th</sup> Round (2007-08) survey on migration found that among out-migrants from West Bengal, 43.2 per cent were Muslims and 53.2 per cent were Hindus.

**Table 4: Migration Status of the Household by Religion**

<b>Household Status</b>	<b>Hindu</b>	<b>Muslim</b>	<b>Christian</b>	<b>Chi sq.</b>
Inter-State migrant	32.2	67.7	0.0	11.5**
Intra-State migrant	31.8	67.2	0.9	
Non-migrant	37.8	62.1	0.0	
Total	34.9	64.9	0.1	

*Source:* Primary survey, 2019.

*Note:* SC=Scheduled Caste, ST=Scheduled Tribe, OBC=Other Backward Caste.

\*, \*\*, \*\*\*- Significant at the 10, 5, and 1 per cent level.

The study found that a majority of the sample households, at 54.8 per cent, belonged to the General Caste/Others category. Moreover, a majority of the samples of the inter-State, intra-State, and non-migrant households belonged to the General Caste/Others category, at 56.6 per cent, 52.6 per cent, and 53.6 per cent, respectively. The reason for this may be that during the field survey, it was found that most of the households, particularly those belonging to Muslims, were not aware of the facility of receiving caste certificates, as most of the sample households belonged to Muslims (Table 5).

**Table 5: Migration Status of the Household by Caste**

<b>Household Status</b>	<b>STs</b>	<b>SCs</b>	<b>OBCs</b>	<b>General/ Others</b>	<b>Chi sq.</b>
Inter-State migrant	4.0	21.3	18.0	56.6	13.6*
Intra-State migrant	1.8	18.1	26.3	52.6	
Non-migrant	3.7	23.6	19.0	53.6	
Total	3.6	22.1	19.4	54.8	

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Note: SC=Scheduled Caste, ST=Scheduled Tribe, OBC=Other Backward Caste.

\*, \*\*, \*\*\*- Significant at the 10, 5, and 1 per cent levels.

## 2.2. Household Characteristics

Table 6 depicts the housing characteristics of the sample households. The table shows that most of the sampled households (57.5 per cent) lived in *kachcha* houses, and most of the inter-State migrant households (26.7 per cent) lived in *pucca* houses. Most of the households, at 56.4 per cent, sourced drinking water from hand pumps, followed by 33.7 per cent from piped water. While 64.7 per cent of the households were cooking in the living area, the proportion of such households was the highest, at 72.7 per cent, among intra-State migrant households, and 14.6 per cent of the households had a separate area for kitchens. The corresponding figures for households with separate kitchens were 16.5 per cent among non-migrant households, 13.2 per cent among inter-State migrant households, and 11.8 per cent among intra-State migrant households. While overall 20.4 per cent of the households were found to be cooking in open areas, the figure was the highest, at 21.8 per cent, among inter-State migrant households. In addition, 14 per cent of the sample households did not have access to any sanitation facility, of which 15.3 per cent were non-migrant households and 14.7 per cent were inter-State migrant households. Further, 59.8 per cent of the households had access only to service latrines, with the figure being the highest among non-migrants, at 62.9 per cent. It was also found that 29.8 per cent of the households used pit latrines, of which 36.3 per cent were intra-State migrants, 32.9 per cent were inter-State migrants, and only 25.8 per cent were non-migrant households. Only 2.4 per cent of the households were found to be using connected pour flush latrines. Most of the households, at 70.3 per cent, were using firewood for cooking, with the largest number of such households, at 77.2 per cent, being intra-State migrant households. About 16.4 per cent of the households were using gas for cooking, with the highest number among them, at 18 per

cent, being inter-State migrants. During the survey, it was found that almost all the households were receiving gas through the Ujjwala Yojana. While 67.6 per cent of the households were found to be dumping garbage behind their homes, 18.44 per cent were doing so in the nearest fields and 12.7 per cent were using the nearest dumping site. Only 0.4 per cent of the households were dumping the garbage in a hole beside their homes.

**Table 6: Household Characteristics by Migration Status (%)**

<b>Household Characteristics</b>	<b>Inter-State Migrants</b>	<b>Intra-State Migrants</b>	<b>Non-migrants</b>	<b>Total</b>
<i>House Type</i>				
<i>Pucca</i>	26.7	12.3	24.6	24.6
<i>Semi-pucca</i>	16.5	22.7	18.0	17.9
<i>Kachcha</i>	56.9	60.0	57.4	57.5
<i>Main Source of Drinking Water</i>				
Piped	32.9	38.1	33.3	33.7
Tube well	4.0	3.6	5.3	4.6
Hand pump	57.6	47.2	57.5	56.4
Open well	1.5	4.5	0.4	1.3
Covered well	2.0	5.4	0.8	1.8
Tanker truck	0.2	0.0	1.0	0.6
Bottled	0.7	0.9	1.4	1.1
Others	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.3
<i>Place of Cooking</i>				
Open	21.8	15.4	20.5	20.4
Separate room for kitchen	13.2	11.8	16.5	14.6
Cooking in the living area	64.7	72.7	62.9	64.7
No answer	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1
<i>Sanitation Facility</i>				
Open	14.7	6.3	15.3	14.0
Community	5.3	11.8	5.1	5.9
Shared toilet	14.4	14.5	18.2	16.3

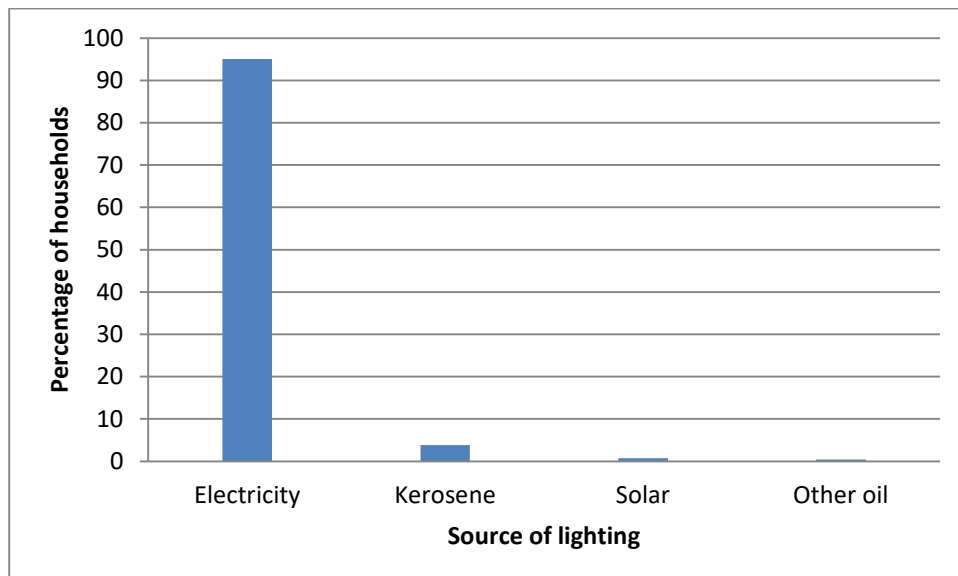
Private toilet	65.2	67.2	61.0	63.4
No answer	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.2
<b><i>Type of Sanitation Facility</i></b>				
Pit latrine	32.9	36.3	25.8	29.8
Service latrine	56.0	60.0	62.9	59.8
Connected pour flush latrine	2.2	1.8	2.6	2.4
No answer	8.6	1.8	8.4	7.8
<b><i>Primary Cooking Fuel Used</i></b>				
Firewood	68.2	77.2	70.3	70.3
Cow-dung cakes	7.1	1.8	6.7	6.7
Coal	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3
Kerosene	0.2	0.9	0.2	0.2
Gas	18.0	15.4	16.4	16.4
Straw	1.0	0.0	0.9	0.9
Others	4.8	4.5	4.8	4.8
No answer	0.5	0.0	0.2	0.2
<b><i>Place of Dumping Garbage</i></b>				
Outside/behind the house	66.5	71.8	67.7	67.6
Nearby field	20.0	10.9	18.8	18.4
Nearest dumping site	12.4	16.3	12.2	12.7
In a hole dug beside the house	0.2	0.9	0.4	0.4
Others	0.2	0.0	0.8	0.5
No answer/ missing values	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.2

Source: Primary survey, 2019.



Almost all the households had electricity (95.0 per cent) as the main source of lighting, but 3.8 per cent of the households were found to be using kerosene oil lamps (Figure 1) (see Table AI.1, Appendix I).

**Figure 1: Main Source of Lighting in the Household**



*Source:* Primary survey, 2019.

### 2.3. Migrant Details

Delhi and its suburbs, and Maharashtra were the top destinations for migrants from Uttar Pradesh, while it was Jharkhand for migrants from Bihar, and Gujarat for those from Rajasthan. The 2011 Census migration data shows that while about 5.63 crore people lived in States other than those of their birth, people tend to migrate to States that share borders with their home States. However, the story of West Bengal was found to be somewhat different. The pattern of out-migration seems to be interesting as most of the people migrate to distant States.

In the study, 470 sampled households were found to belong to inter-State migrants and 116 to intra-State migrants. Among the inter-State migrants, the highest proportion, that is, 36.6 per cent had migrated to Kerala, including mostly the cities of Thiruvananthapuram, Kochi, and Ernakulum, for work, followed by 31.5 per cent who had migrated to Maharashtra, that is, mostly Mumbai and Pune, as per the field survey. Further, 8.3 per cent had migrated to Tamil Nadu and 5.5 per cent to Karnataka, specifically the city of Bengaluru. Among the intra-State migrants, the maximum, at 52.5 per cent, had migrated to Kolkata, and 28.3 per cent had migrated to Alipurduar. In the field survey, it was found that the migrants from Jalpaiguri were mostly working as construction labourers in Alipurduar, as it was closer to their home place.

The rest had migrated to places like Purba Bardhaman, Cooch Behar, and Darjeeling, among others (Table 7).

**Table 7: Place of Migration (Inter-State and Intra-State)**

Inter-State Migrants		Inter-district Migrants	
State	Migrants (%)	District	Migrants (%)
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	0.6	Darjeeling	2.5
Andhra Pradesh	0.6	Jalpaiguri	0.8
Bihar	2.7	Cooch Behar	2.5
Delhi	0.8	Uttar Dinajpur	0.8
Gujarat	1.2	Maldah	1.6
Hyderabad	0.4	Purba Bardhaman	3.3
Himachal Pradesh	0.4	Nadia	0.8
Jharkhand	1.4	Hooghly	0.8
Karnataka	5.5	Kolkata	52.5
Kerala	36.6	Purba Medinipur	1.6
Maharashtra	31.5	Alipurduar	28.3
Madhya Pradesh	0.4	Paschim Bardhaman	2.5
Odisha	2.9	Missing	1.6
Punjab	0.8		
Rajasthan	2.7		
Sikkim	1.0		
Tamil Nadu	8.3		
Uttar Pradesh	1.0		
Tripura	0.2		

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

### **2.3.1. Migration Characteristics**

Most of the respondents, at 92.3 per cent, were found to have migrated to urban areas for work. The proportion of migration to rural areas was low, at 6.1 per cent. Most of the migrants, at 60.6 per cent, were found to have engaged in construction work, followed by 15.0 per cent who were car drivers. Others were engaged in paper mills, cultivation, daily wage labour, and salaried employment. In addition, 68.7 per cent of the labourers had migrated through

contractors, 24.2 per cent were engaged in self-employment or had a job in hand, 6.2 per cent had no jobs, and 0.3 per cent had migrated through fellow villagers or neighbours. Most of the women, that is, 62.8 per cent, reported that their husbands were sending monthly remittances, Further, 23.9 per cent and 7.9 per cent of the women reported that their husbands were sending remittances once in three months, and six months, respectively, whereas 2.2 per cent reported that remittances were not sent to the household. As regards the recipient of the remittances, 76.0 per cent of the women reported that their husbands were sending the remittances to them, whereas 5.7 and 6.7 per cent of the women, reported that their husbands were sending the remittances to their husbands' fathers and mothers, respectively, 1.5 per cent were sending to their brothers, and 7.9 per cent to other family members (Table 8).

**Table 8: Migration Characteristics**

<b>Migrant Characteristics</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b><i>Place of Migration</i></b>	
Urban	92.3
Rural	6.1
No answer/missing	1.5
<b><i>Occupation</i></b>	
Cultivation	0.5
Agricultural wage labour	0.6
Petty shop/small business	3.4
Organised trade/business	0.5
Mining/Quarrying	0.3
Manufacturing	0.8
Construction worker	60.6
Domestic work	1.1
Salaried employment	4.7
Professional/scientific/technical	0.5
Housewife	0.6
Daily wage labourer	6.7
Driver	15.0

<i>Bidi-binding</i> <sup>1</sup>	0.6
Carpenter	1.0
Electrician	0.1
Plastic company	0.1
Stitching	0.1
Paper mill	0.1
Cook	0.6
<b><i>Migrated through</i></b>	
Contractor	68.7
With job/self-employed	24.2
Without job	6.2
Neighbour	0.3
No answer/missing value	0.3
<b><i>How Often Are Remittances Sent?</i></b>	
<1 month	1.7
Every month	62.8
Once in 3 months	23.9
Once in 6 months	7.9
Once in a year	0.3
Don't send	2.2
No answer/missing values	1.0
<b><i>Remittances Sent to Whom?</i></b>	
Father	5.7
Mother	6.7
Wife	76.0
Brother	1.5
Self	0.5

---

<sup>1</sup> A thin cigarette or mini-cigar filled with tobacco flake and commonly wrapped in a *Tendu* (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) or *Piliostigma racemosum* leaf tied with a string or adhesive at one end. It originates from the Indian subcontinent.

No answer/missing value	1.3
Others	7.9

Source: Primary survey, 2019

## 2.4. Parental Migration and Its Effect on Child Health

### 2.4.1. Immunisation Coverage of Children (Aged 0 to 5 Years)

India has made considerable progress in reducing under-five mortality rates, which have fallen by 38 per cent in the past two decades (Nath *et al.*, 2007). Literature has shown that immunisation is a cost-effective mediation for vaccine-preventable diseases (UNIGME, 2015). In spite of the implementation of the universal immunisation programme in India, discrepancy persists across gender and different communities (Desa, 2011). Various studies on migrants have found that the effectiveness of immunisation coverage is one of the main determinants of health status among children in both rural and urban areas (Desa, 2011).

In the study, immunisation coverage was found to be somewhat lower, at 89.3 per cent, among the children of intra-State migrant households, and was the lowest, at 87.8 per cent, among girls. Immunisation coverage among children aged 0 to 5 years was found to be higher, at 94.3 per cent, among the children belonging to non-migrant households as compared to 91.8 per cent for children belonging to inter-State households, and 89.3 per cent to intra-State migrant households. However, the association was not found to be significant (Table 9).

**Table 9: Immunisation Coverage of Children by Sex and Parental Migration Status (%)**

Parental Migration Status	Sex	Yes	No	No answer	Chi sq.
Inter-State migrant	Male	92.5	7.4	0.0	1.1
	Female	91.1	8.0	0.8	
		91.8	7.7	0.3	
Intra-state migrant	Male	91.1	8.8	0.0	0.9
	Female	87.8	9.7	2.4	
		89.3	9.3	1.3	
Non-migrant	Male	94.3	5.0	0.6	4.0

	Female	94.3	2.5	3.1	
		94.3	3.8	1.9	

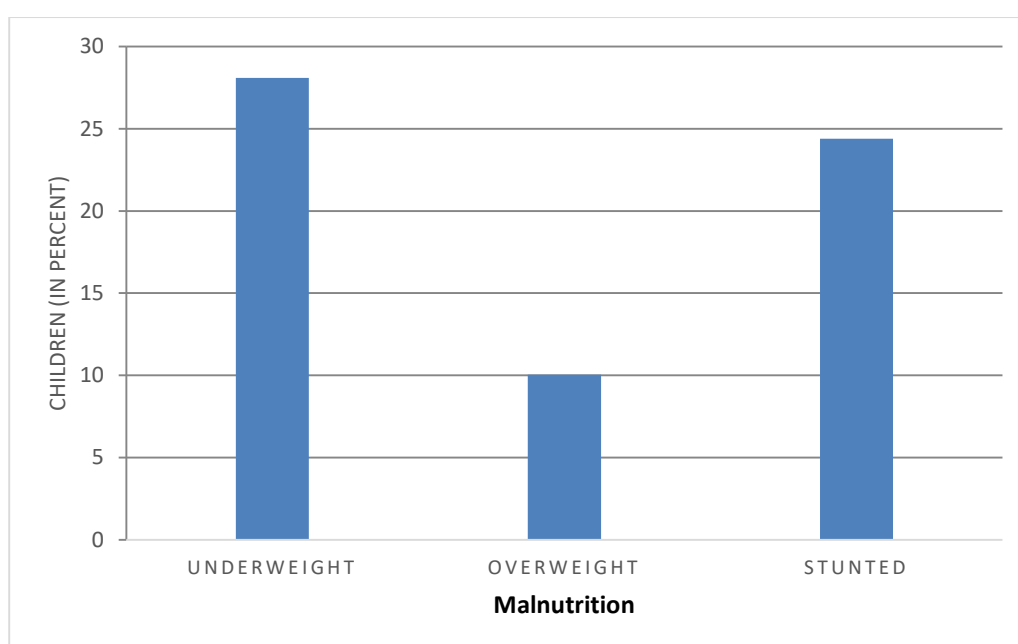
Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Note: \*, \*\*, \*\*\*- Significant at the 10, 5, and 1 per cent levels.

#### 2.4.2. Nutritional Health of Children Based on Migration Status (Aged 0 to 14 Years)

In the study conducted among 1635 children belonging to four districts of West Bengal, 28.09 per cent were found to be under-weight, 10.04 per cent were found to be over-weight, and 24.39 per cent were found to be stunted (Figure 2) (see AI.2, Appendix I) .

**Figure 2: Nutritional Health Status of Children (0 to 14 Years)**



Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Moreover, the incidence of being underweight was found to be higher among children of intra-State migrant households, at 28.7 per cent, and among girls, at 28.2 per cent. The incidence of being over-weight was found to be higher among children belonging to non-migrant households, at 10.4 per cent. The proportion of girls was found to be more stunted, at 24.5 per cent than boys, at 24.3 per cent. The incidence of being under-weight was found to be higher among Muslim children, at 29.5 per cent, while the incidences of being over-weight, at 14.7 per cent, and of stunting, at 29.8 per cent, were found to be higher among children belonging to Hindus. The incidence of being underweight was found to be higher among children belonging to the General/Other Castes. The incidence of being underweight was found to be higher among children belonging to the General/Others category, at 28.96 per cent, whereas the incidence of stunting was found to be higher among children belonging to the ST category,

at 41.51 per cent. It may also be noted that 71.9 per cent of the Muslims among the sampled population belonged to the General/Others category (Table 10).

**Table 10: Nutritional Health Status of Children with Different Sample Characteristics**

<b>Sample Characteristics</b>	<b>Under-weight</b>	<b>Over-weight</b>	<b>Stunted</b>
<i>Parental Migration Status</i>			
Inter-State migrant	28.7	9.6	23.7
Intra-State migrant	30.5	9.7	28.8
Non-migrant	27.0	10.4	23.9
<i>Child Age Group (Years)</i>			
0 to 5	20.3	14.6	31.1
6 to 10	36.9	7.3	17.7
11 to 14	29.2	5.0	21.4
<i>Child Sex</i>			
Male	27.9	11.4	24.2
Female	28.2	8.7	24.4
<i>Religion</i>			
Hindu	25.3	14.7	29.8
Muslim	29.5	7.6	21.7
<i>Caste</i>			
STs	25	13.4	41.5
SCs	24.9	14.1	27.3
OBCs	28.8	7.9	26.9
General/Others	28.9	9.0	21.3

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Interestingly, even though the incidence of being under-weight was found to be higher among girls, after categorising the nutritional status by both parent migration status and child sex, it was found that the incidences of being both under-weight and over-weight were higher among the left-behind boys belonging to intra-State households, at 33.7 per cent and 11.8 per cent,

respectively, and non-migrant households, at 28.8 per cent and 11.1 per cent, respectively. The incidence of stunting was found to be higher among boys belonging to inter-State migrant households, at 26.7 per cent, and girls belonging to intra-State migrant households, at 35.5 per cent (Table 11).

**Table 11: Nutritional Health Status of Children  
by Parental Migration Status and Sex**

<b>Parental Migration Status</b>	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Under-weight</b>	<b>Over-weight</b>	<b>Stunted</b>
Inter-State migrant	Male	24.9	11.8	26.7
	Female	32.3	7.5	20.9
	Total	28.7	9.6	23.7
Intra-State migrant	Male	33.7	11.2	22.5
	Female	27.0	8.1	35.5
	Total	30.5	9.7	28.8
Non-migrant	Male	28.8	11.1	22.8
	Female	25.4	9.7	24.9
	Total	27.0	10.4	23.9

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

#### **2.4.3. Factors Affecting Nutritional Health Status of Children**

Malnutrition among children is often caused by the synergistic effects of inadequate or improper food intake, repeated episodes of infectious diseases, including diarrhoea and ARI, and improper care during illness (Scrimshaw and SanGiovanni, 1997). In the present study, a multinomial probit regression model has been used to analyse the factors affecting the nutritional status of children based on their parent migration status. Although the multinomial logit model is simpler, it makes an erroneous Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives (IIA) assumption. The multinomial probit model, on the other hand, relaxes the IIA assumption and allows the errors to be distributed by a multivariate normal distribution, in which each error has a mean of zero and is allowed to be correlated (Dow and Endersby, 2004). The marginal effects derived from the logit or probit regression model are virtually indistinguishable and provide a more useful interpretation of the relationships between the dependent and independent variables than a direct interpretation of the probit or logit regression coefficients or their exponential form (odds of logistic regression) (Bogard, 2016).



The models include a number of variables which would have considerable influence on child nutritional health status, delineated as follows: (a) Spatial and demographic factors: migration status (inter-State migrant, intra-State migrant, non-migrant); children in the age groups of 0-5, 6-10, 11-14 years; and child sex (male, female); (b) Socio-economic factors: *Religion* (Hindu, Muslim); Caste (ST, SC, OBC, General/Others); Mother's education (Illiterate, educated up to the primary, secondary, higher secondary, and above higher secondary levels); (c) Sanitation and hygiene: Sanitation facility (open, community toilet, shared toilet, private toilet; and type of sanitation facility (pit latrine, service latrine, and pour flush latrine).

In the study, children belonging to intra-State migrant households were found to be 32.5 per cent more likely to be under-weight than children belonging to inter-State migrant households. Moreover, children belonging to the inter-State migrant households and non-migrant households were respectively, 8.5 and 8.6 percentage points more likely to be stunted than children belonging to intra-State migrant households. However, the result is statistically insignificant. Children belonging to the age group of 6 to 10 years of age were 16 percentage points more likely to be under-weight and children in the age group of 11 to 14 years were 5.6 percentage points less likely to be over-weight than children aged 0 to 5 years. Moreover, children belonging to the age group of 11 to 14 years were 16 percentage points more likely to be stunted than children belonging to the age group of 0 to 5 years. While girls and boys were equally likely to be under-weight, interestingly, girls were found to be 27.2 per cent more likely to be under-weight than boys, though the result is statistically insignificant. Furthermore, the likelihood of being under-weight was found to be 27 per cent higher among children belonging to the General/Others category. Children of mothers who had acquired education up to the higher secondary level were 25.3 per cent less likely to be under-weight than children of illiterate mothers. Children of a large birth size were found to be 17.8 per cent less likely to be under-weight than children of a very small birth size. Children who were defecating in the open were 7.2 percentage points more likely to be under-weight and 2.5 percentage points less likely to be over-weight than children who were using private toilet facilities (Table 12).

**Table 12: Factors Affecting Nutritional Health Status among Children  
Aged 0 to 14 Years**

<b>Background Characteristics</b>	<b>Under-weight</b>	<b>Over-weight</b>	<b>Stunted</b>
<i>Parental Migration Status</i>			
Inter-State migrant	25.2	66.2	76.6
Intra-State migrant	32.5	55.4	68
Non-migrant	27.1	64.3	76.5
<i>Child Age Group (Years)</i>			
0 to 5	20.9	65.8	67.7
6 to 10	36.9*	57.2**	82.7***
11 to 14	23	71.4**	83.7**
<i>Child Sex</i>			
Male	26.5	63.3	75.8
Female	27.2	64.9	75.7
<i>Religion</i>			
Hindu	31.8	56.5	73.9
Muslim	24.7	67.5	76.6
<i>Caste</i>			
Caste	11.9	72.6	76.1
SC	26.1	66.9	73.7
OBC	29.8	61.2	73.9
General/others	27***	63.5	77.3
<i>Asset Index</i>			
Very low	24.9	68.9	74.1
Very low	26.1	67.5	73.6
Medium	31.8*	55.3**	78.9
High	25.2	65.4	77.6
Very high	26	63.4	75
<i>Baby's Size at Birth</i>			

Very small	24.8	59.5	67.2
Small	36	54.6	70
Medium	27.9	62.7	76.3
Large	17.8*	73.8	78.8
Very large	18.4	72.7	85.5
<b><i>Mother's Education</i></b>			
Illiterate	29.1	63.6	75.7
Primary	28.8	61.7	72.7
Secondary	26.1	66.6	73.9*
Higher Secondary	25.3	61.4	81.7
Above Higher Secondary	26.7	59.9	83.3
<b><i>Sanitation Facility</i></b>			
Open	32.8	62.7	83.7
Community toilet	18.9	69.8	68.6
Shared toilet	29.8	57.5	75.4
Private toilet	25.6*	65.2**	74.2
<b><i>Type of Sanitation Facility</i></b>			
Pit latrine	27.2	9.4	79.5
Service latrine	24.7	8.3	75
Pour flush latrine	19.1	18.9	69.8

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Notes: SC=Scheduled Caste, ST=Scheduled Tribe, OBC=Other Backward Caste.

The Asset Index has been prepared using Principal Component Analysis taking all the household assets into consideration.

\*, \*\*, \*\*\*- Significant at the 10, 5, and 1 per cent levels.

The study found that a substantial proportion of the children in rural West Bengal were living separately from either from one or both parents due to parental internal out-migration. Children belonging to inter-State migrant households were found to be more likely to be under-weight, whereas a higher incidence of being over-weight was found among children of non-migrant households than other households. This may be because in the case of the presence of both parents, the mother could look after the child with greater care. Moreover, it is unlikely that migrant households were using their increased income to over-feed their children. The study

found that as income increases, food structures often shift towards higher energy and fat intake, and an increase in the consumption of meat and processed food. This may explain the incidence of being over-weight, a shift in nutritional status (Konseiga *et al.*, 2009; Shen *et al.*, 2009). Moreover, the incidence of being over-weight was found to be higher among children aged 0 to 5 years. This is because younger children are more dependent on their parents or other care-givers and may, therefore, be more susceptible to the potential time effects, whereas older children might be asked to take on some of the household chores, thereby increasing their activity and potentially decreasing the probability of being over-weight (Monda and Popkin, 2005).

In this study, sex differentials in nutritional status were found among the children of all types of migration statuses, where interestingly, boys belonging to inter-migrant and non-migrant households were found to be more likely to be under-weight despite the fact that literature abounds with evidence that due to parental migration girls, are found to be more affected than boys (Lusome and Bhagat, 2006; Bhagat, 2017). Some of the literatures have found that remittances generated from the migration of parents helps in improving a girl's education and health. Moreover, as has been seen that after the father's migration, the role of the family member changes, and the additional resources are used by the mother for her daughter's well-being (Antman, 2012).

#### ***2.4.4. Psychological Health of a Child (Aged 6 to 14 Years)***

Studies have found that parental absence has a substantial effect on the psychological health of the child. Children of migrant parents are found to suffer from the increased risk of mental health problems. Moreover, left-behind children are more prone to loneliness, low level of life satisfaction and depression, low self-esteem, and behavioural problems globally. A study in the Philippines has found the prevalence of a feeling of discomfort and inability to communicate with the father among left-behind children (Pribilsky, 2001). However, effective mental support from the care-givers may help children to cope with such problems. Some quantitative studies suggest that left-behind children living with one parent had better psychological well-being than those living only with grandparents, and children under the care of grandparents fared better than those cared by other relatives in South-east Asia (Zhao *et al.*, 2009). Dreby's qualitative study in Mexico found that many left-behind children received inadequate care from co-resident care-givers, which led to behavioural and academic difficulties (Dreby, 2007). Yet the existing qualitative studies rarely examine the care-giving environment provided by both the migrant parents and co-resident care-givers, and how different care-givers may affect and respond to the psychological risks faced by the child.

**Table 13: Psychological Health Status of Children by Parental Migration Status**

(%)

Symptoms of Psychological Health	Inter-State Migrants	Intra-State Migrants	Non-migrants
A. Distractible, has trouble sticking to an activity/jumps from one activity to another	53.3	54.0	49.7
B. Fails to finish things he/she starts	54.2	61.0	53.1
C. Faces difficulty following directions or instructions	37.5	46.0	40.2
D. Impulsive, acts without stopping to think	56.3	57.0	57.0
E. Cranky (easily annoyed or upset or irritated and angry by others)/expressing bitterness at having been treated unfairly	63.6	57.0	62.4
F. Becomes sad for small reasons	63.0	59.0	59.2
G. Defiant, talks/argues a lot back to adults (not willing to accept criticism)	44.5	45.0	44.8
H. Blames others for his/her own mistakes	46.0	35.0	49.3
I. Seems unhappy, sad, or depressed	37.5	29.0	33.3
J. Worries about being separated from loved ones	54.8	56.0	50.3
K. Scared to sleep without parents nearby	51.6	60.0	50.7
L. Gets overly upset while away from loved ones	46.9	37.0	52.6
M. Fights with other children	45.7	47.0	36.5
N. Uses tools while fighting	24.6	31.9	17.6

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

**Table 14: Psychological Health Index of Children Aged 6 to 14 Years**

Psychological Index	Inter-State Migrants	Intra-State Migrants	Non-migrants	Chi sq.
Very low	18.3	21.2	22.6	11.4***
Low	18.3	19.1	20.4	
Medium	22.7	14.8	18.7	
High	25.9	19.1	14.9	
Very high	14.5	25.5	23.2	

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Notes: \*, \*\*, \*\*\*- Significant at the 10, 5, and 1 per cent levels.

The Psychological Health Index has been prepared using Principal Component Analysis taking 14 symptoms of psychological behaviour into consideration.

The study found that left-behind children, mostly the children of intra-State migrants, are more likely to be affected by psychological health problems than the children of inter-State migrants and non-migrants. The state of emotional distress among children in relation to parental migration manifested, for example, in the form of loneliness, sadness, and frustration, was reported by the children themselves, as well as by their parents and care-givers. It was found that 25.5 per cent of the left-behind children of intra-State migrants were in the upper quintile of the Psychological Health Index, with the corresponding figure being 14.5 per cent among the children of inter-State migrants. However, 25.9 per cent of the left behind children of inter-State migrants had major psychological health issues, with the corresponding figure being 14.9 per cent among the children of non-migrants. Further, 22.6 per cent of the children of non-migrants were in the lowest quintile of the Psychological Index (Table 22).

An interview with a family in the Imamnagar village of Rampurhat II Block, Birbhum, revealed how the effects of migration were perceived. The daughter (Srabani)<sup>2</sup> seemed clearly emotionally affected by her father's migration. Her father had been away for 1.5 years, leaving his daughter with her mother. Her mother rued, *"My daughter often cries for her father, even when she talks with her father over the phone."*

Srabani's father (a construction worker), who had come back home from Bengaluru and was staying there since the preceding two weeks stated, *"When I miss my daughter I call and chat, after coming back home from work. I used to visit home three to four times a year. Although we talk over the phone, the children are not that close to you if you don't come home often. When I am back home, they feel good!"*

As regards the psychological behavioural symptoms, 63 per cent of the children belonging to inter-State migrant households were reported to be sad for small reasons, with the corresponding figure being 59.2 per cent among the children of non-migrants. Moreover, 37.5 per cent of the children of inter-State migrant households were reported to be sad or depressed most of the time, which was higher than the children belonging to intra-State and non-migrant households (Table 21).

In an open-ended IDI in Jalpaiguri, Fatima, aged 26 years, and a mother of a 5-year old child, whose husband was working as a construction worker in Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala, said,

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<sup>2</sup> All original names have been changed in the analysis and presentation of qualitative information. See methods section.

*“My child often falls sick when her father is not at home. She cries for her father when he is out for work.”*

It was found that 54.0 per cent of the children belonging to intra-State migrant households were distractible, with 49.0 per cent of the children of non-migrants displaying such symptoms. Interestingly, 46.0 per cent of the children belonging to intra-State migrant households faced difficulty in following directions or instructions, with this outcome being the lowest, at 37.5 per cent, among the children belonging to non-migrant households.

In an open-ended IDI in Murshidabad, Rubina, aged 24 years, and the mother of a 7-year old child, whose husband was working as a carpenter in Jodhpur, Rajasthan, asserted, *“My son often becomes angry and throws things. He often does things without thinking what to do and what not to do! He does not listen to anyone except his father when he is here. Controlling him is a big issue.”*

#### **2.4.5. Morbidity and Treatment-seeking**

The present study is a modest attempt to assess the effect of socio-demographic and economic characteristics, and health and hygiene on morbidity among children aged 0-14 years in West Bengal, based on their parents’ migration status.

The present study found that 34.3 per cent of the children were suffering from fever, 8.3 per cent were suffering from cough and cold, 7.9 per cent were suffering from diarrhoea, and 1.9 per cent were suffering from ARI during the three-month period prior to the survey, though both diarrhoea and ARI were seasonal. In addition, 3.5 per cent of the children were suffering from skin diseases. The other diseases afflicting the children included hook worm (0.1 per cent), and anaemia, brain tumour, chest infection, heart disease, hernia, high blood pressure, chest pain, menstruation problems, and thalassemia, with the proportion of children suffering from each of these diseases being 0.05 per cent (Table 15).

**Table 15: Types of Diseases among Children Aged 0 to 14 Years**

<b>Type of Disease</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Type of Disease</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Fever	34.3	ENT problem	0.2
Cough and cold	8.3	Eye problem	0.2
Diarrhoea	7.9	Dengue/Malaria/Typhoid	0.2
Skin disease	3.5	Measles	0.2
Stomach pain	1.5	Chest pain	0.1

ARI	1.9	Brain problem	0.1
Chicken pox	0.8	Urine infection	0.2
Weakness/dizziness	1.0	Others	0.6
Body pain	0.5		

Source: Primary survey, 2019

The study found that 96.1 per cent of the mothers of the left-behind children of inter-State migrants had taken their children for availing of health care services after the occurrence of common childhood illnesses, (with 98.2 per cent of these children being female and 93.6 per cent being male). These figures were higher than those of children belonging to intra-State migrant households and non-migrant households. The incidence of treatment-seeking was 93.4 per cent among the children of non-migrants, and 94.1 per cent among girls (Table 16).

**Table 16: Treatment-seeking of Children Aged 0 to 14 Years**

**Based on Parental Migration Status**

Parental Migration Status	Sex	Seeking Treatment
Inter-State migrants	Male	93.6
	Female	98.2
	Total	96.1
Intra-State migrants	Male	100.0
	Female	95.4
	Total	97.6
Non-migrants	Male	92.7
	Female	94.1
	Total	93.4

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Table 17 shows that 30.0 per cent of the left-behind children of inter-State migrants were taken to quacks and 35.0 per cent to Government hospitals for treatment-seeking, with the corresponding figures being 24.8 per cent and 29.7 per cent, respectively, for children of non-migrants. Further, 21.0 per cent of the parents of non-migrants took their children to private doctors during episodes of illness, with the corresponding figures being 19.5 per cent and 6.6 per cent among the children of inter-State and intra-State migrants. Moreover, it was found that boys were taken more to private doctors than girls, with the respective figures being 21.3 per cent among children of non-migrants and 23.8 per cent among children of inter-State



migrants. However, it was found that among the children of intra-State migrants, more girls (33.3 per cent) were taken to private doctors than boys.

**Table 17: Type of Treatment-seeking Based on Parental Migration Status**

Parental Migration Status	Sex	Inter- State Migrants	Intra- State Migrants	Non-migrants
Government/municipal hospital	Male	36.3	28.5	25.8
	Female	33.9	33.3	33.3
	Total	35.0	30.9	29.7
Government dispensary	Male	-	4.7	-
	Female	-	0.0	-
	Total	-	2.3	-
RUR hospital/Block PHC/Additional PHC	Male	3.4	19.0	3.3
	Female	5.3	0.0	2.0
	Total	4.5	9.5	2.7
ASHA	Male	-	-	2.2
	Female	-	-	0.0
	Total	-	-	1.0
Other public health sector	Male	-	4.7	-
	Female	-	0.0	-
	Total	-	2.3	-
Private hospital	Male	1.1	-	3.3
	Female	0.8	-	0.0
	Total	1.0	-	1.6
Private doctor/clinic	Male	23.8	0.0	21.3
	Female	16.0	33.3	20.8
	Total	19.5	16.	21.0
Pharmacy/drug store	Male	1.1	4.7	5.6
	Female	1.7	9.5	1.0
	Total	1.5	7.1	3.2
Other private health sector	Male	-	-	3.3
	Female	-	-	1.0

	Total	-	-	2.1
Quack	Male	26.1	23.8	23.6
	Female	33.0	19.0	26.0
	Total	30.0	21.4	24.8
Traditional healer	Male	0.0	-	-
	Female	0.8	-	-
	Total	0.5	-	-
Friends/relatives	Male	2.2	0.0	-
	Female	0.0	4.7	-
	Total	1.0	2.3	-
Homeopath	Male	0.0	9.5	1.1
	Female	2.6	0.0	4.1
	Total	1.5	4.7	2.7
RMP	Male	4.5	4.7	3.3
	Female	4.4	0.0	5.2
	Total	4.5	2.3	4.3
Others	Male	0.0	-	5.6
	Female	0.8	-	6.2
	Total	0.5	-	5.9
No answer	Male	1.1	-	1.1
	Female	0.0	-	0.0
	Total	0.5	-	0.5

Source: Primary survey, 2019

Table 18 shows that most of the mothers of left-behind children as well as of not-migrant children reported a delay of 1-2 days in treatment. Further, 39.50 per cent of the children of inter-State migrants were reportedly taken for treatment after a single day's delay, with the corresponding figures being higher, at 40.48 per cent and 42.16 per cent, among children of intra-State migrants and non-migrants, respectively. Further, 4 per cent of the children of inter-State migrants, 4.76 per cent of the children of intra-State migrants, and 2.70 per cent of the children of non-migrants were reportedly taken for treatment after a delay of seven days, and 0.54 per cent of the children were found to have been taken for treatment after two months. The incidence of delay in treatment was found to be higher among boys than girls (see Table AI.3, Appendix I).

**Table 18: Delay in Treatment of the Children Left Behind by Parental Migration Status (%)**

Delay in Treatment (Days)	Sex	Inter-State Migrants	Intra-State Migrants	Non-migrants
0	Male	12.50	4.76	19.10
	Female	8.04	9.52	8.33
	Total	10.00	7.14	13.51
1	Male	40.91	42.86	39.33
	Female	38.39	38.10	44.79
	Total	39.50	40.48	42.16
2	Male	22.73	28.57	15.73
	Female	30.36	23.81	23.96
	Total	27.00	26.19	20.00
3	Male	7.95	0.00	5.62
	Female	9.82	9.52	8.33
	Total	9.00	4.76	7.03
4 to 7	Male	1.14	4.76	3.37
	Female	4.46	4.76	5.21
	Total	3.00	4.76	4.32
>7	Male	1.14	4.76	4.49
	Female	0.89	4.76	3.13
	Total	1.00	4.76	3.78

Source: Primary survey, 2019

In an FGD conducted with them the mothers of left-behind children in Nadia, West Bengal asserted, *“We face problems while taking our children to the doctor when our husbands are not here. We have to wait for neighbours or other relatives to accompany us, which results in a delay of 2-3 days in treatment.”*

Studies have found that health-seeking behaviour depends upon various factors, including socio-economic status, women’s autonomy, culture, physical as well as financial accessibility, severity of the disease, and health service issues (Webair and Gouth, 2013). The potential intervention would be to raise awareness among the mothers of the children about the higher risks of the disease through the local health workers.

**Focus Group Discussion— District: Jalpaiguri, Block: Dhupguri, Gram Panchayat: Gadong I, Village: Bhotpura**

A Focus Group Discussion (FGD) was conducted with about 30 women and 20 children in Village Bhotpura of Gadong I gram panchayat in Dhupguri block of Jalpaiguri district. When asked about the migration status of their husbands, the women who participated in the discussion rued that their income was very low here with a daily wage of Rs. 250, whereas it was Rs. 500–600 in other States, especially Kerala. Furthermore, there is the possibility of overtime, which can enable them to earn more. Another important issue they pointed out was the low possibility of getting work in the village, where the work is mostly seasonal. They used to work here mostly in the potato season but lacked proper work during the rest of the time as a result of which they had to go outside the village in search of employment.

When asked about the reason for migration, they said that it was mainly financial. For instance, if someone has taken a loan from Bandhan Bank, for building a home or for other reasons, that person would have to pay a weekly repayment amount to Bandhan. However, their daily earnings in the village amount to only Rs. 170, which is not enough for sustaining a family of 6–7 persons. Thus, in order to repay Bandhan’s loan, they have to take another loan, this time from outside, wherein they would have to repay it with a 5 per cent interest. Since they would not be able to meet this financial commitment nor sustain the family because of the low wages earned by them, they are compelled to migrate outside the State.

There is a low incidence of out-migration of women for work in this village. When asked about the migration of women from this village, the respondents asserted that here women do not migrate but mainly work within the village in the potato season. They also have to look after their children and households. Migration would not only hamper the children’s education but leave them to face the unanswered question, “*Who will look after the household?*” Language and cultural differences between their home town and the migration destination also deter them from migrating. Their husbands, who have migrated to other places, face similar problems, some of which have been detailed below.

1. Language problem is one of the most important issues. In some cases, the migrants do not understand the language of the locals and hence often end up being cheated many times over.
2. Most of the times, coming back home is a big problem during an emergency, when travelling a long distance becomes difficult. Sometimes they do not get tickets while at other times, they do not get leave from work.

3. Those who are married cannot stay without their family, which exerts a lot of mental pressure on them.

When asked about the effect of a father's migration on his children, one of the respondents Roshan (25 years old) stated, *“My daughter often gets sick when her father goes out for work. Moreover, she would often cry for her father at night.”*

It is found that women in the household also experience tension in the absence of their husbands. They fear staying alone at night with little children. Shyamali (23) said, *“Sometimes during the night, I would hear some noises outside and get scared. The situation becomes worse when at night my little daughter starts crying.”*

Women reported that it is the women belonging to nuclear families that face problems more than the others, as they cannot go outside alone at any time. Even visiting the market and taking children to the doctor becomes a challenge. They have to approach their neighbours for help in such a situation. However, the decision of taking the child to the doctor is jointly taken by both their husbands and them.

**Photo 2: Focus Group Discussions, Bhotpara, Jalpaiguri**



## 2.5. Parental Out-migration and Child Education

Parental migration constitutes a distinct form of parent–child separation, which simultaneously generates economic benefits and associated social costs (Dreby, 2007). Moreover, parental out-migration leads to the absence of an authority figure and traditional disciplinarian in the family (Dreby, 2007). Furthermore, in most of the cases, in the absence of parents in the house, older girls have to look after their younger siblings, which may lead to poor school performance and even dropouts. Parental migration has a multifarious effect on the educational outcomes of children and hence, it is very important to take these issues into consideration while assessing the impact of migration.

Almost all the children belonging to intra-State migrant households, including both boys and girls, were attending school at the time of the survey. All the girls (100 per cent) and 95.5 per cent of the boys belonging to inter-State migrant households were currently attending school, while the corresponding figures were 99.6 per cent and 97.1 per cent, respectively, for girls and boys from the non-migrant households. Interestingly, the proportion of girls currently attending school was more than that of the boys in the migrant households. As regards the out-of-school children, 1.1 per cent and 1.8 per cent of the children were not attending school, whereas 2.5 per cent of the boys had never attended school (Table 19). This may be because, during the field survey, it was found that boys older than 10 years of age were prone to leaving school for work. Moreover, some of the boys would migrate to other States for work. Ayan (a 10-year old boy from a non-migrant household in Kazipara, Jalpaiguri, used to drive a *toto*<sup>3</sup> with his father, and transport vegetables to the nearby market. During the potato season, he would collect potatoes, for which he would get Rs. 50 per day. In the midst of performing these duties, he rarely attended school. He stated, “*Collecting potatoes is too tiresome. It is warm outside. But I have two unmarried sisters at home and father has become quite aged and hence he is teaching me all the work.*”

In an FGD at Dhalla village, Rampurhat II, Birbhum, it was found that most of the children in the age group of 10 to 14 years were involved in construction work or were daily wage labourers. Due to work, most of the boys were migrating to other States, discontinuing their studies in the process, and following their example, other boys were also leaving their studies for work. As a result, the drop-out rates were high for boys in this village.

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<sup>3</sup> An e-rickshaw.

**Table 19: Percentage of Children Currently Attending School  
by Parental Migration Status**

Parental Migration Status	Sex	Child Attended School			
		Never	Currently Attending	Yes, in the Past	No Answer
Inter-State migrants	Male	2.5	95.5	1.9	-
	Female	0.0	100.0	0.0	-
Intra-State migrants	Male	-	100.0	-	-
	Female	-	100.0	-	-
Non-migrants	Male	-	97.1	1.8	0.9
	Female	-	99.6	0.0	0.3

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Most of the children were found to be in Government schools. Interestingly, it was found that among the inter-State migrants, most of the boys (91.5 per cent) were enrolled in Government schools, as compared to a corresponding figure of 84.9 per cent for girls; whereas the proportion of girls engaged in private schools, at 6.2 per cent, was higher than that of boys, at 5.2 per cent. However, among the intra-State migrant and non-migrant households, the proportion of boys engaged in private schools was higher than that of girls (Table 20).

**Table 20: Type of School by Parental Migration Status**

Parental Migration Status	Sex	Government	Government-sponsored	Private
Inter-State migrants	Male	91.5	3.2	5.2
	Female	84.9	8.8	6.2
Intra-State migrants	Male	82.9	6.3	10.6
	Female	92.3	3.8	3.8
Non-migrants	Male	84.5	4.6	9.8
	Female	87.9	3.5	7.7

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Table 21 shows that 20.0 per cent of the mothers of girls and 9.5 per cent of the mothers of boys reported distance from the home to the school as the main reason for their children not attending school. It was also found that 33.3 per cent of the boys were not attending school as

they had not secured admission while 9.5 per cent of them were not doing so as they reportedly had no interest in studies. The study found a higher probability of boys not attending school as compared to girls.

**Table 21: Reasons for Not Attending School by Sex**

Reasons for Not Attending School	Sex	
	Male	Female
School located too far away	9.5	20.0
Required for household work	0.0	4.7
Not safe to send girls	0.0	4.7
Not interested in studies	9.5	-
Did not get admission	33.3	10.0
Handicapped	9.5	-
Don't know	14.2	30.0
No answer/not applicable	9.5	-

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Most of the mothers belonging to inter-State, intra-State and non-migrant households had attributed 'school close to the home' as the main reason for choosing a particular school for their children. The other reasons for selection of the school included better education facilities and affordability (Table 22).

**Table 22: Reasons for Choosing the School  
by Sex and Parental Migration Status**

Reasons for Choosing the School	Inter-State Migrants		Intra-State Migrants		Non-migrants	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
The only school available	3.2	5.7	6.3	15.3	8.9	7.3
Close to home	57.1	43.5	57.4	46.1	44.8	49.8
Better education/facilities	23.3	29.0	23.4	26.9	31.6	31.5
Siblings studying in the same school	-	-	-	-	0.4	0.3



English medium	0.0	1.0	2.1	0.0	1.4	0.7
Affordable	11.0	16.5	8.5	11.5	10.8	7.7
Single-sex school	0.6	0.0	-	-	-	-
Unable to get admission anywhere else	1.3	2.5	2.1	0.0	0.0	1.5
Others	0.6	0.0	-	-	-	-
Don't know	0.6	1.0	-	-	0.9	0.3
No answer	1.9	0.5	-	-	0.9	0.3

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Among the sampled children, boys were found to be repeating class more than of girls. Among the intra-State migrant households, 8.7 per cent of the boys were found to have repeated class, as compared to zero per cent of the girls. Similarly, among the inter-State migrant and non-migrant households, the figures of children ever repeating class were 5.3 per cent and 3.8 per cent, respectively, among boys, and 4.1 per cent and 3.1 per cent, respectively, among girls (Table 23).

**Table 23: Percentage of Children Ever Repeating Class  
by Sex and Parental Migration Status**

Parental Migration Status	Sex	Child Ever Repeated Class		
		Yes	No	No Answer
Inter-State migrants	Male	5.3	92.6	2.0
	Female	4.1	93.7	2.0
Intra-State migrants	Male	8.7	91.3	0.0
	Female	0.0	98.0	2.0
Non-migrants	Male	3.8	91.4	4.7
	Female	3.1	94.4	2.3

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

The incidence of children helping with household chores was found to be higher among girls than boys. Among the inter-State migrant households and non-migrant households, 29.3 per cent and 33.3 per cent of the girls were found to be helping with the household chores. Interestingly, among the intra-State migrant households, the percentage of boys engaged in household chores was higher, at 21.2 per cent, than that of girls, at 11.7 per cent. (Table 24).

**Table 24: Percentage of Children Helping with Household Chores  
by Sex and Parental Migration Status**

Parental Migration Status	Sex	Child Helped with Household Chores		
		Yes	No	No Answer
Inter-State migrants	Male	23.5	75.1	1.2
	Female	29.3	68.5	2.0
Intra-State migrants	Male	21.2	76.6	2.1
	Female	11.7	82.3	5.8
Non-migrants	Male	20.7	73.2	5.9
	Female	33.3	63.5	3.1

*Source:* Primary survey, 2019.

In an IDI held in Chak Amdanga village of Chakdah block of Nadia, Ratna Biswas (aged 27 years) stated that her children were scared of their father and hence they would study properly only when their father was at home, otherwise, they did not listen to their mother.

### **Photo 3: Focus Group Discussions, Dhalla, Rampurhat II, Birbhum**

## **2.6. Male Out-migration and Women's Autonomy**

Literature abounds with evidence that in the absence of their husbands, women may take on very different roles with regard to household budgeting. These new roles may be accompanied by increased authority in spending, decision-making in economic matters, and freedom of movement (Ghuman, 2003).

In the study it was found that women whose husbands were inter-State migrants exhibited a higher level of decision-making than women whose husbands were intra-State migrants. This is because husbands who were intra-State migrants visited the home more often than inter-State migrant husbands, who generally visited their homes only 2 to 3 times in a year. In the case of women belonging to non-migrant households, all the decisions were either taken by the husband or jointly by the husband and wife.

**Table 25: Husband Out-migration and Women's Autonomy**

Migration Status	Self	Husband	Jointly	Mother/ Mother-in-law	Father/ Father-in-law	Other Members	No Answer
<b>Self-earning Will be Used</b>							
Inter-State migrant	22.6	5.7	7.7	0.2	0.2		63.3
Intra-State migrant	22.0	6.4	8.2	0	0		63.3
Non-migrant	12.0	8.5	9.1	0.4	0		69.9
<b>Husband's Earning Will be Used</b>							
Inter-State migrant	23.3	19.2	52.9	1.8	2.0	0	0.5
Intra-State migrant	15.6	30.2	49.5	1.8	1.8	0.9	0
Non-migrant	13.2	29.8	53.5	1.4	0.6	0.2	1.0
<b>Major Household Purchases</b>							
Inter-State migrant	34.0	15.0	34.0	4.4	11.1	1.0	0.2
Intra-State migrant	19.2	28.4	40.3	3.6	6.4	1.8	0
Non-migrant	14.3	38.8	42.5	2.0	1.4	0.6	0.2
<b>What to Cook on a Daily Basis</b>							
Inter-State migrant	83.6	2.0	5.4	7.2	1.0	0.2	0.2
Intra-State migrant	83.4	0.9	5.5	7.3	0.9	0.9	0.9
Non-migrant	72.6	5.6	15.3	5.3	0	0.6	0.4
<b>Choosing Healthcare Provider for Own Sickness</b>							
Inter-State migrant	37.4	9.3	47.0	2.3	3.3	0.2	0.2
Intra-State migrant	35.7	10.0	48.6	4.5	0.9	0	0

Non-migrant	25.3	17.0	55.1	1.8	0.4	0	0.2
<b>Participating in Social Functions</b>							
Inter-State migrant	15.0	13.2	63.9	2.3	4.6	0.5	0.2
Intra-State migrant	6.4	18.3	67.8	3.6	3.6	0	0
Non-migrant	10.3	20.3	64.7	2.0	1.6	0.6	0.2
<b>Choosing Healthcare Provider for Child's Sickness</b>							
Inter-State migrant	26.4	9.6	58.7	1.8	2.6	0	0.7
Intra-State migrant	19.2	11.0	66.0	2.7	0.9	0	0
Non-migrant	12.2	17.6	67.2	1.4	0.4	0.2	0.8

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

In an FGD in Sashidharpur village, MJ Block, Murshidabad, when asked why women do not migrate with the men at their workplace, the women averred, “*Our husbands do not take us with them as they think women must stay in the house to take care of children and their old parents. Moreover, they say that if women will migrate with their husband in large cities, they will become over-smart and will start interacting with other men.*”

### **3. LABOUR MIGRATION FROM WEST BENGAL TO KERALA AND BENGALURU**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

In India, there exist large-scale regional disparities between the States as well as within the State, which leads people to move from one place to another in search of employment, with the hope of improving their family circumstances through increased household income and financial stability (World Migration Report, 2018). The incidence of out-migration from rural areas is greater in the poorly developed agricultural areas and particularly high among the landless farmers (Keshri and Bhagat, 2012; Parganiha *et al.*, 2009; Panda, 2016)

The rural areas of West Bengal experience a higher intensity of male out-migration from the economically and agriculturally depressed areas. There is plenty of evidence in literature to show that the increase in the number of out-migrants from West Bengal, mostly from the rural areas to other States over the decade, has been due to the shortage of work opportunities in the home State (Debnath and Nayak, 2018).

This chapter mainly focuses on migrant and migration details. It also delineates details of the children of migrants and examines whether the absence of the migrant parents affects the health and education of their children.

### ***3.1.1. Inter-state Migrants in Kerala and Bengaluru***

The phenomenon of in-migration of workers to Kerala has a long history. Migration in Kerala during the 1970s to the 1990s took place primarily from the neighbouring States of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. However, today Kerala has become a lucrative job market for workers coming from the distant States, especially West Bengal, Odisha, Assam, Uttar Pradesh, and Uttarakhand. A majority of these migrant workers are young in age, with low levels of education. The flow of migrants is from the relatively backward States to a State ranked among the top States in India in the Human Development Index and Gender Parity Index. The migrant workers are engaged as construction workers, casual labourers, agricultural and plantation workers, road workers, domestic workers, carpenters, masons, plumbers, and electricians, among other occupations. According to a study by the Gulati Institute of Finance and Taxation (GIFT), 2013, there were around 2.5 million internal migrants in Kerala. During the last few years, Bengaluru has also witnessed a boom in the real estate sector, majorly supported by the humongous migrant population from the different States of India. Migration from other States like West Bengal, Bihar, Odisha, and Tamil Nadu has been noticeably increasing in recent times. Moreover, in recent years, Bengaluru has seen a significant rise in the number of migrants from various parts of the country coming to work here in the construction industry. According to the 2011 Census, the population of Bengaluru was 96.2 lakh people, of which 44.3 lakh were classified as migrants.

### ***3.1.2. Wage Rate Differentials and Inter-State Migration***

**Table 26: Average Daily Wage Rates for Agricultural Occupations in Rural West Bengal, Kerala, and Karnataka during December 2018 (by States and Sex)**

States/UTs	Ploughing/Tilling Workers		Sowing including Planting/Transplanting/ Weeding Workers	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
West Bengal	<b>329.4</b>	-	<b>259.3</b>	<b>231.8</b>
Kerala	765.5	-	758.5	544.7
Karnataka	368.5	238.5	334.4	231.7

Source: Labour Bureau, 2018.

**Table 27: Average Daily Wage Rates for Non-agricultural Occupations in Rural India during December 2018 (by States and Sex)**

States/UTs	Masons		Construction Workers		LMV and Tractor Drivers		Plumbers		Carpenters	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
West Bengal	381.4	-	291.9	211.47	338.9	-	461.1	-	352.0	-
Kerala	858.4	-	839.0	-	775.0	-	772.7	-	855.7	-
Karnataka	473.0	-	345.6	221.7	393.3	-	381.7	-	449.0	-

Source: Labour Bureau, 2018.

The incidence of migration for work within India is highly circular, with migrants working in multiple destinations during their lifetimes, and retiring in their native places. As per the *Economic Survey of India 2016-17*, there are over a hundred million migrant workers in India, of which most are circular migrants.

**Photo 4: Migrant Labourers from West Bengal Waiting for Contractors at Ulloor Junction, Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala**



### 3.2. Details of Workers Migrated in Kerala (Thiruvananthapuram, Thrissur and Ernakulum) and Karnataka (Bengaluru) from West Bengal

Table 28 shows the percentage of migrant workers by type of jobs in Kerala (Thiruvananthapuram, Ernakulum, and Thrissur) and Karnataka (Bengaluru). The maximum number of sample workers in Kerala (Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur) were engaged in construction work, that is, 35 (56.4 per cent), followed by 19 (30.6 per cent) who were engaged as helpers. On the other hand, in Karnataka (Bengaluru), the largest number of sampled migrant workers were found to be engaged as rag-pickers, that is, 28 (57.1 per cent), followed by 10 (20.4 per cent) engaged as construction workers. In addition to those engaged as construction workers in Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur, the migrants were also found to be engaged as carpenters, painters, pipeline workers, shopkeepers, marble workers, and car drivers. However, in Bengaluru, Bengali migrants were found to be engaged as scrap-sellers, contractors of rag-pickers, light manufacturing workers, helpers, and painters. Moreover, it was found that 17 construction workers among the total sample in Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur were from Murshidabad, and 28 rag-pickers in Bengaluru were from Nadia.

**Table 28: Percentage of Migrant Workers by Types of Jobs**

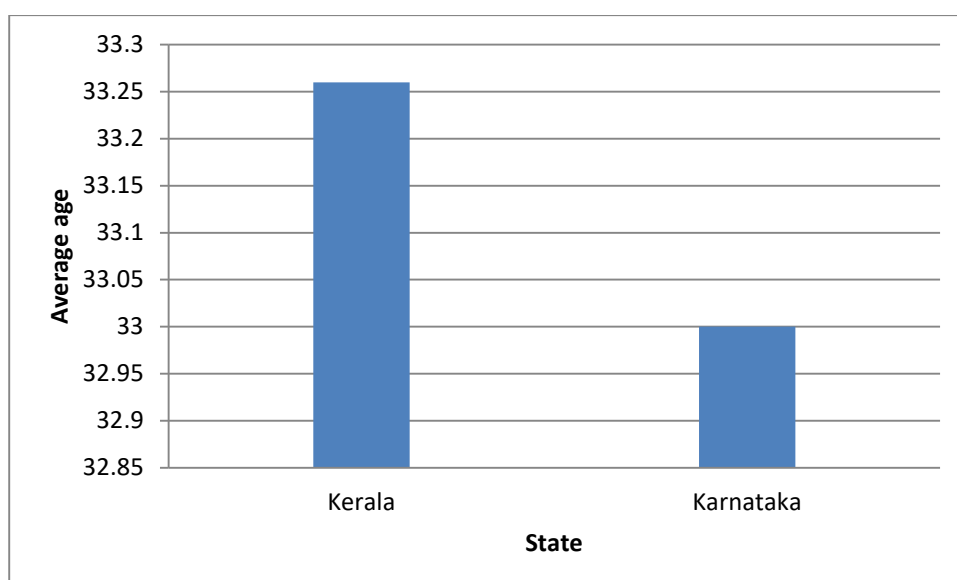
Type of Job	Destination State	
	Kerala	Karnataka
Construction worker	35 (56.4)	10 (20.4)
Helper	19 (30.6)	1 (2.0)
Carpenter	1 (1.6)	0 (0)
Painter	1(1.6)	1 (2.0)
Pipeline worker	1(1.6)	0
Light manufacturing worker	0	6 (12.2)
Shopkeeper	3 (4.8)	0
Marble worker	1(1.6)	0
Rag-picker	0	28 (57.1)
Scrap-seller	0	1 (2.0)
Contractor	0	2 (4.0)
Car driver	1(1.6)	0
Total	62	49

Source: Primary survey, 2019.



Figure 3 (see Table AI.4, Appendix I) shows that the average age of the labourers who had migrated from West Bengal to Kerala and Karnataka for different occupations was approximately 31 years. In Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur, 58.0 per cent (36) of the sample migrant labourers were Hindus, followed by 41.9 per cent (26) who were Muslims. Among the 26 Muslim Bengali migrants in Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur, 20 were from Murshidabad, while among the Hindus, 12 were from Purba Medinipur, followed by Jalpaiguri, Purba Bardhaman, Alipurduar, and Malda, among other areas. In Bengaluru, 65.3 per cent (32) of the sample migrants were Muslims followed by 34.6 per cent (17) who were Hindus, wherein 86.6 per cent (26) of the Muslim migrant labourers were from Nadia district, West Bengal (Tables 29 and 30).

**Figure 3: Average Age of Migrant Labourers by State**



Source: Primary survey, 2019.

**Table 29. Religion of Migrants by Destination State (%)**

Religion	Kerala	Karnataka	Total
Hindu	36 (58.0)	17 (34.6)	53
Muslim	26 (41.9)	32 (65.3)	58
Total	62	49	111

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Note: Figures in the parentheses indicates the respective percentages.

**Table 30: Religion of the Migrants by the Source Districts**

Source Districts	Migrants in Kerala		Total Migrants	Source Districts	Migrants in Bengaluru		Total Migrants
	Hindus	Muslims			Hindus	Muslims	
Jalpaiguri	7	0	7	Cooch Behar	2	0	2
Uttar Dinajpur	0	5	5	Malda	5	0	5
Malda	4	0	4	Murshidabad	0	3	3
Murshidabad	2	20	22	Nadia	4	26	30
Purba Bardhaman	6	0	6	Purulia	1	1	2
Nadia	0	1	1	North Twenty Four Parganas	2	0	2
South Twenty Four Parganas	1	0	1	Paschim Medinipur	2	0	2
Purbo Medinipur	12	0	12	Purbo Medinipur	1	2	3
Alipurduar	4	0	4				
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>49</b>

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

While 28.8 per cent (13) of the sample labourers who were engaged in construction work were illiterate, interestingly, it was found that 24.4 per cent (11) of the construction workers were educated up to Class X and above. One of the construction workers had even completed his post-graduation. In Bengaluru, 78.5 per cent (22) of the sample labourers engaged in rag-picking were illiterate (Table 31).

**Table 31: Number of Completed Years of Education of the Migrant Labourers  
by Occupation Type**

Completed Years of Education	Construction Worker	Helper	Carpenter	Painter	Pipeline	Light man	Shop-keeper	Marble Worker	rag picker	Scrap-seller	Contractor	car Driver
0	13 (28.8)	4 (20.0)	0	0	0	0	1 (0.3)	0	22(78.5)	0	1 (50.0)	0
2	1 (2.2)	0 (0.0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (3.5)	0	0	0
3	1(2.2)	1(5.0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1(3.5)	0	0	0
4	3 (6.6)	3(0.0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (100)
5	5 (11.1)	2(10.0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	2 (7.1)	0	0	0
6	2(4.4)	1(5.0)	1 (100)	0	0	0	1(0.3)	0	1(3.5)	0	0	0
7	2(4.4)	0(0.0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
8	6 (13.3)	4 (20.0)	0	0	1 (100)	0	0	1 (100)	1(3.5)	0	0	0
9	1(2.2)	2(10.0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	7 (15.5)	1(5.0)	0	1 (50.0)	0	1 (100)	0	0	0	0	1 (50.0)	0
11	2(4.4)	0(0.0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	1(2.2)	0(0.0)	0	1 (50.0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	0 (0.0)	0(0.0)	0	0	0	0	1(0.3)	0	0	0	0	0
15	1(2.2)	2(0.0)	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	45	20	1	2	1	6	3	1	28	1	2	1

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Table 32 shows that 66.0 per cent (70) of the workers were employed under contractors, of which 44.28 per cent of the construction workers were working under contractors. Furthermore, it was found that all the rag-pickers were employed under contractors. It was also found that all the 62 sample migrants in Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur engaged in any occupation had migrated alone. However, in Bengaluru, 32.43 per cent (12 out of 37) of the migrants had migrated with their wives, of which 11 were engaged as rag-pickers (Table 33).

**Table 32: Migrant Labourers Employed  
under a Contractor**

<b>Current Occupation</b>	<b>Under a Contractor</b>
Construction worker	31 (44.2)
Helper	5 (7.1)
Carpenter	1 (1.4)
Painter	2 (2.8)
Pipeline worker	1 (1.4)
Light manufacturing worker	0 (0.0)
Shopkeeper	0 (0.0)
Marble worker	1 (1.4)
Rag-picker	28 (40.0)
Scrap-seller	0 (0.0)
Contractor	1 (1.4)
Car driver	0 (0.0)
<b>Total</b>	<b>70 (10)</b>

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Note: Figures in the parentheses indicate the respective percentages.

**Table 33: Migrated with Whom, by Type of Occupation and Destination State**

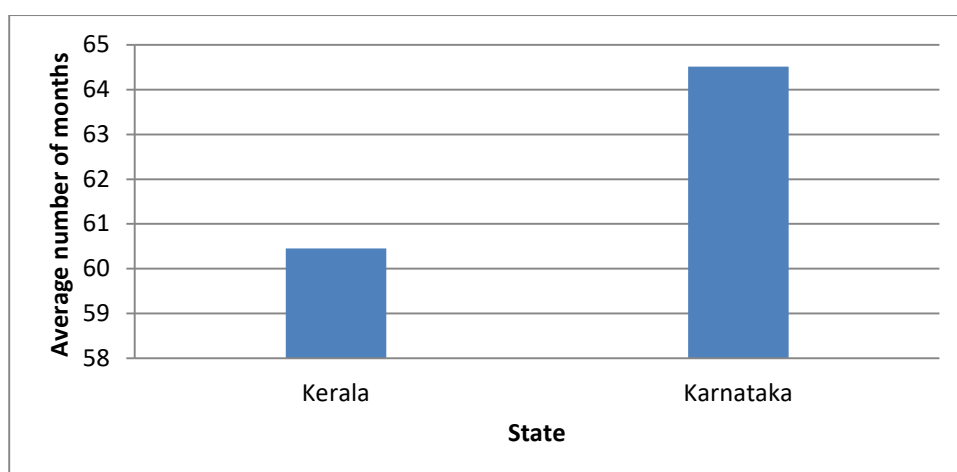
<b>Current Occupation</b>	<b>Kerala</b>	<b>Current Occupation</b>	<b>Karnataka</b>	
	<b>Alone (%)</b>		<b>Alone (%)</b>	<b>With Wife (%)</b>
Construction worker	35 (56.45)	Construction worker	9 (18.37)	1 (2.04)
Helper	19 (30.65)	Helper	1 (2.04)	0 (0.00)
Carpenter	1 (1.61)	Painter	1 (2.04)	0 (0.00)
Painter	1 (1.61)	Light manufacturing worker	6 (12.24)	0 (0.00)
Pipeline worker	1 (1.61)	Rag-picker	17 (34.69)	11 (22.45)
Shopkeeper	3 (4.84)	Scrap-seller	1 (2.04)	0 (0.00)
Marble worker	1 (1.61)	Contractor	2 (4.08)	0 (0.00)
Car driver	1 (1.61)			
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>37 (75.71)</b>	<b>12 (24.49)</b>

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Note: Figures in the parentheses indicate the respective percentages.

In both Kerala (Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur) and Karnataka (Bengaluru), the Bengali migrants had been staying for an average of five years or more in the current region. While the construction workers, helpers, and painters among the sampled labourers had been residing in the destination region for 4 to 9 years, on an average, it was found that people engaged as carpenters in Kerala, and as scrap-sellers and contractors in Bengaluru had been residing in the destination city for an average of 13-17 years (Figure 4) (see Table AI.5, Appendix I).

**Figure 4: Average Number of Months Staying in the Current Place of Residence by State**



*Source:* Primary survey, 2019.

Among the construction workers, 45.1 per cent had got their current jobs through fellow villagers, while 36.8 per cent had secured jobs in the destination State via friends and 42.8 per cent had got their jobs through contractors. Among the helpers, 20.9 per cent had got their jobs through fellow villagers, 26.3 per cent through friends, and 4.76 per cent from contractors. As regards the rag-pickers in Bengaluru, a major percentage of them, that is, 42.8 per cent, had got their jobs from contractors, 21.0 per cent through friends, and 20.9 per cent via villagers (Table 34).

**Table 34: Source of Current Job, by Type of Occupation**

Current Occupation	Villagers	Friends	Contractors	Others	Total
Construction worker	28 (45.1)	7 (36.8)	9 (42.8)	1 (11.1)	45 (40.5)
Helper	13 (20.9)	5 (26.3)	1 (4.7)	1 (11.1)	20 (18.0)
Carpenter	1 (1.6)	0	0	0	1 (0.9)
Painter	2 (3.2)	0	0	0	2 (1.8)
Pipeline worker	1 (1.6)	0	0	0	1(0.9)

Light manufacturing worker	0 (0.0)	3 (15.7)	0	3 (33.3)	6 (5.4)
Shopkeeper	3 (4.8)	0	0	0	3 (2.7)
Marble worker	1 (1.6)	0	0	0	1(0.9)
Rag-picker	13 (20.9)	4 (21.0)	9 (42.8)	2 (22.2)	28 (25.2)
Scrap-seller	0	0	0	1 (11.1)	1 (0.9)
Contractor	0	0	1 (4.7)	1 (11.1)	2 (1.8)
Car driver	0	0	1 (4.7)	0	1 (0.9)
Total	62	19	21	9	111

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Note: Figures in the parentheses indicate the respective percentages.

The average age of migration of the construction workers was 22 years, while that of helpers was 24 years whereas the average age of migrant workers currently engaged in rag-picking was 25 years. The average age of other migrant labourers engaged as painters, carpenters, shopkeepers, scrap-sellers, marble workers, and car drivers, among others, was 14–30 years. The average age of migration of the sampled labourers from West Bengal to Kerala (Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur) was 22 years as compared to 24 years in Bengaluru (Table 35 and Figure 5) (see Table AI.6, Appendix I).

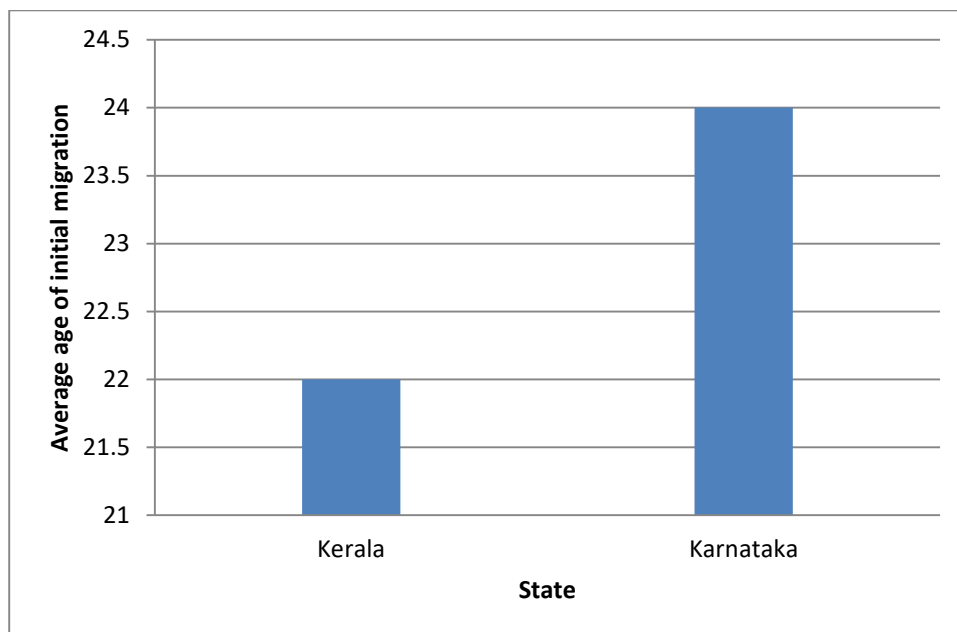
**Table 35: Average Age of Initial Migration  
by Type of Occupation**

Current Occupation	Average Age of Migration
Construction worker	22
Helper	24
Carpenter	17
Painter	16
Pipeline worker	30
Light manufacturing worker	22
Shopkeeper	19
Marble worker	14
Rag picker	25
Scrap seller	17

Contractor	19
Car driver	20

Source: Primary Survey, 2019

**Figure 5: Average Age of Initial Migration, by State**



Source: Primary survey, 2019.

The average number of visits of the sample migrants to their native places was 1-2 times in a year (Table 36). The average monthly income of the sample migrants engaged in construction works was Rs.13 992 while the average monthly income of the sample migrant labourers engaged as helpers was Rs. 14,150. Interestingly, in Bengaluru, it was found that the average income of migrants working as rag-pickers (28) was Rs.12,661. On the other, the average monthly income of the contractors involved in the rag-picking business was Rs. 23,000. The average monthly income of the labourers who had migrated to Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur and were engaged in different occupations was Rs. 15,079 as compared to a corresponding income of Rs. 12,981 in Bengaluru (Table 37; Figure 6). The average monthly expenditure of the migrant labourers to Kerala was Rs. 5113 as compared to a corresponding income of Rs. 4884 in Bengaluru (Figure 7) (see Tables AI.7 and AI.8, Appendix I). In addition, around 22.4 per cent (11) of the migrant labourers engaged as rag-pickers in Bengaluru had brought their wives along with them in the current place of work. Their wives were also engaged in the rag picking business or were working as maids in the nearby apartments.

**Table 36: Average Number of Visits to the Source State  
by the Respondents in a Year by Type of Occupation**

<b>Current Occupation</b>	<b>Average Number of Times Visited Home in a Year</b>
Construction worker	2
Helper	1
Carpenter	2
Painter	1
Pipeline worker	1
Light manufacturing workers	1
Shopkeeper	3
Marble worker	1
Rag picker	2
Scrap seller	4
Contractor	3
Car driver	4

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

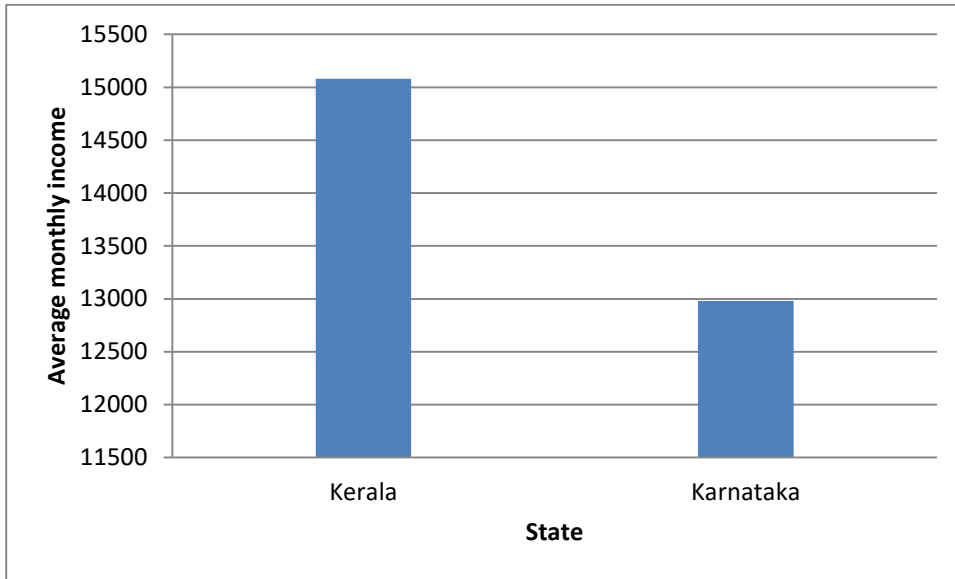
**Table 37: Average Monthly Income of the Respondents  
by Occupation**

<b>Current Occupation</b>	<b>Average Income [Rs.]</b>
Construction worker	13,992
Helper	14,150
Carpenter	25,000
Painter	21,500
Pipeline worker	16,800
Light manufacturing worker	12,750
Shopkeeper	14,667
Marble worker	12,500
Rag-picker	12,661
Scrap-seller	15,000
Contractor	23,000
Car driver	25,000

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

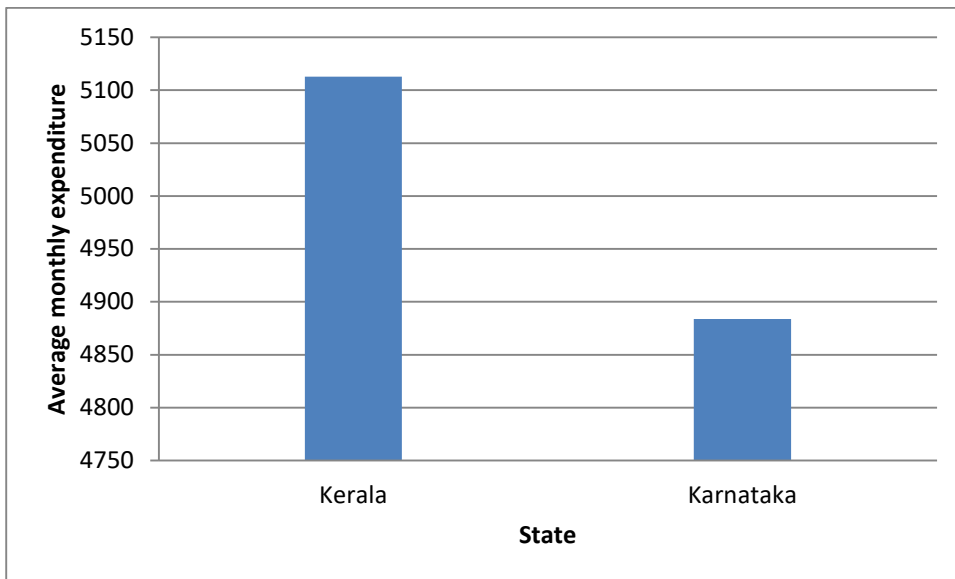


**Figure 6: Average Monthly Income of the Migrants**



Source: Primary survey, 2019.

**Figure 7: Average Monthly Expenditure of the Migrants**



Source: Primary survey, 2019.

### **Case 1: A Conversation with a Rag-picker’s Contractor, Kalipada Das, Bengaluru**

The contractor Kalipada Das told us, “*We have a daughter who visits us during the vacations. In Delhi and Bengaluru, the type of work that I am engaged is shrouded in anxiety and uncertainty. The owner of the land can ask me to vacate the property at any time. So we need to shift from one place to another depending on the situation. For this reason, we have never*

*kept our daughter with us, as it would be a problem to relocate to different areas along with her. For the last nine years, I have been staying in Hebbal. But I have had to change places 3-4 times as the owners would ask me to vacate their places after a few months. Earlier I used to stay downhill. However, the owner asked me to vacate the place for the construction of a church. So I had to shift from there. After some time, the owners constructed a boundary in the area and asked us to shift. So we came to this place while the others shifted uphill at a nearby place. With every shift, my labourers also shifted with me.”*

## **Case 2: A Conversation with a rag Rag-picker’s Contractor, Sohail Sheikh, Bengaluru**

The contractor Sohail Sheikh told us, *“I have been residing in Bengaluru for the last ten years. Earlier I used to stay at MG Road, Kewragede and at Pepsi Gate before finally shifting to Hebbal. Before starting work as a thekedar [contractor] in kachhra kaam [scrap work], I used to work in construction projects. Initially, I used to stay in the area called Bomchandra, and in one of the construction projects, I lost a sum of Rs. 5 lakhs. Kachhra godowns were also present adjacent to the project area. Some of my Bengali friends advised me to start this business, so I started the kachhra business. They told me that if I pay the labourers Rs. 20,000–30,000, they would collect kachhra for me. Once that amount is redeemed, they again take an amount in advance and collect kachhra.*

*It’s been two years since I started this business. I have not yet recovered the loss, but the money is in circulation among the labourers as advance payment. The business is not very profitable, but now I am already in business and a large amount of money is already in circulation with the labourers. As they can’t give back the money all at once, they keep collecting kachhra for me and pay back the money partially and the process continues.*

*“Initially I started with 4-5 labourers and they brought others from their village. Currently, I have 20 labourers working for me. I have taken the entire land on rent and pay a monthly rent of Rs. 25,000. Even the squatters that the rag-pickers live have been built and provided by me. They do not pay me any rent. My family, including my wife and two daughters live in the village, and visit me only during their vacations.*

*“The pit latrines that are used by labourers are cleaned and maintained by the labourers themselves.*

*“The rag-pickers move around the city for collecting various materials. As a result of this, whenever any incidents of theft occur, they are held responsible for such incidents. However,*

*as CCTV cameras are present everywhere, these matters are easily resolved and the rag-pickers can prove their innocence. Apart from these issues, the police sometimes visit the godown to monitor the conditions of the place.*

*I will not continue this work for long. After I get back the money in circulation, in a few years I might return to my village as my family still resides in the village.”*

**Photo 5. Rag-pickers at Hebbal, Bengaluru, Karnataka**

**(a)**



**(b)**



The average yearly remittances sent by the migrant labourers to their families in the source region vary across the type of occupation that they are engaged in. For instance, on an average, the remittances sent by construction workers are equivalent to Rs. 99,333 and those sent by the helpers are Rs. 99,000. In contrast, the average yearly remittances sent home by the migrant labourers engaged in rag-picking in Bengaluru are equivalent to Rs. 61,289. It is also evident from the qualitative studies that most of the rag-pickers have brought their wives and children with them in the current place of work (Table 38).

**Table 38: Average Yearly Remittances Sent by the Respondents  
by Type of Occupation**

<b>Current Occupation</b>	<b>Average Yearly Remittances (Rs.)</b>
Construction worker	99,333
Helper	99,000
Carpenter	1,80,000
Painter	1,32,000
Pipeline worker	1,20,000
Light manufacturing workers	80,667
Shopkeeper	1,10,667
Marble worker	90,000

*Source:* Primary survey, 2019.

Around 84.4 per cent (38) of the migrant construction workers do not want to bring their wives and children to their workplace. It should also be pointed out that out of 45 migrants engaged as construction workers, around 35 were working in Kerala (Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur) while only 10 were residing in Karnataka (Bengaluru). Also, 75 per cent (15) of the migrants who were engaged as helpers did not want to bring their families to their current place of residence. In contrast, 64.2 per cent (18) of the rag-pickers wanted to bring their families to Bengaluru. On an aggregate level, around 72.9 per cent of the migrant workers did not want to bring their families to their workplace. More specifically, 83.8 per cent (52) of the migrants in Kerala did not want to bring their families in the near future as opposed to 59.18 per cent (29) of the migrants in Bengaluru. Further, while 2.38 per cent (1) of the migrant construction workers reported having brought the family in the past to their residence, the migrant rag-

pickers reported that 53.5 per cent (15) of them had brought their families to their workplace in the past (Tables 39, 40, 41 and 42).

**Table 39: Chances of the Migrants Bringing Their Wives and Children to the Workplace by Type of Occupation**

<b>Current Occupation</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Not Applicable</b>	<b>Total</b>
Construction worker	4 (8.8)	38 (84.4)	3 (6.6)	45
Helper	2 (10.0)	15 (75.0)	3 (15.0)	20
Carpenter	0 (0.0)	1 (100)	0 (0.0)	1
Painter	0 (0.0)	2 (100)	0 (0.0)	2
Pipeline worker	0 (0.0)	1 (100)	0 (0.0)	1
Light manufacturing worker	0 (0.0)	6 (100)	0 (0.0)	6
Shopkeeper	0 (0.0)	3 (100)	0 (0.0)	3
Marble worker	0 (0.0)	1 (100)	0 (0.0)	1
Rag-picker	18 (64.2)	10 (35.7)	0 (0.0)	28
Scrap-seller	0 (0.0)	1 (100)	0 (0.0)	1
Contractor	0 (0.0)	2 (100)	0 (0.0)	2
Car driver	0 (0.0)	1 (100)	0 (0.0)	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>24 (21.6)</b>	<b>81 (72.9)</b>	<b>6 (5.4)</b>	<b>111</b>

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Note: Figures in the parentheses indicate the respective percentages.

**Table 40: Chances of the Migrants Bringing Their Wives and Children to the workplace, by Destination State**

<b>State</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Not Applicable</b>	<b>Total</b>
Kerala	4	52	6	62
Karnataka	20	29	0	49
<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>111</b>

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

**Table 41: Ever Brought Wife and Family to the Workplace  
by Type of Occupation**

<b>Current Occupation</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
Construction worker	1	41	42
Helper	0	17	17
Carpenter	0	1	1
Painter	0	2	2
Pipeline worker	0	1	1
Light manufacturing worker	0	6	6
Shopkeeper	0	3	3
Marble worker	0	1	1
Rag-picker	15	13	28
Scrap-seller	0	1	1
Contractor	1	1	2
Car driver	0	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>105</b>

*Source: Primary survey, 2019.*

**Table 42: Ever Brought Wife and Family to the Workplace by State**

<b>State</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Total</b>
Kerala	0	56	56
Karnataka	17	32	49
<b>Total</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>105</b>

*Source: Primary survey, 2019.*

### **3.3. Migration and Well-being of Children Left Behind**

As one delves deeper into the major construction sites of Kempapura, Hebbal, and Bengaluru, one can see the tin barracks that are homes to many migrant workers from various districts of West Bengal. We encounter a middle-aged couple who have just arrived from West Bengal, waiting for their allocated quarters. A conversation with them provides fascinating insights about the environment.

Deepu Saha (42, construction worker) from Malda, West Bengal, recalls how he landed jobs as a construction worker. After having worked as a painter and waterproofing mechanic at various sites of Kolkata and Delhi, he arrived in Bengaluru via connections he had made in

previous jobs. He earns Rs. 400 per day and works for 22 days a month. His wife Minati (40) also works with him and receives Rs. 200 per day. Minati reveals, “*Here everything is costly, but the company provides the accommodation for free. The rest we have to buy from the market. We have a son who studies in school and our daughter takes care of him. We want to earn more money so that they can have a good life.*”

### 3.3.1. Child Enrolment in School

Table 43 shows that almost all the girls are enrolled in school. However, the rate of enrolment in school is found to be lower among boys, at 96.7 per cent. Most of the children (89.9 per cent) are enrolled in a Government school, with boys accounting for the maximum proportion of 91.3 per cent among these children. In contrast, the enrolment of girls in private schools, at 8.2 per cent, was found to be higher than that of boys, at 6.9 per cent (Table 44).

**Table 43. Child Enrolment in School**

Sex of the Child	Enrolled in School (%)
Male	58 (96.7)
Female	61 (100.0)
Total	119 (98.4)

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Note: Figures in the parentheses indicate the respective percentages.

In cases where the male members of the households are residing outside West Bengal, the guardian meetings of their children in school are mostly attended by their mothers (74.6 per cent), followed by other members of the household (15.4 per cent). While 4.2 per cent of the respondents reported that no one was attending the guardian meetings in the children’s school, 5.6 per cent reported that they were not aware of these meetings (Table 45). Around 62.3 per cent (58) of the migrant respondents reported that when they visit their villages, they also visit their children’s schools to enquire about the latter’s studies (Table 46).

**Table 44: Types of School-children Enrolled by Sex (%)**

<b>Sex of the Child</b>	<b>Government School</b>	<b>Government-sponsored School</b>	<b>Private School</b>
Male	53 (91.3)	1 (1.7)	4 (6.9)
Female	54 (88.5)	2 (3.2)	5 (8.2)
Total	107 (89.9)	3 (2.5)	9 (7.5)

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate the respective percentages.

**Table 45: Participation in Guardian Meetings  
in the Children's Schools**

<b>Who Participates In Guardian Meetings</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
No one	3 (4.2)
Mother	53 (74.6)
Other members	11 (15.4)
Don't know	4 (5.6)
Total	71 (100)

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Note: Figures in the parentheses indicate the respective percentages.

**Table 46: Visits Made by the Respondents  
to the Children's Schools**

<b>Did The Respondents Visit Their Children's Schools</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	35 (37.6)
No	58 (62.3)
Total	93 (100)

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

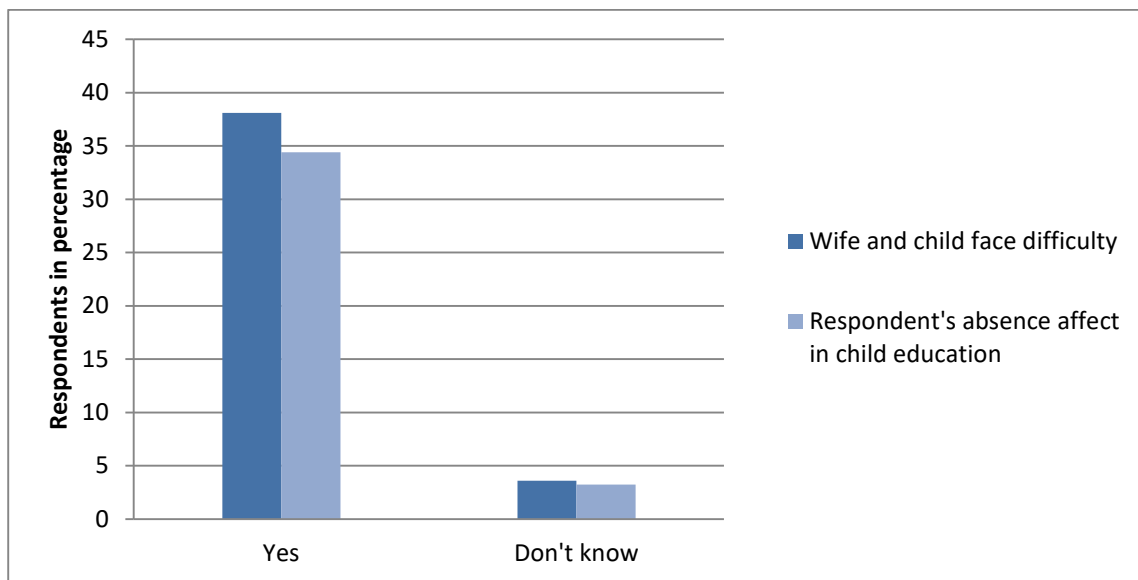
Note: Figures in the parentheses indicate the respective percentages.

In the study, 38.1 per cent (42) of the respondents reported that their wives and children faced difficulties in their absence, whereas the remaining 58.1 per cent (64) reported that their



families were not facing any difficulty back in the village. While 34.4 per cent of the respondents reported that their absence from their families was affecting their children’s education, 3.2 per cent of the respondents were not aware of this fact (Figure 8) (see Tables AI.9 and AI.10, Appendix I).

**Figure 8: Difficulties Faced in the Household due to the Respondent’s Absence**



Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Following are details of an IDI conducted with Rahnuma Khatun (name changed), at Hebbal, Bengaluru.

When asked if she had left her children behind in the village when she migrated here, and the effect of this migration on her children’s education, Rahnuma stated, *“I have brought my 12-year old daughter from the village. She was earlier enrolled in the village school. But my ailing mother-in-law is unable to take care of her. So we had to bring her here. However, currently she is not enrolled in any school and goes to the local madrassa. She studied till class 8 in the village, and we have plans to send her back to the village. I have three other children—two sons and a daughter, aged 10, 6, and 4 years, respectively, who are enrolled in private schools in Bengaluru. Before moving to Bengaluru, we used to stay in Delhi. There, they were enrolled in anganwadi centres, but they refused to go as they used to be beaten in the centres.”*

When Rahnuma was asked the reason for leaving Delhi and moving to Bengaluru, she said, *“We work in apartments. Here the madams speak with us in Hindi. Their behaviour is far better than the Delhi people. Even if we don’t understand their language, they speak to us very respectfully. The Delhi people used to have issues with us as our husbands were engaged as rag-pickers. They were also very suspicious about us. Moreover, religion is not an issue here.*

*In Delhi, house helpers were engaged only if they followed the same religion as that of the household owner. For instance, Muslim house helpers were engaged in Muslim households and similarly for the other religions. But in Bengaluru, such a scenario does not exist. Here, the owners give us similar food that they consume and even give food in their utensils.”*

When asked about how long her family was planning to stay in Bengaluru, Rahnuma replied, *“We want to stay here for a maximum period of 3-4 years, and then return to the village and spend time with our parents and in-laws for the rest of our life. As of now, some of our parents/in-laws are very ill and may die any day. But we can’t go to see them as flight fares are costly, and we need to go to work here regularly. So even if we manage to go after 3-4 days, we cannot attend their last rites.”*

On being asked about the problems they faced in Bengaluru, Rahnuma revealed, *“Water scarcity is a big problem. Here we have to buy water at Rs. 800 per family in a month from the tanker. Also for drinking water, we have to pay Rs. 10 per carrier. Even the costs of gas connection are borne by us, other than that we use dry leaves and sticks for cooking. The installation of the solar panels costs Rs. 7000–8000, and is used to light bulbs and charge phones. Furthermore, sometimes at night, when we go to search and collect materials, local goons harass us and take our money. At times, we are even hit by a car or harassed by police. For example, one of our people brought an auto but a local person complained about him. The police started harassing him and he had to pay Rs. 5000 to the police. However, such harassments are not faced by the women who work as maids in the apartments and the working conditions there are very safe and secure.”*

On medical care, she said, *“Sometimes medical vans come and conduct check-ups. However, they come once in a month. The medical check-ups are conducted on the men and women as they are engaged in rag-picking and as housemaids. They also provide free immunisation for the children and set up health camps. If we fall ill in between, then we visit a private doctor. We have to bear expenses of Rs. 1000–1500 for visits to the doctors and medicines. In our villages, the village doctor takes only Rs. 30 and we used to get well after having his medicines. So here, even if our income is high, expenditure is also high.”*

Interestingly, it was found that about 39 per cent of the respondents did not know whether their children were taken to the doctor or not after being morbid. When asked about the reason for this situation, Rahim Khan, a 37-year old construction worker and migrant labourer in Kerala from Murshidabad, West Bengal, complained, *“My family members, particularly my wife, don’t tell me about my children’s illness or what they have done after a child falls sick. They*

*tell me that other family members are there to look after the child and anyway what can I do hearing about it from here?”*

Further investigation also reveals that around 17.74 per cent (11) of the migrants in Thiruvananthapuram and Thrissur, and 22.4 per cent (11) of the migrants in Bengaluru wanted to return to their native villages sooner or later if job opportunities would be available in the villages. In contrast, 69.3 per cent (43) of the migrant labourers in Kerala and 63.2 per cent (31) of the labourers in Bengaluru did not want to leave their current place of residence (Table 47).

**Table 47: Responses of Respondents Regarding Relocation  
from Their Current Place of Work**

<b>Where Will You Go from Your Current State of Residence</b>	<b>Kerala</b>	<b>Karnataka</b>	<b>Total</b>
Back to West Bengal	11	11	22
Wherever a Better Opportunity Is Available	2	4	6
Delhi or Mumbai	1	0	1
Dubai	0	1	1
Kerala	0	1	1
No idea	4	0	4
Nowhere	43	31	74
Saudi Arabia	1	0	1
Wherever the company will take us	0	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>111</b>

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

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## Appendix I

**Table AI.1: Main Source of Lighting**

Main Source of Lighting	Percentage
Electricity	95.0
Kerosene	3.8
Solar	0.7
Other oil	0.4

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

**Table AI.2: Nutritional Health Status of the Children (0 to 14 Years)**

Malnutrition among Children	Percentage
Under-weight	28.0
Over-weight	10.0
Stunted	24.3

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

**Table AI.3: Delay in Treatment of the Children by Parental Migration Status (%)**

Delay in Treatment (Days)	Sex	Inter-State Migrants	Intra-State Migrants	Non-migrants
0	Male	12.5	4.7	19.1
	Female	8.0	9.5	8.3
	Total	10.0	7.1	13.5
1	Male	40.9	42.8	39.3
	Female	38.3	38.1	44.7
	Total	39.5	40.4	42.1
2	Male	22.7	28.5	15.7
	Female	30.3	23.8	23.9
	Total	27.0	26.1	20.0

3	Male	7.9	0.0	5.6
	Female	9.8	9.5	8.3
	Total	9.0	4.7	7.0
4	Male	1.1	4.7	3.3
	Female	4.4	4.7	5.2
	Total	3.0	4.7	4.3
5	Male	1.1	4.7	4.4
	Female	0.8	4.7	3.1
	Total	1.0	4.7	3.7
7	Male	4.5	4.7	2.2
	Female	3.5	4.7	3.1
	Total	4.0	4.7	2.7
9	Male	1.1	0.0	1.1
	Female	0.0	4.7	0.0
	Total	0.5	2.3	0.5
10	Male	1.1	-	4.4
	Female	2.6	-	1.0
	Total	2.0	-	2.7
12	Male	1.1	9.5	-
	Female	0.0	0.0	-
	Total	0.5	4.7	-
15	Male	1.1	-	2.2
	Female	0.0	-	0.0
	Total	0.5	-	1.0
20	Male	3.41	-	1.1
	Female	0.0	-	1.0
	Total	1.5	-	1.0
30	Male	1.1	-	0.0
	Female	0.0	-	1.0
	Total	0.5	-	0.5
45	Male	0.0	-	-
	Female	1.7	-	-
	Total	1.0	-	-
60	Male	-	-	1.1

	Female	-	-	0.0
	Total	-	-	0.5

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

**Table AI.4: Average Age of Migrant Labourers by State**

Sample Characteristics	Destination State	
	Kerala	Karnataka
Average age	33.2	33.0
Total	62	49

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

**Table AI.5: Average Number of Months Staying  
in the Current Place of Residence by State**

Destination State	Average Number of Months of Stay
Kerala	60.4
Karnataka	64.5

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

**Table AI.6: Average Age at Initial Migration  
by State**

State	Average Age at Initial Migration
Kerala	22
Karnataka	24

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

**Table AI.7. Average Monthly Income  
of the Respondents, by State**

State	Average Monthly Income (Rs.)
Kerala	15,079
Karnataka	12,981

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

**Table AI.8. Average Monthly Expenditure of the Respondents by State**

State	Average Monthly Expenditure (Rs.)
Kerala	5112.90
Karnataka	4883.67

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

**Table AI.9: Whether Wife and Children Face Any Difficulty due to Absence of the Respondent**

Do the Wife and Children of the Respondent Face Any Difficulty due to His Absence	Frequency
Yes	42 (38.1)
No	64 (58.2)
don't know	4 (3.6)

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

Note: Figures in the parentheses indicate the respective percentages.

**Table AI.10: Absence of the Respondents Affecting Children's Education**

Does the Respondent's Absence Affect the Children's Education	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	32	34.4
No	58	62.3
Don't know	3	3.2
Total	93	100

Source: Primary survey, 2019.

## Appendix II

### MIGRATION, GENDER DISPARITY AND CHILD WELL-BEING

#### SURVEY 2019

#### HOUSEHOLD, CHILD AND WOMEN QUESTIONNAIRE

**Confidential**

##### A. Identification

1. District   2. Questionnaire Number (Pre-Assigned)

(Codes for DISTRICT)

3. Block

4. Gram Panchayat

5. Village

6. Name of the Para (locality)

7. Serial number of the household (from sampling frame)

**DISTRICT:** Darjeeling-01, Jalpaiguri-02, Cooch Behar-03, Uttar Dinajpur-04, Dakshin Dinajpur-05, Malda-06, Birbhum-07, Murshidabad-08, Purba Bardhaman-09, Nadia-10, Purulia-11, Bankura-12, Hooghly-13, North 24 Parganas-14, Paschim Medinipur-15, Howrah-16, Kolkata-17, South 24 Parganas-18, Purbo Medinipur-19, Kalimpong-20, Alipurduar-21, Paschim Bardhaman-22, Jhargram-23

8. Type of household (*migrant (inter-state) household – 1; migrant (intra-state) household – 2; non-migrant household – 3*)

9. Replacement status (*original sample – 1; replaced sample – 2*)

10. Name of the household head

#### CONSENT STATEMENT

This study is conducted by the Institute of Development Studies Kolkata (IDSK) and National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER), New Delhi. We would like to ask for information about your household and interview you about your family and migration status of your family or any household member's.

The interview is voluntary. We would like to ask about various aspects of your child's life including health and education. In addition, we may ask to measure the height and weight of children of 0 to 14 years of age in the household.

We may also ask to speak to young people in your household about similar issues.

If you choose not to reply to any of the questions in this questionnaire, you are free to do so.

If you decide to answer some or all of the questions, we will use the information you give us only for the purposes of research and publication.

People will be able to learn about the health and well-being of the children of West Bengal, but not what you personally said.

Your name and other personal information will be retained by IDSK and NCAER in a confidential manner.

For information about the study please contact Ms Monalisha Chakraborty and Dr Subrata Mukherjee at IDSK, 27/D, D.D. Block, Sector-I, Kolkata-700 064.

E-mail: [monalisha@idsk.edu.in](mailto:monalisha@idsk.edu.in) and [subrata@idsk.edu.in](mailto:subrata@idsk.edu.in)

1. Do you agree to be interviewed? (Yes-1, No-0)

2. Do you agree to let young people in your household? (Yes-1, No-0)

3. Number of visits

4. First Interview Date

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5. Second Interview Date

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## B. Household basic information

11.	<b>Religion</b> ( <i>Hindu-1;Muslim-2; Christian-3;Others-9</i> )	
12.	<b>Caste</b> ( <i>Scheduled Tribe-1, Scheduled Caste-2, OBC-3, Forward/General-9</i> )	
13.	<b>Sub-caste (describe)</b>	
14.	<b>For how many years have you been living in the current place of residence?</b> ( <i>Years&lt;1- 00, 98 years or more- 98, Don't know- 99</i> )	
15.	<b>From where did your family come?</b> ( <i>No knowledge of family migration-1, Same State, Same District-2, Same State, Another District-3, Another State-4, Another Country-5, Don't know-6</i> )	
16.	<b>If answer '5' in Question 15 then, tell me the name of the Country?</b>	
17.	<b>If answer '4' in Question 15 then, tell me the name of the State?</b> [see CODES for17]	
18.	<b>If answer '3' and '4' in Question 15 then, tell me the name of the District?</b> [see CODES for 18]	
19.	<b>If answer '2', '3' and '4' in Question 15, then tell me the name of the place?</b>	
20.	<b>Was it a village-1, semi-town-2, town-3, city-4?</b>	

**CODES for 17.** Jammu & Kashmir-JK, Himachal Pradesh-HP, Punjab-PJ, Chandigarh-CH, Uttarakhand-UK, Haryana-HR, Delhi-DL, Rajasthan-RJ, Uttar Pradesh-UP, Bihar-BR, Sikkim-SK, Arunachal Pradesh-AR, Nagaland NL, Manipur-MN, Mizoram-MZ, Tripura-TR, Meghalaya-ML, Assam-AS, West Bengal-WB, Jharkhand-JS, Orissa-OR, Chhattisgarh-CG, Madhya Pradesh-MP, Gujarat-GJ, Daman & Diu-DD, Dadra & Nagar Haveli-DN, Maharashtra-MH, Andhra Pradesh-AP, Karnataka-KA, Hyderabad-HD, Telangana-TL, Goa-GA, Kerala-KL, Tamil Nadu-TN, Pondicherry- PY, Lakshadweep- LD

**CODES for 18.** Darjeeling-1, Jalpaiguri-2, Cooch Behar-3, Uttar Dinajpur-4, Dakshin Dinajpur-5, Malda-6, Birbhum-7, Murshidabad-8, Purba Bardhaman-9, Nadia-10, Purulia-11, Bankura-12, Hooghly-13, North 24 Parganas-14, Paschim Medinipur-15, Howrah-16, Kolkata-17, South 24 Parganas-18, Purbo Medinipur-19, Kalimpong-20, Alipurduar-21, Paschim Bardhaman-22, Jhargram-23

**C. Household Roster (including migrant members)**

21. Total number of household members

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Household member's Serial number	NAME (only first name)	RELATION with the respondent [See CODES for 24]	SEX (Male-1, Female-2)	AGE (in years/months)				RESIDENCE Usually present member?  (Present member-1, Migrant-2)	EDUCATION (completed years of schooling)  (Play school-21, Nursery-22, Studying in KG1-23, Studying in KG2-24, Studying in Class 1-25, Not eligible to go to school-27)	OCCUPATION Primary activity status  [See CODES for 29]	CURRENT MARITAL STATUS  (Currently married-1, Unmarried-2, Separated-3, Divorced-4, Widow/Widower-5)	Husband/Wife's Serial Number  [to be copied from 22]	Mother's Serial Number  [to be copied from 22]
				Y	Y	M	M						
(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)				(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)
				Y	Y	M	M						
				Y	Y	M	M						
				Y	Y	M	M						
				Y	Y	M	M						
				Y	Y	M	M						
				Y	Y	M	M						
				Y	Y	M	M						
				Y	Y	M	M						

**CODES for 29:** Cultivation-1, Allied agriculture-2, Agricultural wage labourer-3, Forestry and logging-4, Fishing and aquaculture-5, Artisans/independent-6, Petty shop/small business-7, Organized trade/business-8, Mining and quarrying-9, Manufacturing-10, Construction-11, Domestic work-12, Salaried employment-13, Professional, scientific, technical-14, Housewife-15, Pension/rent/dividend-16, Student-17, Doing nothing-18, Daily wage labourer-19, Driver-20, Car driver-201, Toto driver-202, Bus/truck driver-203, Others-21, Bidi binding-22, Weaver-23, Electrician- 24, No answer-98



**D. Migrant details**

33. Have you or any member of your household left home for work during the last 5 years? (Yes-1, No-2)

34. If yes, how many members left during the last 5 years?

Migrant member's Serial Number  [Copy from no.21]	Name of the member	Place of migration  (Same state-1  Another state-2)	If 1, Name of the district	If 2, Name of the state  [See CODES for 39]	Urban-1  Rural-2	Gone alone/ with family  (Alone-1  With spouse-2  With spouse & children-3  With others-4)	For how many years/months ?				If returned, for how many months he/she is living in the current place of residence?	Type of work  [See CODES for 44]	Migrated through  (Contactor -1  With a job/self employed-2  Without a job-3)	How often remittances are sent?  (Every month-1, Once in 3 months-2, Once in 6 months-3, Once in a year-4)	Amount of remittances sent  (in Rupees)	To whom remittances are sent?  (Father-1, Mother-2, Wife-3, Brother-4, Others-9)
(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	(40)	(41)	(42)				(43)	(44)	(45)	(46)	(47)	(48)
							Y	Y	M	M						
							Y	Y	M	M						
							Y	Y	M	M						

**CODES for 24:** Self - 1, Spouse - 2, Son/daughter - 3, Spouse of married child - 4, Grandchild - 5, Father/mother/father-in-law/mother-in-law - 6, Brother/sister/brother-in-law/sister-in-law - 7, Other relatives - 8, , Servant/employees/ other non-relatives - 9

**CODES for 39.** Jammu & Kashmir-JK, Himachal Pradesh-HP, Punjab-PJ, Chandigarh-CH, Uttarakhand-UK, Haryana-HR, Delhi-DL, Rajasthan-RJ, Uttar Pradesh-UP, Bihar-BR, Sikkim-SK, Arunachal Pradesh-AR, Nagaland NL, Manipur-MN, Mizoram-MZ, Tripura-TR, Meghalaya-ML, Assam-AS, West Bengal-WB, Jharkhand-JS, Orissa-OR, Chhattisgarh-CG, Madhya Pradesh-MP, Gujarat-GJ, Daman & Diu-DD, Dadra & Nagar Haveli-DN, Maharashtra-MH, Andhra Pradesh-AP, Karnataka-KA, Goa-GA, Kerala-KL, Tamil Nadu-TN, Pondicherry- PY, Lakshadweep- LD

**CODES for 44:** Cultivation-1, Allied agriculture-2, Agricultural wage labourer-3, Forestry and logging-4, Fishing and aquaculture-5, Artisans/independent-6, Petty shop/small business-7, Organized trade/business-8, Mining and quarrying-9, Manufacturing-10, Construction-11, Domestic work-12, Salaried employment-13, Professional, scientific, technical-14, Housewife-15, Pension/rent/dividend-16, Student-17, Doing nothing-18, Daily wage labourer-19, Driver-20, Car driver-201, Toto driver-202, Bus/truck driver-203, Others-21, Bidi binding-22, Weaver-23, Electrician-24, No answer-98

### E. Household details

49	<b>What is the ownership status of the household you live?</b> (Owned-1, Relatives-2, Rented-3, Others-9)	
50	<b>Type of house</b>	
A.	Roof (Concrete-1, Asbestos-2, Tin-3, Straw-4, Tiles-5, Plastic/Bamboo-5, Others-9)	
B.	Any concrete part? (Yes-1, No-2)	
C.	Wall (Tin-0, Mud-1, Fence-2, Brick unplastered-3, Brick plastered-4, Plastic/Bamboo-5, Others-9)	
D.	Floor (Mud-1, Concrete-2, Tiles-3, Marbels-4, Others-9)	
51	<b>Number of rooms used for sleeping</b>	
52	<b>Main source of lighting</b> (Kerosene-1, Other oil-2, Electricity-3, Solar-4, Others-9)	

### 53. Assets holdings/amenities (Yes-1, No-2)

Sl no.	Asset/ Amenities	Code	Sl no.	Asset/ Amenities	Code
A	Electric Fan		I	Mobile Phones	
B	Air Conditioner		J	Gas	
C	Black and white Television		K	Washing machine	
D	Colour Television		L	Mixer/Grinder	
E	Computer/laptop		M	Motor cycle/ Scooter	
F	Fridge/ Refrigerator		N	Cooler	
G	Electric heater		O	Generator Set	
H	Sewing Machine		P	Micro oven	

Sl. No.	Livestock	Number
Q	Cow/ buffalo	
R	Hen/ duck	
S	Goat/ sheep/ pig	

### E.1. Health and Hygiene

54	<b>What is the main source of water for drinking in your house?</b> [Piped (public supply-1, Tube well-2, Hand pump-3, Open well-4, Covered well-5, River, canal, stream-6, Pond-7, Tanker truck-8, Rainwater-10, Bottled-11, Others-9)	
55	<b>Is this inside or outside the house/ compound?</b> (Inside-1, Outside-2)	
56	<b>Whether the water is treated before drinking?</b> (Always-1, Usually-2, Rarely-3, Never-4)	
57	<b>If yes, mention the type of treatment:</b> (Filtering with a cloth-1, Boiling-2, Filtration-3, Geolene-4, using halogen tablet-5, Filtering with sand-6, Electric filtering-7)	

58	<b>Where is the cooking generally done for this household?</b> (Cooking in outdoors-1, Separate Kitchen-2, Cooking is in living area-3)	
59	<b>Is there a window or a vent in the cooking area?</b> (Yes-1, No-2, Cooking in outdoors-3)	
60	<b>Facility of Sanitation</b> (Open-1, Community toilet-2, Shared toilet-3, Own toilet-4)	
61	<b>Type of sanitation facility</b> (Pit latrine-1, service latrine-2, Connected pour flush latrine-3)	
62	<b>Place of bathing</b> (Open-1, Community bathroom-2, Cluster bathroom-3, Private bathroom-4)	
63	<b>Drainage type</b> (no drainage facility-0, open non cemented drain-1, open cemented drain-2, covered cemented drain/underground-3, others-9)	
64	<b>Types of primary cooking fuel</b> (Firewood-1, cow dung cakes-2, coal-3, kerosene-4, electricity-5, Gas-5, others-9)	
65	<b>Where do you dump your garbage?</b> (Outside/behind the house-1, Nearby field-2, Nearest dumping site-3, Collected by pourakarmikas/others-4, Others-9)	
66	<b>If have animals, whether they are kept in separate places/ structures?</b> (Yes-1, No-2, Not applicable-3)	

#### F. Child details (0-14 years)

67	<b>Serial No. of child (Household Roster)</b>					
68	<b>Birth weight of the child (in Kg)</b>					
69	<b>Baby's size at birth:</b> (Very Small-1, Small-2, Medium-3, Large-4, Very Large-5)					

#### G. Anthropometry

70	<b>Serial No. of child</b>					
71	<b>Height of the child (in metres) (0-14 years)</b>					
72	<b>Weight of the child (in kg) (0-14 years)</b>					
73	<b>Head circumference (in cm) (0-3 years)</b>					
74	<b>Chest circumference (in cm) (0-3 years)</b>					

## H. Immunisation coverage (0-5 years)

Polio- vaccine i.e. drops in the mouth

BCG- vaccination against tuberculosis, which is an injection in the left shoulder that left a scar

DaPT- vaccination against diphtheria, acellular pertussis (whooping cough) and tetanus

DPT- vaccination against diphtheria, pertussis (whooping cough), tetanus, given as an injection

MMR- vaccination against measles, mumps, and rubella (German measles)

Hepatitis B- vaccination against infection caused by all known subtypes of Hepatitis B virus

Vitamin A dose- Liquid or capsule ever given to protect the child from night blindness

75	Serial No. of child						
76	Do you have a card where [Name]'s vaccination were written down? (Yes-1, No-2, Don't remember/ Don't know-9)						
77	Can you show me the card?(Yes-1, No-2)						
78	Whether the child was given all the doses of the following (Yes-1, No-2)						
A	Birth	Oral Polio 0					
B		BCG					
C		Hepatitis B 1					
D	6 weeks	Oral Polio 1					
E		DaPT 1					
F		Hepatitis B 2					
G	10 weeks	DaPT 2					
H		Oral Polio 2					
I	14 weeks	DaPT 3					
J		Oral Polio 3					
K	6-9 months	Oral Polio 4					
L		Hepatitis B 3					
M	9 months	Measles					
N		MMR					
O		DPT 1					

P	15-18 months	Oral Polio 5					
Q	5 years	DPT 2					
R		Oral Polio 6					
S	10 years	TT (Tetanus) 3					
T		Hepatitis B					
U		Vitamin A dose					

79	<b>Where did [Name] receive most of his/her vaccinations?</b> <i>(Public hospital, clinic or health centre-1, Vaccination camp or pulse polio campaign-2, Private medical clinic-3, Nurse or health worker came home-4, Government worker in private-5)</i>					
<b>Serial No. of child</b>						

### I. Feeding practices (0-5 years)

80	Serial No. of child					
81	<b>Did you ever breastfeed [Name]?</b> <i>(Yes-1, No-2)</i>					
82	<b>For how many months did you breastfeed [Name]?</b>					

### J. Food intake (6 months-14 years)

Please tell me the frequency of these items consumed by your child in past 7 days:

83	<b>Serial No. of child</b>					
84	Up to 7 months	Milk and milk products (e.g. yogurt, cheese, ice cream, butter, <i>ghee</i> , cheese curd, etc.)				
85		Any dark green leafy vegetables (e.g. spinach, amaranth leaves, broccoli, etc.)				
86		Fruits (including any ripe mango, papayas, cantaloupe or jackfruit, orange, grapes)				
87	Up to 8 months	Other vegetables (any pumpkin, carrots, tomato, squash or sweet potatoes that are yellow or orange inside, white potatoes, white yams, manioc, cassava or other foods made from roots)				

88	Up to 10 months	Any bread, <i>roti</i> , <i>chapati</i> , rice, noodles, <i>idli</i> or any food made from grains					
89		Pulses and pulse products, beans, peas, lentils, nuts					
90		Meat, organ meat (e.g. liver, kidney, heart), chicken and fish					
91		Eggs					
92		Processed food (biscuit, noodles)					
93	Onwards	Fast food(chips, cold drinks, egg roll)					

**K. Morbidity and treatment seeking (0-14 years)**

94. Has [Name] had suffered from any disease in the last 3 months? (*Yes-1, No-2*)

<b>A</b>	<b>Serial No. of Child</b>					
<b>B</b>	<b>Type of disease</b>					
<b>C</b>	<b>Did you seek advice or treatment for disease from any source?</b> ( <i>Yes-1, No-2</i> )					
<b>D</b>	<b>If yes, from where?</b> [see CODES for 92D]					
<b>E</b>	<b>How many days after the disease began did you first seek advice or treatment for [Name]? (Days)</b>					
<b>F</b>	<b>Where was it located?</b> ( <i>Same village/Town-1, Another village-2, Other Town-3, District Town-4</i> )					
<b>G</b>	<b>Total expenditure on treatment (in Rupees)</b>					

**CODES for 92D.** (Govt./Municipal hospital-1, Govt. Dispensary-2, RUR. HOSP/Block PHC/Additional PHC-3, Govt. Mobile clinic-4, Camp-5, Asha-6, Other public health sector-7, Private hospital-8, Private doctor/clinic-9, Pharmacy/drug store-10, Other private health sector-11, Quack-12, Traditional healer-13, Witch craft-14, Friends/relatives-15, others-16 \_\_\_\_\_ (specify)  
 If unable to determine, write the name of the place \_\_\_\_\_)

**L. Education of the child (6-14 years)**

95	Serial No. of child					
96	Is [Name] ever been enrolled in school? (Yes-1, No-2)					
97	If yes, mention the type of school? Government school-1, Government aided school-2, Private school-3)					
97A	Name of the school					
98	Has [Name] ever attended school? (Never-0, Yes, currently-1, Yes, in the past-2)					
98A	If answer '0' or '2' in Question 96 and 98, what is the main reason behind not attending school? (School too far away-1, Transport not available-2, Further education not considered necessary-3, Required for household work-4, Required for work on farm and family business-5, Required for outside work for payment in cash or kind-6, Costs too much-7, No proper school facilities for girls-8, Not safe to send girls-9, No female teacher-10, Required for care of siblings-11, Not interested in studies-12, Repeated failure-13, Did not get admission-14, Other-99, Don't know-88)[if answer of 96 is 'no' then skip to 107 after 98A]					
99	At what age did [Name] start school? [if answer of 98 is 'no' then skip to 107 after 99]					

100	<p><b>Why did you choose this school?</b></p> <p><i>(Only school available-1, Close to home-2, Better Education/Facilities-3, Siblings already there-4, English medium-5, Affordable-6, Single sex school-7, Unable to get admission anywhere else-8, Others-9, Don't know-88)</i></p>					
101	<p><b>Up to which class/standard [Name] has completed? (to be copied from household roaster)</b></p>					
102	<p><b>Do (did) [Name] enjoy school?</b></p> <p><i>(Rarely-1, Sometimes-2, Usually-3, Always-4)</i></p>					
103	<p><b>Are you involved in any Parent Teacher Association/someone from household discusses about the child's education and progress with teacher?</b></p> <p><i>(Yes-1, No-0, Don't remember-3)</i></p>					
104	<p><b>Over the past 12 months, did anyone from your household attend a PTA general meeting?</b></p> <p><i>(Yes-1, No-2, Don't remember-9)</i></p>					
104A	<p><b>If yes, Who?</b></p> <p><i>(Respondent-1, Husband-2, Both-3, Father/Mother/Father-in-law/Mother-in-law-4, Others-9)</i></p>					
105	<p><b>Did [Name] ever repeat a class?</b></p> <p><i>(Yes-1, No-2, Don't know-9)</i></p>					
106	<p><b>If Yes, how many times?</b></p>					
107	<p><b>During the past one week, did [Name] do any kind of work for someone who is not a member of this household? (Yes-1, No-2)</b></p>					
107A	<p><b>If yes, for pay?</b></p> <p><i>(Yes, for pay-1, Yes, unpaid-2, No-3)</i></p>					
108	<p><b>During the past one week did [Name] help with household chores such as shopping, collecting, firewood, cleaning, fetching water or caring for children?</b></p> <p><i>(Yes-1, No-2)</i></p>					
109	<p><b>During the past one week did [Name] do any other family work such as work on the farm or in a business or selling goods in the street?</b></p> <p><i>(Yes-1, No-2)</i></p>					



110	Since last (day of the week), about how many hours did he/she work?					
111	Do you think any one/both parents' absence is affecting the education of the child? (Yes-1, No-2)					
111A	If yes, how?					
	1.					
	2.					
	3.					

**M. Psychological health of the child (6-14 years)**

112. Please tell me whether your child (Yes-1, No-2)						
113. Serial No. of child						
A. Is distractible, has trouble sticking to an activity/jumps from one activity to another						
B. Fails to finish things he/she starts						
C. Has difficulty following directions or instructions						
D. Is impulsive, acts without stopping to think						
E. Is cranky (easily annoyed or upset or irritated and angry by others)/ expressing bitterness at having been treated unfairly						
F. Becomes sad for small reasons						
G. Is defiant, talks/argues a lot back to adults (not willing to accept criticism)						
H. Blames others for his/her own mistakes						
I. seems unhappy, sad, or depressed						
J. Worries about being separated from loved ones						
K. Is scared to sleep without parents nearby						
L. Gets overly upset while away from loved ones						
M. Uses tools while fighting						
N. Has trouble enjoying himself or herself						

<b>114. Is the family currently undergoing through problems or stress?</b> (Yes-1, No-2, Don't know-9)						
<b>114A. What is the biggest problem or stress the family is undergoing?</b>	a.	<input type="text"/>	b.	<input type="text"/>	c.	<input type="text"/>
<i>(Financial stressors-1, Death of loved one-2 Family violence-3, History of abuse (parent)-4, History of abuse (child)-5, Alcohol or drug use (parent)-6, Alcohol or drug use (child/teen)-7, Parents Separation/Divorce-9, Custody/Access dispute-10, Major physical illness (parent)-11, Major physical illness (child)-12)</i>						
<b>115. Serial No. of child</b>						
<b>115A. Frequency of seeing father/mother by the child</b> (Daily-1, Weekly-2, Monthly-3, Annually-4, Irregularly-5, Divorced-6, Death-6)						

#### N. Exposure to mass media

<b>116. Mother's Serial Number (to be copied from household roster)</b>			
<b>117. Mother's exposure to mass media</b> ( <i>Regular-1, Often-2, Sometimes-3, Once a week-4, Never-5</i> )			
<b>A. Read a newspaper</b>			
<b>B. Listened to radio</b>			
<b>C. Watch news on television</b>			
<b>D. Read a magazine</b>			
<b>E. Access Internet</b>			
<b>118. If the mother is having access to mobile phone</b> ( <i>Own smart phone – 1; own basic phone – 2; others phone / landline – 3; no phone – 4</i> )			

#### O. Gender relations

<b>119. Mother's Serial Number (to be copied from household roster)</b>			
<b>120. When decisions are being made regarding the following who generally takes all the decisions?</b> ( <i>Code: Respondent-1, Husband-2, Jointly-3, Mother/Mother-in-law-4, Father/Father-in-law-5, Other members of the family-9</i> )			
<b>A. The money you earn will be used (if working)</b>			
<b>B. Husband's earning will be used</b>			
<b>C. Major household purchases</b>			
<b>D. What to cook on a daily basis?</b>			

<b>E. Choosing the healthcare provider in case of your sickness</b>			
<b>F. Whether to involve in a social function/what to present on social function such as marriage?</b>			
<b>G. Choosing the healthcare provider in case of child's sickness</b>			
<b>121. Now, I would like to ask you about going to the following places, please tell us whether you have to ASK PERMISSION of your husband or a senior family member to go...</b>			
<b>A. Did you visit any health facility/doctor in the last three months?</b> (Yes-1, No-2, Don't remember-3)[If 'No' skip to 121B]			
<b>A1. Who accompanied you?</b> <i>(No one-1, Husband-2, Other male family members-3, Other female family members-4, Relatives-5, Neighbours-6, Friends-7, Others-9)</i>			
<b>B. Did you visit any relative's house outside the village in the last one month?</b> (Yes-1, No-2, Don't remember-3)[If 'No' skip to 121C]			
<b>B1. Who accompanied you?</b> <i>(No one-1, Husband-2, Other male family members-3, Other female family members-4, Relatives-5, Neighbours-6, Friends-7, Others-9)</i>			
<b>C. Did you visit to the market in the last one month?</b> (Yes-1, No-2, Don't remember-3)[If 'No' skip to 121D]			
<b>C1. Who accompanied you?</b> <i>(No one-1, Husband-2, Other male family members-3, Other female family members-4, Relatives-5, Neighbours-6, Friends-7, Others-9)</i>			
<b>D. Did you travel by bus/train in the last one month?</b> (Yes-1, No-2, Don't remember-3)[If 'No' skip to 122]			
<b>D1. Who accompanied you?</b> <i>(No one-1, Husband-2, Other male family members-3, Other female family members-4, Relatives-5, Neighbours-6, Friends-7, Others-9)</i>			
<b>122. Do you and your child face difficulties due to your husband's absence?</b> (Yes-1, No-2)[If 'No' skip to 123]			
<b>122A. If yes, tell me about three such difficulties.</b>			

<b>123. Have you suffered from any disease in the last three months?</b> (Yes-1, No-2)[If 'No' skip to 129]			
<b>123A. If yes, what illness? (maximum three, starting from the most recent)</b>			
<b>124. Did you seek advice/treatment from any source?</b> (Yes-1, No-2)			
<b>124A. If yes, from where? (most recent one)</b> (Government/Municipal hospital-1, Govt. Dispensary-2, RUR. HOSP/Block PHC/Additional PHC-3, Govt. Mobile clinic-4, Camp-5, Asha-6, Other public health sector-7, Private hospital-8, Private doctor/clinic-9, Pharmacy/drug store-10, Other private health sector-11, Quack-12, Traditional healer-13, Witch craft-14, Friends/relatives-15, others-16 _____) (specify) If unable to determine, write the name of the place _____)			
<b>125. How many days after the disease began did you first seek advice or treatment?</b>			
<b>126. Who decided to go to this health facility?</b> (Self-1, Husband-2, Both-3, Other members of the family)			
<b>127. Where was it located?</b> (Same village/Town-1, Another village-2, Other Town-3, District Town-4)			
<b>128. Did you go alone or were accompanied by someone?</b> (Alone-1, With husband-2, With others-3)			
<b>129. Contact number of the migrants</b>			
<b>Serial Number of migrants (from household roster)</b>	<b>Contact number</b>		

(Codes for 94B: Cough and cold-1, Fever-2, ARI-3, Diarrhoea-4, Skin disease-5, Stomach pain-6, Dengue/Malaria/Typhoid-7, Measles-8, ENT problem-9, Eye problem-10, Urine infection-11, Weakness/dizziness-12, Chest pain-13, Brain problem-14, Body pain-15, Chicken pox-16, Others-19)

(Codes for 123A: Cough and cold-1, Fever-2, ARI-3, Diarrhoea-4, Skin disease-5, Tumor-6, Cancer-7, Anaemia-8, Menstruation problem (frequent bleeding)/ vaginal infection-9, Complications after ligation surgery-10, Stomach pain-11, Appendicitis operation-12, Arthritis-13, Body pain/back pain/hand and leg swelling-14, ENT problem-15, Eye problem-16, Chest pain/heart disease-17, Gallbladder stone-18, Hypertension-19, Kidney problem-20, Mouth infection-21, Malaria/dengue/typhoid-22, Weakness/dizziness-23, Body infection-24, Chicken pox-25, Urine infection-26, Jaundice-27, PCOD-28, Sexually transmitted disease-29, Others-30)

**Appendix III**  
**Migration, Gender Disparity and Child Well-being**  
**Migrants' Questionnaire**

<b>Confidential</b>
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**A. Identification and migration details**

<b>1</b>	<b>Name</b>			
<b>2</b>	<b>Age (in years)</b>			
<b>3</b>	<b>Religion</b> <i>(Hindu-1, Muslim-2, Christian-3, Others-9)</i>			
<b>4</b>	<b>Education (completed years)</b>			
<b>5</b>	<b>Current occupation (description)</b>			
<b>5A</b>	<b>Type of work site</b>			
<b>5B</b>	<b>If under any contractor? (Yes-1, No-0)</b>			
<b>6</b>	<b>Marital status (Married-1, Unmarried-2, Divorced-3)</b>			
<b>7</b>	<b>If married, do you have any children? (Yes-1, No-0)</b>			
<b>7A</b>	<b>If yes, how many children do you have?</b>			
<b>8</b>	<b>State</b>			
<b>9</b>	<b>District</b>			
<b>10</b>	<b>Source location</b>			
<b>10A</b>	<b>District</b>			
<b>10B</b>	<b>Block/Gram Panchayat</b>			
<b>10C</b>	<b>Village name</b>			
<b>11</b>	<b>For how many years/months have you been living in the current place of residence?</b>	Y	Y	M
<b>12</b>	<b>How did you get the current job?</b>			
<b>13</b>	<b>At what age did you migrate first? (in years)</b>			
<b>14</b>	<b>How many times you visited your home in the last one year?</b>			
<b>15</b>	<b>How much do you earn in a month? (in Rs.)</b>			
<b>16</b>	<b>How much do you spend here in a month? (in Rs.)</b>			

17	How much remittance could you send home in the last one year? ( <i>in Rs.</i> )	
17A	Is it enough for the household?  ( <i>Yes-1, No-0</i> )	

**18. Migration history (Start from the most recent excluding current work)**

Sl. No.	State	District	Type of work	Duration of stay
(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				

**B. Household details**

19	How many members are there in your household?	
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**20. Professional profile of household members**

Sl. No.	Name	Relation with the migrant( <i>post survey code</i> )	Sex  ( <i>Male-1, Female-2</i> )	Age	Education  ( <i>completed years</i> )	Occupation  ( <i>description</i> )
(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)

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21	If you get a chance, will you bring your wife and children to your place of work?(if Q.6 or 7 is 'Yes')	
22	[For those who have been working for two years or more] Have you ever brought your family, especially women and children, to your current place of work? (Yes-1, No-0)	

**C. Child- and wife-specific**

23	How many children are there in your household?	
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**24. Child details (6-14 years)**

Sl. No.	Name	Age	Sex (Male-1, Female-2)	Currently enrolled in school? (Yes-1, No-0, Don't know-3)	Type of school (Government-1, Government sponsored-2, Private-3)	How many private tuitions he/she has?	Extra-curricular activities (post survey code)	Maximum education (you want)	What do you want him/her to do in future?
(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	(H)	(I)	(J)
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									

**If the worker has own child/ children:**

25	Does the school have a guardian meeting? (Yes-1, No-0)	
25A	If yes, who participates in any school committee like the Parent-Teacher Association? (No one-0, Mother of the child-1, Other members-3, Don't know-4)	

26	When you visited your home, did you visit the school and ask about your child/children's educational progress or attend any parent-teacher meeting? (Yes-1, No-0)	
27	Do you think your family, especially your wife and children face some difficulty due to your absence? (Yes-1, No-2, Don't know-3)	
28	Tell me about three such difficulties:  1.  2.  3.	
29	Do you think your absence affects the education of the child? (Yes-1, No-0)	
29A	If yes, what kind of problem?	

**30. Did any of the children in your household fall sick in the last three months?**

Child Sl. No	Type of sickness	Whether seek advice or treatment from any source? (Yes-1, No-0)	If yes, type of treatment (Public hospital-1, Private hospital-2, Private doctor/clinic/chamber-3, Medical shop-4, Others-9)

**D. Migrant-specific**

31	How did you spend your leisure time?	
32	Did you watch any movie in the cinema hall in the last one month?	
33	Have you gone somewhere for a tour in the last three months?	



<b>34</b>	<b>Where will you go after this?</b>	
<b>35</b>	<b>Have you been engaged in any of the activities in the last one week</b> ( <i>Yes-1, No-0</i> )	
<b>A</b>	<b>Watch Television</b>	
<b>B</b>	<b>Playing cards</b>	
<b>C</b>	<b>Drinking</b>	
<b>D</b>	<b>Smoking</b>	
<b>E</b>	<b>Chewing tobacco/<i>paan</i></b>	

**Date of survey:**

**Contact number:**