

SEASONAL MIGRATION AND CHILDREN'S VULNERABILITY: CASE OF BRICK KILN MIGRATION FROM RANCHI DISTRICT

Himadri Sinha* & Purnima Mishra**

Seasonal labour migration has not declined in spite of MGNREGA in Jharkhand. Nearly 30% villagers do migrate for 4-6 months to brick kiln along with their families. Article reviews the reason for migration based on a qualitative study conducted through FGD and PLA in 12 villages of Bero and Itki blocks of Ranchi district. Study analyses the type, pattern, cause and effect of migration to brick kiln and impact of such migration on children. It was reported children's vulnerability increased due to migration much to the ignorance of the parents and due to their fatalistic life style. Article throws light on plausible way forward from this vicious cycle.

INTRODUCTION

India as a nation has witnessed a high migration rate in recent years. According to the Census of India, 2001, 30% of the population or 307 million were migrants. For male, the most important reason for migration was 'work/employment'. Rural to rural migration still dominated and accounted for 53.3 million. Rural to urban migration was 20.5 million. Urban to rural migration was 6.2 million and urban to urban migration was 14.3 million. Interstate migration has grown by 53.6%. The total number of inter-state migrants was 42.3 million. The number of migrants during period 1991-2001 was increased by about 22%. Apart from women migrating due to marriage, employment is the biggest reason for migration. The number of job seekers among all migrants has increased by 45% over the previous decade.

In spite of rich natural resources, mainly minerals and forests, 80% of Jharkhand's population, residing in 32,620 villages, survives on agriculture and allied activities. Around 23.22 lakh families in the rural areas live below the poverty line, of which 3.91 lakh belong to scheduled castes and 8.79 lakh to scheduled tribes. Poverty in Jharkhand is influenced by poor irrigational facilities, frequent droughts, adverse topography of the region, alarming trends of degradation of natural resources, poor quality of rural roads, low concentration of health infrastructure, and poor market infrastructures for forest produces.

Jharkhand being a monsoon dependent, major chunk of land could produce single crop a year. This leaves vast population of small and marginal farmers along with landless laborers job less during six to seven months agricultural lean period. This leads to seasonal migration in search of jobs.

Brick Kiln migration is one of the most widely embraced job option for poor households from Ranchi district. This is seasonal in nature and varies from 4-6 months during November to June which is agriculturally lean period. Majority of migrants go as family to work in brick kiln. Substantial number of children (below 14 years) becomes the victim of such migration. They are subject to ghetto living, miss their education, work as extended family labour and deprive of any health facilities.

This article reviews the reasons for continued brick kiln migration from Ranchi district and vulnerability of children. The article also explores the plausible strategies for reducing children's vulnerability.

* *Professor and Head at Department of Research and Planning, XISS, Ranchi.*
email <himadrisinha19@gmail.com>

** *Junior Research Scientist at Asian Institute For Sustainable Development, Ranchi.*
email <purnima@aisdindia.org.in>

MIGRATION IN JHARKHAND AND RANCHI

Migration of the tribal population from Jharkhand, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh has been taking place for the last three centuries. During 18th and 19th Centuries, the migration was enforced upon by the British to employ tribal labour in the tea gardens of Assam and Bengal Doors . However, since the latter half of the 20th Century, tribal people from Jharkhand started migrating voluntarily to earn their livelihood. In the last century, a noticeable change was visible in the nature and pattern of tribal migration. Between 1950 and 1980, tribal people migrated to the rural areas of Bihar and West Bengal mainly to work as agricultural labour (Mosse et al., 1997¹). But from 1980 onwards, they started migrating to bigger cities like Delhi, Kolkata and Mumbai. Tribal families nowadays are driven by poverty to send unmarried daughters to cities in search of work. Single woman and tribal girls are however, prone to exploitation not only by employers but also by anti-social elements. Decadal trend of migration in India recorded increased number of labour migration. Labour migration has increased five times from 151-61 to 91-2001 (Table 1).

Table 1.1 : Decadal Migration in India During 1951-2001

Decades	Migrants (in millions)
1951-61	66
1961-71	68.2
1971-81	81
1981-91	80.9
1991-2001	307

Source: Migration of Tribal Women: It's Socio- **economic Effects** - An in-depth Study of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, M.P and Orissa **By, Society for Regional Research and Analysis**

The phenomenon of migration in the state of Jharkhand broadly follows four different patterns, i.e.

- Rural to urban migration of skilled as well as unskilled labourers from villages in districts like Palamau, Ranchi, Lohardaga and Latehar to towns in Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal primarily to work in brick-kilns and construction sites under supervision of contractors.
- Rural to urban migration to urban centers within Jharkhand; found common in villages of West Singhbhum, Ranchi, Saraikela Kharsawa and Jashpur.
- Migration to towns in north India, mainly to livelihood sites and towns in the northeastern states, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi and Punjab.
- Migration confined to nearby towns and wealthy areas only, e.g. as in Godda and Pakur districts.

The duration of outstation stay also varies from place to place. First, the normal duration of outstation stay ranges between Aghan (mid-November) and Jeth end (mid June). The second type of migration spans the whole of the year except the months of plowing and harvesting (i.e. Ashad to Kartik). Third kind of migration is an occasional act undertaken in response to sudden crises and periods of prolonged food scarcity. In addition, there are permanent migrants who visit their native villages only during festivals like Navratri and Diwali. Brick Kiln migration falls in first category.

Several men, women and children from tribal areas of Jharkhand migrate every year to other states in large numbers in search of employment as laborers. People migrate mainly from the districts, namely; Gumla, Ranchi and Simdega in search of work.

Poverty which forces poor children to accept the hazardous jobs like: work in the brick kiln and foregoing their childhood. The women and girls migrating from Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Orissa to

Delhi, fall in the category of live-in domestic workers or full timers. There are many types of trafficking, involving young and old women, and underage girls and boys (children).

MAGNITUDE OF CHILD LABOUR: AN OVER VIEW

Child labour continues to be a significant phenomenon in India. In fact the magnitude of child labour was increased in absolute terms by about one million between 1991 and 2001. This has resulted in considerable weakening of school attendance of children from agricultural labour households. The proportion of children from such households attending school in 1987-88 was just over 30% at the all India level. But it witnessed a very substantial jump of over 22% points to reach 52.9% in 1993-94. However, the rate of progress decelerated in 1999-2000 to 40.2% (GoI Report on Education 2002).

According to Census of India, 2001, there were 12.26 million working children in the age group of 5-14 years as compared to 11.3 million in 1991 revealing an increasing trend in absolute numbers albeit the work participation rates of children (5-14) has come down from 5.4% during 1991 to 5% during 2001. The recent round of the National Sample Survey (NSSO 2009-10) estimates suggests that the child labour in the country is around 49.84 lakh. Magnitude of child labour and their work participation ratio during 1991-2001 is given in Table 2.

UP and AP states have captured the first and second place in terms of magnitude of child labor as revealed by NSSO (2004-05) data. Maharashtra and West Bengal respectively garnered nine and eight percent of India's child employment. The share of Uttar Pradesh has dramatically shot up compared to 50th round of NSSO data (1993-94) from less than 13% to close to 23% in 2004-05. Percentage of total rural-urban child labor in Jharkhand according to 2004-05 was 2.3%. On the other hand, the share of Andhra Pradesh seems to have declined quite considerably but remains significant (Table 2). As per NSSO survey 2009-10, the working children are estimated at 49.84 lakh which shows a declining trend.

THE PRESENT STUDY

Present study is based on fieldwork conducted in 12 villages from Bero and Itki blocks of Ranchi district in Jharkhand. The study documents the trends and factors leading to migration of children from Jharkhand to other states. The study focuses on different types and pattern of migration, reasons for migration, effect of migration on family and children and children's vulnerability during migration.

METHODOLOGY

The study was based on the sample survey of 12 villages. Study was qualitative in nature and data was collected through Focused Group Discussion (FGD) and Participatory Learning Appraisals (PLA). In the first stage, the two highly concentrated tribal blocks of Ranchi district of Jharkhand were chosen purposively due to their large tribal population namely Bero and Itki from where large migration to brick kiln takes place.

Intensive Participatory Research Analysis was used as a study technique. Besides using different PLA tools for extracting information, FGDs and In-depth Interviews were also conducted with key stakeholders; parents, children and panchayat members. Key Informant Interviews were conducted with school teachers, ICDS workers, Police, Panchayati Raj Institution members, Nodal officer of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), government officials etc. Data available with the village offices, Gram Panchayat, Blocks and the District Collectorate were also used to corroborate the findings.

Table 2 : Changes in the Magnitude of Child Labour and WPR between² 1991 and 2001

States	Child Workers 1991	Child Workers 2001	Work Participation rates		Percentage Share of Child labour in the State	
			1991	2001	1991	2001
Andhra Pradesh	1661940	1363339	9.98	7.7	14.7	10.8
Arunachal Pradesh	12395	18482	5.65	6.06	0.1	0.1
Assam	327598	351416	5.46	5.07	2.9	2.8
Bihar	942245	1117500	3.99	4.68	8.3	8.8
Chhattisgarh (New)		364572		6.96	0.0	2.9
Delhi	27351	41899	1.27	1.35	0.2	0.3
Goa	4656	4138	1.95	1.82	0.0	0.0
Gujarat	523585	485530	5.26	4.28	4.6	3.8
Haryana	109691	253491	2.55	4.78	1.0	2.0
Himachal Pradesh	56438	107774	4.55	8.14	0.5	0.9
Jammu & Kashmir		175630		6.62	0.0	1.4
Jharkhand(New)		407200		5.47	0.0	3.2
Karnataka	976247	822665	8.81	6.91	8.7	6.5
Kerala	34800	26156	0.58	0.47	0.3	0.2
Madhya Pradesh	1352563	1065259	8.08	6.71	12.0	8.4
Maharashtra	1068418	764075	5.73	3.54	9.5	6.0
Orissa	452394	377594	5.87	4.37	4.0	3.0
Punjab	142868	177268	3.04	3.23	1.3	1.4
Rajasthan	774199	1262570	6.46	8.25	6.9	10.0
Sikkim	5598	16457	5.18	12.04	0.0	0.1
Tamil Nadu	578889	418801	4.83	3.61	5.1	3.3
Tripura	16478	21756	2.29	2.79	0.1	0.2
Uttar Pradesh	1410086	1927997	3.81	4.04	12.5	15.2
Uttranchal(New)		70183		3.24	0.0	0.6
West Bengal	711691	857087	4.16	4.5	6.3	6.8
India	11285349	12666377	5.37	5.0	100.0	100.0

Source: compiled from census of India 1991 and 2001

Table 3 : NSSO Estimate of Child Laborer in Major Indian States, 2004-05 (in thousands)

States	Rural	Urban	All	% share of child labour
A.P.	1052	140	1201	13.2
Assam	124	8	133	1.5
Bihar	333	30	364	4.0
Chhattishgarh	225	31	263	2.9
Delhi	0	10	9	0.1
Goa	3	2	6	0.1
Gujarat	220	77	302	3.3
Haryana	83	14	99	1.1
H.P.	36	1	37	0.4
Jharkhand	167	38	206	2.3
Karnataka	510	41	571	6.3
Kerala	7	4	11	0.1
M.P.	414	68	491	5.4
Maharashtra	664	84	783	8.6
Orissa	413	22	440	4.8
Punjab	23	21	101	1.1
Rajasthan	714	110	821	9.0
Tamil Nadu	95	79	173	1.9
U.P.	1620	459	2074	22.9
Uttaranchal	59	3	64	0.7
West Bengal	488	217	690	7.6
India	7445	1525	9075	100.0

Sampling was done as follows:

Stage I: 4 Panchayats out of 16 panchayats from Bero and 2 Panchayats out of 9 from Itki Block were selected randomly.

Stage II: 2 villages from each panchayat were selected randomly.

Stage III: Two FGDs were conducted villages, one for parents and one for children who went to work in Brick kiln in West Bengal in each village. After FGDs, issue based PLA exercises were carried out to analyze the children's vulnerability.

Stage IV: Two parents and 2 children from each village among the family migrating to West Bengal Brick kiln were purposively selected for in depth interview.

Stage V: Considering their involvement on the research issues of migration and child atrocities, local activists, block officials from each of the selected blocks, researchers, academicians

and professional development workers were purposively selected for conducting the Key Informant Interviews. Simultaneously, in-depth interviews of sarpanch, teachers, AWW, ANM, Sahiyas, and NGO volunteers were conducted to obtain required data/information.

FINDINGS

Migration in Bero and Itki: The findings of PLA from the studied villages showed that seasonal migration to brick kiln was universal across the villages. Around 20-30% households went for migration depending on quantity of rainfall every year. Lack of irrigation facilities, low land holdings, acute poverty improper and untimely implementation of MNEREGA were the major causes of migration. Brick Kilns located in West Bengal were most preferred destinations for migrant families as the working conditions were more honourable and remunerative. On an average the elder members earned around Rs. 6000 - 7000 per month and children earned around Rs.700- 800 per month. On average children worked for 9 hrs per day and their parents worked for 10-11 hours per day.

Table 4 : Average Daily Working at Brick Kiln

Type	Block Name	Average working hours/day
Parents	Bero	11
	Itki	10
Children	Bero	9
	Itki	9

Source: Data collected through PLA & FGD during the village study

Table 5 : Average Monthly Income of Parents and Children at Brick Kiln

Type	Block	Average monthly income (in Rs.)
Parents	Bero	7001
	Itki	6075
Children	Bero	865
	Itki	800

Source: Data collected through PLA & FGD during the village study

Type of Migration

Scoring of type of migration conducted in twelve villages showed that in eleven villages, people gave highest preference to brick kiln job during the migration. In spite of MGNREGA, such tendency in recent months were quite baffling (Table 4). Other types of job opted for during were mason, labourer in gold smith's workshop, wage labour (agriculture and non agriculture).

Place of Migration

Irrespective of villages, most villagers preferred mostly the brick kilns of West Bengal located in Burdwan, Kolkata, Howrah, Durgapur, Asansol, Dumdum, and Barasat. In these places migrants felt more respected and these places were not far from Ranchi. Provision of bonus in these places also work as additional attraction for migrants. Second preference was given to places in Bihar which included Nawada, Samastipur, Majafarpur, Patna, Sonpur, Gorakhpur, and Gajipur. Generally migration occurred from the month of November to mid June every year.

Table 6 : Scoring on Type of Job Preferred During Migration in 12 Villages

Type of job preferred during migration	Village Name											
	Ambatoli	Rogati patratoli	Ita	Cherma	Jahana	Hutter	Kadojoda	Dumardun	Chinara	Soka	Tengaria	Kulli
W a g e labourer to brick kiln	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5
Mason	3	4	2	5	4	2	4	4	5	4	4	3
W a g e labour (agri & no agri)	3	3	3	1	3	2	3	3	2	2	4	2
Private job	1	2	4	2	3	3	1	2	3	4	2	2
Gold smith	4	3	4	5	3	2	2	2	3	4	5	5

Source: PLA exercise on scoring of migration type in villages.

Scoring was done 1-5 scale. Higher score indicates more preferred option.

Reasons of Migration

Seasonal migration has long been seen as a practice in the rural part of the society as a contingency livelihood option. There were number of reasons behind migration which compelled the people of Bero and Itki blocks to migrate. Reasons for migration as revealed through PLA exercises are summarized below:

Economic Reasons

- Poverty and poor economic condition
- Comparatively high wages at brick kilns particularly in West Bengal
- Indebtedness
- Irregularity of payment in MGNREGA
- Alternative job opportunities during agriculturally lean season

Agricultural Reasons

- Lack of irrigational facilities
- Low land holdings (small/marginal farmers) or landlessness (laborers)
- Dam reservoir inundated good fertile agricultural lands (Dumardun & Kadojoda villages)
- Arranging capital and bullock for next agriculture season

Other Reasons

- Peer pressure/attraction,
- Lack of job opportunity at local level with regular payment facilities
- To support the higher educational need of children
- For arranging money for wedding, digging well, buying bullocks etc.
- To enjoy the freedom of nuclear family,
- Presence of Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) choked the other alternative source of income like NTFP collection and sale etc.
- Attraction urban life for a short period

Pattern of Migration

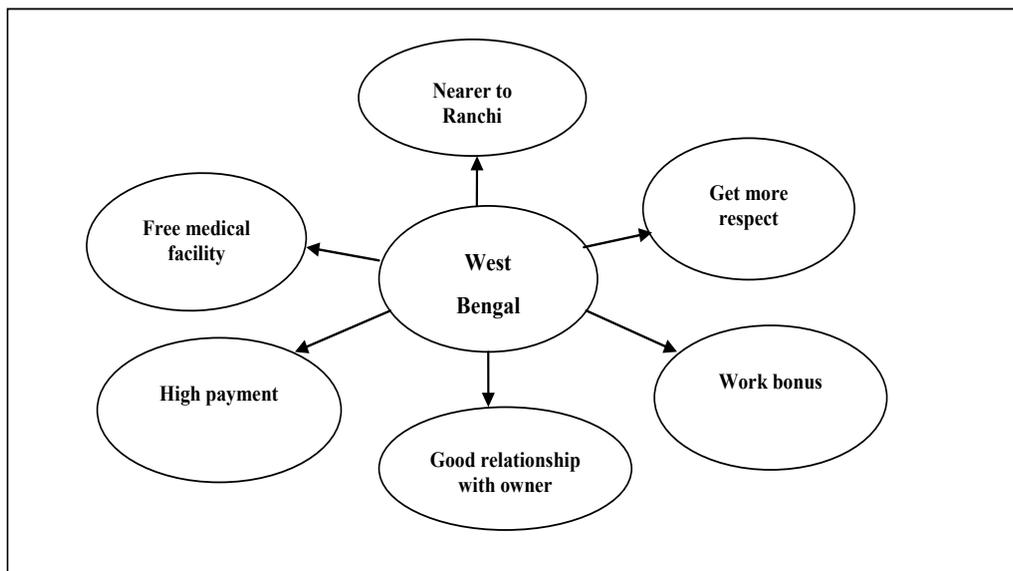
This study also identified the pattern of migration in Bero and Itki block. Incident of seasonal migration was found in almost all 12 villages under study. The flow of migration was reported to be high towards industrial sectors such as brick making, NTPC project site, construction work, and wage laborer in gold smith's workshop. Migration to brick kiln offered six months long job opportunities (Nov – mid June) every year. Other job available during migration offers lesser duration of engagement.

Migrants normally do not go to same place every year. For migrants who prefer West Bengal usually follow a rotation among various places available there. For instance: in the first year migrant may go to South 24 Parganas district, second year to North 24 Parganas district, 3rd year to Burdwan district, 4th year to North Bengal and so on.

The labour contractors have a very strong nexus with the brick kiln owners. Advances are given migrants and as a result they become mutually obliged to go to the pre-determined destinations. In recent times these contractors also arrange good bullocks for the migrants which are a dire necessity for their agriculture. During their stay at Brick kiln, contractors also arrange tour of nearby cities and place of attraction.

However, the conditions under which these people live are far from satisfactory. Make shift huts constructed in the kilns are so small that one has to crawl to enter into these. Needless to say, basic sanitation is absent. With the family come the children below 14 years of age. The children are bonus to the contractors and brick kiln owners as (a) the children are engaged in work and not paid or partly paid and (b) the children help their parents to meet the daily targets. The worst affected are the children, for whom there is neither any amusement nor any form of recreation at the work sites. They too help their parents in making bricks. As a result of children lose their education. For 6-7 months of the year, they remain in the kilns where there is no facility for education. When children return to their native place, the new academic year is already begun.

Fig. 1 Reasons of Migration to More than Once to West Bengal



Source: PLA exercises conducted during Focused Group Discussion

Very few migrants from Ranchi district were found to be migrating within the district or even within the state. They mostly prefer to migrate outside the state. While about 53% of the migrants move to destinations outside the state, only about 20% of them migrate within the district and state. The Muslims migrants, however, mostly prefer to migrate within the district³.

Effects of Migration on Family and Children

The cause and effect of incidence of migration were studied through PLA exercises in 12 villages. It was reported that usually most of the poor families took cash advances from *Sardars* (labour contractor) during the agriculture seasons preceded to migration and in turn they went to brick kiln as migrant labourers. People migrated due to poverty, poor agriculture, family pressure, indebtedness, lack of job opportunity etc. Migration had both positive and negative effect. Positive effect included assured employment and income during lean period, it helped in procuring agricultural inputs for next monsoon season, it helped in meeting additional expenses of marriage, well digging and higher education costs.

Negative effect included loss of identity, loss of education for children, exploitation of children, family disputes, health hazards etc. Migration is an insidious promoter of child labor. Children added to the copper of poor families by working in brick kiln but to do this children suffered much emotional loss, educational loss and incurred health problems. Girls are more vulnerable than boys at work site. As they work at the brick kiln simultaneously they take care of their younger siblings. They are also engaged in household works. They also faced the problem of physical violence and abused by the *Sardars*, brick kiln owner and labourers. They are forcibly tortured by them. As the atmosphere of the brick kiln site is not good, physical harassment are faced by the females. Some girls fell in love and eloped with the fake lovers only to return after being sexually harassed (see Box 1). Case of child marriage was also reported during migration.

Box 1: Case of Elopement and Fake Marriage during Migration : *Rani Kispotta (Orinal name withheld) was a 13 years old girl from Ita village of Bero block. She migrated with her parents three years ago to Brick Kiln of West Bengal. Her father, mother, elder sister and younger sisters also accompanied her. She was taken by her family to take care of the younger siblings. She used to make food for the family and did all the household works. Her mother and elder sister named Pardesia (aged 16 yrs) worked as labourer in the brick kiln. During that period her sister Pardesia fell in love with one man named Raju. She eloped with Raju. After some days, she came to know that Raju was married before and he was having two children. When she opposed she was beaten by Raju. Now she has been separated from Raju and living a life of hardship.*

Health Hazards During Migration

Due to polluted and unsafe environment at work site, various health hazards occurred during migration. Children faced many problems during migration. During the study following types of health hazards were reported by the children: chest pain, backache, body and muscle aches, headache, fever, cough, stomach ache, itching, skin rashes, and eye watering/itching. Frequency of chest pain and fever and cough was found to be very high among the interviewed children. Frequency of minor cuts was also found to be high among children (15 out of 24 interviewed children suffered) (Table 7).

Effects of Government and Non-governmental Interventions on Migration

Improper implementation of wage employment programmes and MGNREGA was the major reason for rise in seasonal migration in recent time. Availability of job under MGNREGA was highly irregular so its payment. These two factors made MGNREGA not useful to villagers.

To add to it, villagers also reported about emergence of unhealthy practice in MGNREGA. Job cards

are now lent to relative who did not migrate for some reason. The relative work as proxy and money is deposited in owner's account which is the shared as per certain pre-agreed terms. VLWs and other villager heads are also being benefitted in the process.

Convergence of government programmes at village level, awareness campaign and timely provision of alternative employment opportunity can reduce the seasonal migration. Similarly alternative measures for child care, children's education, health care if arranged at brick kiln sites can have positive result in reducing education loss, health hazards and reducing child labour and child atrocities during migration.

Table 7 : Health Problem Faced by Children During Migration

Health problem	No. of Respondents	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
Chest pain	24	8	2	13	1
Backache	24	6	3	15	0
Body and muscle aches	24	2	18	12	0
Breathing difficulties	24	22	0	2	0
Headache	24	6	5	13	0
fever	24	0	3	21	0
Cough	24	3	6	15	0
Stomach ache	24	7	0	17	0
Diarrhoea	24	19	0	5	0
Itches	24	7	4	13	0
Skin Rashes	24	5	1	16	2
Eye water/itches	24	9	7	8	0

Source: Data collected during study

IS THERE ANY WAY FORWARD?

Seasonal migration to brick kiln appears to be the result of a vicious cycle. The growth of market economy could not check the brick kiln migration in Bero and Itki blocks. Sarva Siksha Abhiyan's drive for zero drop out also became ineffectual in the face of migration mechanisms. Is there any way out? Or should we continue to be fatalistic and resign to the fate?

On the basis of study findings, we propose following suggestions for combating against migration and to reduce the vulnerability of children.

Livelihood Promotion

- Ensure sustainable livelihood at native place by creating more irrigational facilities at farmer's field. This can be done MGNREGA through timely sanctioning of projects and fund. NGO can facilitate the convergence process.
- Additional income generating activities can be created for women by linking them government's women development programme through women SHGs.

- Convergence of MGNREGA, ICDS, PDS, Rajiv Gandhi Vidyutikaran Yojna through gram panchayat and NGO linking.
- Creating pressure groups through awareness campaign both at panchayat level and district level.
- Training of youth and placement of youths under EDI, NABARD, SIDBI and small industry development programme through appropriate NGOs.

Child Protection

- Awareness against child atrocities during migration through graffiti at schools, panchayat bhavans and community centres. Can be integrated with SSA programme.
- Strengthening Bal Sansad through awareness under SSA.
- Cluster level family counseling centre using panchayat representatives and AWCs.
- Cluster level residential school for migrant children, child labour, street children and neglected children. GoJ has taken the initiative, local convergence can make the programme successful.
- Temporary schools on their vernacular languages should be opened at the destination places, to continue their education at the migration period
- Educational facilities like; mid-day meals, free distribution of uniforms and classroom materials, etc.
- Campaign against ill effects of child labor at the destination places,
- Proper health facilities at the destination place for children, pregnant women and immunization facilities

Child Labour

- Convergence with district level child labour protection cell through local NGOs.
- Advocacy for checking child labor and child migration both at source and brick kiln.
- Capacity Building of panchayats to effectively combat child labour.

Child Marriage

- Awareness campaign on the ill effects of child marriage through graffiti at schools, panchayat bhavans and community centres.
- Awareness campaign through ANM, Sahiyas, school teachers, village activists, etc
- Campaigning against child marriage through local Nukkad Natak teams.

Education

- Initiating bridge course classes for migrants children through a para teacher.
- Arranging school programmes on child labour, child marriage and migration and both parents and children should be sensitized towards the ill consequences of child labour and laws through these programmes.
- Educational/schooling (School/ AWC) facilities at the migration places in the migrant children's vernacular language.

Health

- Making the AWC to an extended health centre.

- Creating more awareness about Janani Suraksha Yojna, Health Insurance Card (around 75,00,000 cards have been issued in Jharkhand), female foeticide, Dular scheme. Each village should have a health centre that should be accessible by the villagers.

Having said so, can we reverse the migration to brick kiln? Probably not in absolute terms! But if seasonal migration reduces below 10% of population, it is expected to be more remunerative for an individual. In such cases, adult individual may migrate while family stays back at native villages. This will have positive impact on children and child abuse will likely to be reduced. However, male has to be made aware of perils of HIV/AIDS and other similar diseases which occur due to unsafe sex. Similarly government and civil society have to ensure preventive measures both at brick kiln and migrant's native villages.

Notes

1. Mosse, D. Gupta, S. Mehta, M. Shah, V. & Rees, J. (2002) 'Brokered Livelihoods: Debt, Labour Migration and Development in Tribal Western India', *Journal of Development Studies*, 38(5), June, pp. 59–87.
2. The Himachal Pradesh story has been well documented by Anuradha De, Claire Noronha and Meera Samson in "Primary Education in Himachal Pradesh: Examining a Success Story" in R. Govinda (edited) (2002) *India*
3. Source: A baseline survey of minority concentration districts of India, Ranchi, (Jharkhand), and Sponsored by: Ministry of minority affairs, Government of India and Indian council of Social Science Research.

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