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Published and Printed by: Institute for Social and Economic Change

Dr V K R V Rao Road, Nagarabhavi Post, Bangalore - 560072, Karnataka, India.

## **ISEC Working Paper No. 595**

February 2025

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ISBN 978-93-93879-81-3

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The Institute for Social and Economic Change,
Bangalore

Working Paper Series Editor: Sobin George

# DISPARITIES IN EDUCATIONAL OUTCOME AMONG INFORMAL MIGRANT WORKERS' CHILDREN: EVIDENCE FROM BENGALURU, INDIA

Manasi S<sup>1</sup>, Malini L Tantri<sup>2</sup>, Channamma Kambara<sup>3</sup>, Indrajit Bairagya<sup>4</sup>, Vijayalakshmi S<sup>5</sup>

## **Abstract**

This study investigates the educational disparities among children of informal migrant workers in Bengaluru, focusing on three sectors: construction, garment, and domestic work. Using a mixed-method approach, the research integrates quantitative data from national and state surveys with insights from interviews conducted with 656 migrant workers who migrated to Bengaluru with their children. Findings reveal marked differences in educational outcomes among these children, highlighting substantial heterogeneity tied to several factors. Parental education levels emerge as a crucial determinant, exhibiting positive correlation between their education and educational outcome of their children. Additionally, language barriers present significant challenges, limiting children's access to effective learning environments and hindering integration into local school systems. Awareness and access to government schemes also vary, with some families lacking knowledge of resources designed to support migrant children's education. These combined factors contribute to the widening educational gap, creating a cycle of limited opportunities for migrant children. The study underscores the need for targeted policies to improve educational support for migrant communities. It suggests that tailored interventions addressing language, awareness, and access to educational resources could help mitigate these inequalities.

**Keywords**: Informal sector; Migrant workers; Construction; Garment; Domestic help; educational variability.

### Introduction

Urbanisation, with its huge economic opportunities, brings issues of informalisation. As per the official estimates by PLFS (Periodic Labour Force Survey) by Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation (MoSPI), the informal sector workers in India have increased from 68.2% in 2017-18 to 71.4% in 2020-21 (PLFS, 2022). Many studies (Rajan, 2020; Dyer, 2013; 2010) have found that majority of these workers belong to migrant population. It is estimated that, the migration rate in India

**Acknowledgements:** The authors would like to acknowledge the financial assistance received from Indian Council for Social Science research (ICSSR) for this research project related to "Education of Migrant Informal Sector Workers' Children: Challenges and Way Forward". This research paper is an outcome of the ongoing project. The authors acknowledge the comments and suggestions and thank the unknown reviewers for their valuable suggestions. Authors are responsible for errors, if any and all usual disclaimers apply.

Professor, Centre for Research in Urban Affairs, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bengaluru, India. E-mail: manasi@isec.ac.in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Assistant Professor, Centre for Economic Studies and Policy, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bengaluru, India. E-mail: malini@isec.ac.in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Assistant Professor, Centre for Research in Urban Affairs, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bengaluru, India. E-mail: channamma@isec.ac.in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Assistant Professor, Centre for Human Resource Development, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bengaluru, India. E-mail: indrajit@isec.ac.in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Assistant Professor in Economics, School of Business, RV University, Bengaluru, India. E-mail: vijayalakshmis@rvu.edu.in

was 28.9% in 2020-21 (PLFS, 2021)<sup>6</sup>. This signifies that migrants form an integral part of urbanisation and informal sector workforce. Major issues concerning these economic forces is the education of these workers' children. The rapid urbanisation and migration tend to push the children to move with their migrant parents. This has led to India being home to nearly 92.95 million migrant children as of 2020, which is almost 18.2% of total children population (UNICEF, 2020). This means every fifth migrant in the country is a child (UNICEF, 2020). The constant shifting of workplaces is assumed to have a significant influence on the educational outcome of these migrant workers' children (Srivastava, 2020). Moving with a household or after birth, education and work/employment factors are the major reasons cited for the migration of children. These reasons interact with other dimensions such as age, gender, social groups, place of residence and streams of migration. These multitudinous factors make the issue of migrant child problems much more complex, thereby leading to ignored policy measures. According to an estimate by NCPCR (National Commission for Protection of Child Rights) (2012), there were approximately 15 million child migrants in India in 2011, who were either accompanied by their migrated families or trafficked for employment or exploitation. This sort of migration tends to have drastic negative impact on their education. In this context, understanding the challenges of these migrant workers' children in terms of their educational attainment requires specific attention.

Among various informal sectors, the construction, garment and domestic help industries are the key sectors that are absorbing migrants as casual labourers in urban India. Children of workers from these sectors are doubly vulnerable in terms of their health and education. For instance, studies have reported that construction sites are most vulnerable among the urban poor and hard-to-reach (Pispati et al., 2017). Though there are many schemes like Sarva Shikshana Abhiyan (SSA), children of migrant labourers continue to be the disadvantaged section and require proper attention (Zacharias and Vinil, 2018). They are also beyond the RTE Act 2009 and remain deprived of their basic right to education (Pal, 2014). Deshingkar & Akter (2009) argue that due to problems associated with migration data, understanding the role of migration in India's livelihood strategies and economic growth has led to the prescription of misguided policies and political commitments. Hence, there is a dire need for sectorspecific studies to target and uplift children's education. In this context, the study aims to explore the variability of educational outcomes among migrant workers' children specific to the three sectors (construction, domestic help and garment workers). The study documents the recent changes that have posed serious challenges to these migrant workers' children in terms of accessing education. While doing so, certain specific policy measures rather than generic observations are also prescribed. The rest of the paper is structured as follows. The next section explores the review of literature on the subject. The third and fourth sections provide conceptualisation and details about the study area, data and methodology respectively. The final section summarises the study with specific policy recommendations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> This results in permanent or semi-permanent migration.

#### **Review of Literature**

Research studies have extensively explored the problems and challenges faced by migrant workers' children. In this section, we have discussed certain key studies in other countries and also in India. Among the array of Indian studies, specific studies related to the three sectors (construction, garment and domestic help) are also discussed.

# Parental Migration and Its Impact on Children's Education in the International Context

The impact of parental migration (mainly long-term) on their children's education has been a matter of concern in many countries. Gong & Rao (2023) examined the pre-school learning outcomes among the children affected by migration in China. They have found an interesting result that, those who migrate with the parents have lower preschool enrolment rates and receive less stimulation at home than native children. Similar research is conducted by various studies like Fillol *et al* (2024), Li (2023), Breen & Goldthrope, (2022), Rao *et al* (2019), Ma *et al* (2018).

Wassink & Viera (2021) used a retrospective life history data from Mexican Migration Project to link the effect of parental migration to the educational outcome of their children. The study found a positive result that parental migration during childhood is associated with increased years of schooling and higher probability of completing lower-secondary school. Similar result is found by Bai *et al* (2017) who used difference-in-difference approach to study the impact in China. However, some studies found negative impact of parental education on the educational outcome like Khanam & Khan (2023), Liang & Sun (2020), Lu (2014), Yao *et al* (2016), Tesfaw & Minaye (2022), Li *et al* (2017).

A comparative study by Sun *et al* (2020) using survey data of migration and children in Western China and Mexican Family Life Survey in 2017 found that parental migration has varied results in two settings. The result indicated that boys with both migrant parents have lower educational aspirations in both settings. The aspirations of Mexican girls are more likely to be negatively influenced by maternal migration. Similar results are found by Lu (2014) for Mexican family life survey and Indonesia migration survey. Arlini *et al* (2019) examined the effects of parental migration on children education in Indonesia and found that, it has varied impact on children education based on the age of the child. For instance, younger children have adverse effect due to parental migration than older children.

Using historical migration data to measure current immigration, McKenzie & Rapoport (2011) found that migration has a significant negative effect on school attendance and achievement. It is highlighted that living in a migrant family reduces the probability of boys graduating from high school. The study observed a decline in schooling among 16 to 18-year-old children due to migration (for boys) and an increase in housework (for girls). Similar results are observed by studies like Li (2023), Mao *et al* (2020), Chen (2009).

Van de Glind (2010) examined the link between migration and child labour using secondary data, finding that remittances can improve education and reduce child labour. The study recommended focusing on safe migration for children above the minimum working age and enhancing workplace

protection, including forming self-help groups and connecting with trade unions. Despite evidence of migration's impact on children, knowledge gaps remain. A survey of Filipino immigrant students (Batistella & Conaco, 1998) showed mixed effects, with parental migration not necessarily harming children, especially when mothers stay home. In India, most workers migrate with their families, necessitating serious attention.

#### Parental Migration and Children's Education in Indian Context

Similar to findings from international research, Indian studies also reveal comparable outcomes regarding the impact of migration on the education of children. Panda (2022) investigated the effects of seasonal migration on the educational outcomes of children in India, noting a rise in school dropouts and absenteeism linked to parents' seasonal migration. These observations align with Kunwar's (2022) study. Additionally, Roy *et al* (2015) analysed the effects of rural-to-urban labour migration on children's education through a case study involving 13 construction sites in Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh, and nine villages in Bihar. Their findings indicate that remittances sent home by migrant workers improved school accessibility for children who remained in their villages. Conversely, children accompanying their parents to construction sites often faced disrupted education, with many dropping out or being compelled into child labour due to the seasonal mobility of their families. The study underscores the critical need to integrate these children into the development process, a significant challenge for achieving universal primary education and inclusive growth in India.

It is also observed that work conditions have a significant impact on the child's education. A study conducted in seven Indian cities has tried to capture the atmosphere in which the children of the migrants live (Behera *et al*, 2014). For the survey, 50 worksites each in Chennai Bhopal, Delhi, Hyderabad, Guwahati, Patna, and Jaipur were identified. Five sectors, including "brick kilns, stone crushing units, building construction sites, road construction sites and pipeline projects", were targeted for the survey due to their large scale of employment. The workplaces had poor living conditions with 80 to 90% of the migrant population, including children, living in makeshift shacks. Sanitation at work was the worst, with 94%of households lacking sewage systems and 77.3% of households defecating in the open due to a lack of toilets. About 39% of children have never been to school. Only 18.9% of children who go to school at the beginning continued their education at the destination or work site. The study also shows that children were not protected from exploitation like child labour.

The NCEUS (National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganised Sector (2017) report highlights migrant informal workers' struggles in accessing childcare and education, with complex stressors affecting their well-being. The National Charter for Children, 2003, emphasises the right to a healthy childhood and addressing root causes that hinder children's growth. Rajan's (2021) study explored the challenges of educational integration for migrant children in Bangalore, revealing that the formal education system's rigid structure fails to meet their needs. He argues that the exclusion of migrant children stems from static ideals of age, grade, and language rather than just mobility, impacting their learning outcomes. From the discussion so far, it is clear that, among the children, those who are left behind have better access to education. The main problem lies among those children who

migrate with their parents. These problems differ for each informal sector. Hence, we will proceed to investigate studies that explored sector-specific challenges.

#### **Plight of Migrant Construction Workers**

Construction workers are one of the largest categories of workers in the unorganised sector. In India, there are about 5.02 crore workers employed in construction activities (MoSPI, 2011-12). Majority of these workers are migrants. The construction sector is often viewed as favourable for family migration, as it offers employment opportunities for both men and women. Women who migrate typically bring their children along, particularly younger ones who require care. As a result, many construction sites have a noticeable presence of children. However, due to the seasonal mobility of their parents, these children are at risk of being drawn into child labour. Integrating these children into the development process remains a significant challenge in realizing the objectives of universal primary education and inclusive growth.

Studies have highlighted the problems faced by the children of these migrant construction workers. Children living on the construction sites are most vulnerable among the urban poor and hard-to-reach (Pispati *et al*, 2017). These children often suffer from malnutrition, accidents and myriad health problems (Ravindranath *et al*, 2019). The study also pointed out the absence of clean drinking water and toilets on the construction sites. Hence, these young children are exposed to many waterborne diseases such as cholera. Many children suffer from respiratory issues caused by inhaling paint fumes and cement particles. These studies highlight a significant gap in the existing literature and emphasize the necessity of expanding policy frameworks to address the challenges faced by migrant workers. Manasi *et al* (2023) and Kambara *et al* (2021) specifically examined the educational and nutritional conditions of children of migrant construction workers in Bengaluru City. Food insecurity and irregular and unhealthy diet induce low educational attainment which, in turn, risks physical health and mental well-being. When families migrate, the education of children is affected, making them vulnerable to child labour. With poor economic and social background, the situation of migrant construction workers and their continued care is bound to worsen with the epidemiological crisis.

#### **Plight of Migrant Domestic Workers**

Domestic work has increasingly become an integral component of the global division of labour. Although migration for domestic work can provide opportunities, the lack of social protection often leaves these workers in a vulnerable position. It is observed that paid domestic work is one of the limited ranges of occupations available to unskilled female workers in urban areas (Coelho *et al*, 2013). A spatial approach is needed to analyse urban domestic work markets, their location, distance, travel and timings to determine employment opportunities. The profile, markets and mechanisms vary considerably between different parts of even a single city. Wage levels, supply and demand dynamics, working conditions and the bargaining power of domestic workers are determined by a range of factors arising from a city's economic and social geography. This includes the relative affluence and class character of neighbourhoods, the alternative options available locally for unskilled female workers, and the

demographics of working-class settlements in the area. Domestic help workers, apart from being parttime or full-time workers, often perform multiple tasks (Gothoskar, 2013).

The nature of domestic work exposes workers to various vulnerabilities, including limited bargaining power, low wages, and poor working conditions, often stemming from informal or verbal contracts. This underscores the urgent need for enhanced social protection measures. Additionally, the precarious working conditions and irregular hours often leave the children of domestic workers at risk, pushing many into child labour within employers' households. Child labour is a hidden yet significant issue among domestic workers. Due to their age, these children are entirely dependent on their employers, lacking any external support structures. Many are handed over by their parents to agents or employers, where they are expected to provide obedient, complaint-free service. In exchange, they frequently face abuse, harassment, and denial of wages, often under the pretext that they have been "adopted" by the employer.

#### **Plight of Migrant Garment Workers**

India gained the position of being a major exporter of apparel and has been gradually integrated into the global apparel supply chain. However, this may be due to India's unique industrial trajectory based on small-scale, regionally specialized manufacturing. Garment production for export in India usually takes place from several production centres across the country; each cluster specializes in a particular product and has a distinct social composition of the workforce. Garment clusters include some of India's major cities such as Delhi, Noida, Chennai, Bengaluru, etc.

With respect to the education of migrant garment workers, the literature found mixed results. Bhuiyan (2012) indicated that garment workers' children struggled for their education. However, studies have also observed a positive effect on their education (Kana, 2022; UNICEF, 2020). Jamaly & Wickramanayake (1996) tried to understand the working conditions of female workers in the garment industry in Dhaka, Bangladesh. Women from economically disadvantaged urban households often take up jobs as maids or labourers in the informal sector. However, if given a choice, many would prefer not to work as maids, as the work is physically demanding and poorly paid. Factory jobs are seen as more desirable, offering better pay and higher social status. In the clothing industry, tasks are largely divided based on gender. All employees in the sewing department are women, while almost all employees in the cutting, ironing and finishing department are men.

The literature is pronounced in exhibiting the array of problems and challenges faced by the informal migrant workers and specifically, children. The literature delineates the plight of children of migrant construction workers and domestic workers. However, there is no reference to children of migrant women working in the garment industry. The status of migrant children's educational needs requires immediate attention from all the three sectors. Against this backdrop, we will set our specific context for study in the next section.

# **Approach and Methodology**

The economic progress in urban areas has led to a boom in supporting sectors and occupations. This is more evident in the construction, domestic help and garment worker sectors. Informal economy workers are more vulnerable due to socio-economic characteristics/profile, low level of education, low bargaining power, seasonal migration, lack of secure employment and informal employment. The existing literature shows that migration has a deeper impact on those depending on whether they are rural-to-urban or urban-to-urban migrants. Migrants, their livelihoods and families, particularly children of migrant families, are the voiceless vulnerable group whose distress needs to be addressed. The studies on informal sector migrant workers and their children are often based in states like Maharashtra, UP and Chhattisgarh. However, in southern states like Karnataka, especially in its capital city, Bengaluru, where nearly 42% of its population are migrants, there is no significant study on the status of migrant workers' children. Moreover, the status of their education is often not considered. In this context, the proposed study focuses on the children of migrant workers working in the informal sector in Bengaluru, a metropolitan city in India with a focus on education of their children. It is equally interesting to understand how the migrants overcome the language barrier, which poses a serious obstacle in enrolling the children to school. These may have implications on learning outcomes besides resulting in dropouts that need to be explored in Bengaluru.

### **Description of the Study Area**

In India, the urban population has increased from 17.97% in 1961 to 31.2% in 2011 (Census, 2011). This growth is pronounced in the southern states of the country, where nearly 35% of the population lives in cities. Among these states, Karnataka ranks first with 38.5% of its population residing in cities (Census, 2011). As per the Karnataka Economic Survey 2021-22, the highest urban population is found in Bengaluru urban district (BUD) with nearly 90.94%. It is reported that 84 villages have been erased from the map and merged with the city. This can be attributed to the massive influx of migrant workers to the city.

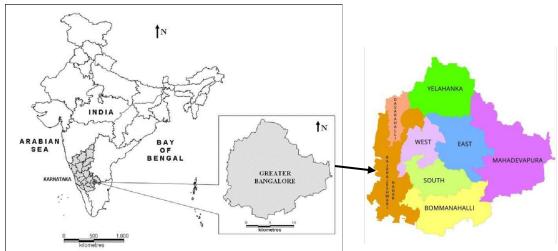
The present study was carried out as part of examining the status and variability in educational outcome of migrant workers' children in Bengaluru, the largest and capital city of Karnataka. Bengaluru is recognized as a global city and a preferred destination for several global centres. The city has seen an unprecedented increase in its population in the last few decades from 2.92 million in 1981 to 4.31 million in 1991 to 5.70 million (as per the 2001 census) to 8.5 million (as per the 2011 census). The present annual growth rate of population is around 3.8% and at this rate, the city's population is expected to reach around 22 million in 2041.

Bengaluru has emerged as the main hub for multiple industries, drawing migrants from within the state and from other states too. In the past few years, the migrant population has increased due to the availability of job opportunities. As per Census 2011, nearly 42% of the total population of the city are migrants. It is expected to grow more than 50% by 2031. As city is facing burgeoning growth in major sectors like construction, garment and domestic help, these sectors are attracting major migrants contributing to significant growth in the informal sector. One worrying factor is the status of the

children's education of these migrant workers. In this context, this study will address the issues and challenges faced by migrant workers' children in these three sectors of the city.

## **Data and Methodology**

The study adopted a mixed method approach where the quantitative analysis is conducted based on the secondary data set available from various government reports and documents andthe qualitative analysis, which forms an integral part of this study, is based on an extensive primary survey in 2022-23.A pilot survey was conducted to validate the questionnaire for the survey. This helped the study in planning a structured checklist for stakeholders and household questionnaires. The sample is drawn from the eight zones of the city (Map 1) using stratified random sampling technique.



Map 1: Location and Zonal Map of the Study Area

Source: BBMP maps

A survey was conducted across 653 households from three sectors, encompassing a total of 935 children. The households were chosen based on the criterion that the migrant workers were residing in the city with their children. The samples covered are representative of different age groups of children. Further, even the responses from NGOs, developers and the corporate sector are considered, which act as CSR interventions for benefitting children's education through focused group discussions (FGDs).

#### Results

#### **Profile of Migrants in the Study Area**

As established in the literature, parental socio-economic factors influence a child's ability to learn (Hartas, 2011). In particular, poverty and poor parental education are observed to be key reasons for poor student performance in school (Fillol *et al* 2024; Darko & Vasilakos, 2020; Breen & Goldthrope, 2022; Ge & Ngai, 2020; Dubow *et al* 2009; Duncan *et al* 1994; Pianta & Nimetz, 1991; Zill *et al* 1995). Poor children who often live in unsanitary conditions are prone to malnutrition, frequent fevers, bloody

diarrhoea and skin diseases (Aggarwal, 2018); such poor health condition reduces their performance in education (Behera, 2014). Similar to other cities, even in Bengaluru, informal migrant workers live in poor socio-economic conditions and are mainly characterised by low wages, low educational levels and poor physical/environmental conditions. Thus, to begin with, we outline the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample, which would then be correlated with the educational status of the children.

Table 1: Socio-Demographic Details of Informal Sector Worker Households (in percentage)

Particulars	Construction Workers (N=353)	Garments Workers (N=202)	Domestic Help Workers (N=101)	Overall (N=656)
Gender Distribution	,			1
Male	74.4	39.1	44.6	57.2
Female	24.6	60.9	55.4	42.8
Marital Status		•	•	•
Single	1.4	1.5	0	1.2
Married	94.6	92.6	93.1	93.8
Widow	3.4	0.5	5	0.5
Separated	0.6	5.4	2	4.8
Age Distribution		•	•	•
Below 28	10.2	11.4	9.9	10.5
29 – 38	48.7	52.5	61.4	51.8
39 – 48	36.0	27.7	48.7	32.3
49 – 58	3.7	4.5	0	3.4
58 and above	1.4	4	0	2.0
Education Level	1	<u>'</u>		
No Schooling	54.4	29.2	36.6	43.9
Primary (I - V)	17.8	14.9	22.8	17.7
Middle (VI - VII)	15	22.3	21.8	18.3
High School (VIII – X)	11	26.7	13.9	16.3
Pre-University (11th/12th Standard)	1.7	5.9	5	3.5
Graduation	0	1	0	0.3
Caste Distribution				
General	32.3	35.6	29.7	32.9
SC	21.2	18.8	17.8	20
ST	2.3	4	5	3.2
OBC	34.6	35.1	39.6	35.5
Others	9.6	6.4	7.9	8.4
Religion			·	
Hindu	96.9	97.0	89.1	95.7
Muslim	2.0	1.5	5.9	2.4
Christian	1.1	1.5	4	1.7
Others	0	0	1	0.210
Household Features				•
Average Family Size	3.37	3.37	3.46	3.38
Average Children per Family	1.49	1.45	1.41	1.43

**Source:** Based on Primary Survey, 2022-2023

Out of 656 households, nearly 57.2% of the family members are male and 42.8% are female (Table 1). As far as the marital status of migrant workers is concerned, the majority of them (93.8 %) are married. Nearly 5.3% of the respondents are either widows, widowers or separated and 1.2% of them are not married. In terms of age, the majority (51.8) of the respondents belong to the age group of 29-38 years. In the sample, we see that domestic workers are more in the age group of 29-38 years (61.4%). This is because, domestic workers are generally women, and women from this age group have grown-up children and fewer family obligations, and hence, can move out in search of work.

Regarding the educational levels of respondents, a majority of them are illiterates or have received no schooling (43.9%), followed by those with education up to primary (I-V) (17.7%), middle school (VI-VII) (18.3%) and high school (16.3%), indicating a low educational profile of these migrant informal workers. Of these, it can be observed that among the three sectors, construction workers are more illiterate (54.4%). We can also find that around 3.4% of labourers have completed 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> standard and 1% of garment workers have completed graduation.

With respect to caste, a majority of our sample respondents belong to backward classes (35.5%), followed by the general category (32.9%), SC (20%) and ST (3.2%). Concerning religion, a majority of our sample respondents are Hindus (95.7%), followed by Muslims (2.4%) and Christians (1.7%). Household size is an important indicator as it has its influence on decision-making related to education, healthcare and migration and it also affects the living standards. The average family size of the sampled households is 3.38, which means there are 3-4 members in a household. Further, each family has on average 1.43 children. It means, most families have 1-2 children in their household.

### **Economic Status of the Sample Households**

With respect to the economic status of the household (Table 2), nearly 35% of the household members are employed, while 11.3% are unemployed. Others are either looking for a job (2%) or pursuing education (32.2%). In terms of their type of occupation, the majority of the sampled workers are skilled labourers (62.8%) such as working as plumbers, carpenters, painters, etc. The unskilled workers constitute around 35% who are labourers, helpers, etc. The other 2.2% are mainly women working as homemakers.

In terms of working hours, in all three sectors, the majority of them work for eight hours a day (overall - 57.9%). About22.5% of respondents reported that they work nine hours a day. This is found mainly in the garment industry (25.8%). In terms of monthly income, we can see that 60% of the employed workers get a monthly income in the range of Rs. 10,000-15,000. However, the number of those who earn more than Rs. 15,000 per month is negligible, which is just 2.8 %, and a combination across all the three sectors. While we can also see that 12.5% of them earn less than Rs. 5,000, which is very minimal for a living (refer to Table 2).

Table 2: Economic Status of Informal Sector Worker's (in percentage)

	Construction Workers	Garments Workers	Domestic Help Workers	Overall
	(N=353)	(N=202)	(N=101)	(N=656)
Current Employment Status				
Employed	32.4	38.8	31.5	35.0
Unemployed	1.9	10.3	10.6	11.3
Looking for job	33.8	2.6	0.9	2.0
Pursuing Education/Training	12.1	31.6	32.7	32.2
Others	19.7	16.6	24.4	19.5
Occupation*				
Unskilled (Labourer, Helper)	23.3	43.2	58.2	35.0
Skilled (Mason, Carpenter, Plumber, Painter, Tile Laying, Electrician),	76.2	51.5	40.9	62.8
Others	0.5	5.3	0.9	2.2
Working Hours*				
6 Hours a Day	6.2	3.4	10.9	5.9
7 Hours a Day	13.9	10.2	9.1	12.0
8 Hours a Day	56.3	59.1	60.9	57.9
9 Hours a Day	22.1	25.8	16.4	22.5
More than 10 Hours a Day	1.0	1.5	0.9	0.6
Others	0.5	0.0	1.8	1.0
Earning Per Month (in Rs.) *				
0 – 5000	20.6	3.8	3.6	12.5
5,000 - 10,000	20.8	21.6	46.4	24.7
10,000 - 15,000	56.1	70.8	48.2	60.0
15,000 - 20,000	2.5	3.8	1.8	2.8

**Source:** Based on Primary survey, 2022

#### **Migration Profile**

It is observed that there are specific sectors which attract migrant workers, for instance, agriculture, manufacturing, construction, etc. Among these, as per NSSO (National Sample Survey Organisation) estimates, the construction sector is one of the dominant sectors that hires migrant workers. It is also an area where employment has grown rapidly in recent years. The construction sector (36.2%) has the largest proportion of short-term migrant workers, followed by agriculture (20.4%) and manufacturing (15.9%) (Srivastava, 2020). In this section, we have described migration details of informal workers in three sectors in the study area.

The influx of migrant workers in Bengaluru has been both inter-state and intra-state. However, in the study area, migration is mainly internal (within Karnataka) (71.3%). Most of the workers have migrated from the northern part of Karnataka, especially from the Hyderabad-Karnataka region, followed by Bellary, Koppal and Gulbarga. These are places that are mainly drought-prone with a low level of development as compared to other districts. Other places from Karnataka include Ramanagaram, Bijapur, Bagalkot, Mandya, Uttara Kannada and Mysore. Inter-state migration is also

<sup>\*</sup> Only from employed respondents

observed in the sample, where 21.2% of the workers originate from the southern states, 4.4% from northern states and the rest 2.6% from eastern states. In terms of each state, 28.7% of them have migrated from Andhra Pradesh (12.3%), Tamil Nadu (8.1%) Odisha (2.4%) and Bihar (1.2%). The other states from where workers have migrated to Bengaluru include Assam, Telangana, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Kerala. However, we also came across migrants from Nepal (0.3%). The primary drivers of migration are low wages and limited employment opportunities in the migrants' native areas. Another key motivation is the pursuit of improved economic status and better job prospects. Additionally, low levels of education significantly contribute to migration, as individuals with limited educational qualifications struggle to secure employment in their home regions.

In the study area, we were able to observe the presence of long-term circular migration as an important subsistence strategy followed by these workers (Annexure 1). This is in line with NSSO estimates. The majority of workers (91.2%) have migrated during the period 2015-20. It means they have been residing in Bengaluru for the last 10-15 years. They migrated either for work (68%) or both work and education (28.8%). However, most of them, i.e., 80.3% of them were employed before migrating, either in the agricultural sector or doing other small jobs. Nearly 61.8% of them are either freshers or have experience of less than five years. Around 29.6% of the migrant workers have work experience of 5 to 10 years in their respective fields. The majority of our respondents (84%) reported that they migrated with their family, i.e., with wife and children, and only 14.2% migrated alone.

#### Migration and Children's Education

In the study area, there are 935 children from 656 households. Among them, 506 are the children of construction workers, 287 are the children of garment workers and 142 are domestic workers' children (refer to Table 3). Among these children, 52.8% are boys and 47.2% are girls. The average number of children per household is 1.43, which means each migrant household has one to two children. The majority of the household (56.9%) have a single child and 38.9% have two children. However, some respondents have three children (2.4%) and only 0.3% of the construction workers had four children.

Table 3: Status of Informal Migrant Workers' Children<sup>7</sup>

Number of Children in Each Sector Sample	Construction Workers	Garments Workers	Domestic Help Workers	Overall
zacii ocetoi oaiiipio	N=506	N=287	N=142	N=935
Gender (in %)		•	•	•
Male	54.0	50.5	53.5	52.8
Female	46.0	49.5	46.5	47.2
No. of Children in the Ho	usehold	•	•	•
0	1.7	1.0	1.0	1.7
1	56.9	57.4	57.4	56.9
2	38.0	40.1	40.1	38.9
3	3.1	1.5	1.5	2.4
4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.3
Age of the Child (%)		<u> </u>		
5 - 10 Years	45.5	34.1	45.1	41.9
10 - 15 Years	34.4	40.1	35.2	36.3
15 - 20 Years	16.2	21.6	16.9	18.0
20 - 25 Years	4.0	4.2	2.8	3.9

Source: Based on Primary Survey, 2022

Further, majority of the children (41.9%) belong to the age group of 5 to 10 years. The next highest number of children, i.e., 36.3% is found in the age group of 10-15 years (sector-specific age distribution can be observed from Table 3). Among the respondents surveyed, 79.9% of children migrated with their parents and around 20.1% of children stayed back in their hometown. Research has indicated that the educational status of the left-behind children is much better than that of migrated children. This is examined in our study area in the next section.

#### Children "Migrated along with Parents" vs "those Left Behind"

The decision to leave behind or take the children along has its impact on a child's development, economic status, opportunity and well-being. This can range from detrimental to beneficial effects. To examine this, we have explored the status of children who migrated and those left behind in our study area. Migrated children and those left behind face different challenges in terms of attainment of education. Children, who migrate with their parents, are exposed to different opportunities and challenges due to the seasonality of work. This has created barriers to accessing social services. Even parents' economic insecurity and social and cultural dislocation may affect children's education. Those who are "left behind" lack care and parental guidance in their early years of growth. This can lead to difficulties in children's emotional well-being and psychological development. The research shows that migrant workers send money as remittances to keep their children back home. These children have higher accessibility to schools. However, seasonal migrant children face other challenges like many stay out of school or are forced to drop out and some of them become vulnerable to working as child labourers because of their parents' seasonal mobility.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The questions related to their children's education were answered by the parents.

To understand this phenomenon, we analysed a few indicators related to education to check and assess the difference a migrant's child faces vs those who are left behind. In our study, there is a limited percentage (4.9%) of children who are "Left Behind"<sup>8</sup>. The majority of informal migrant workers in the study area have brought their children with them (95.1%), while a smaller proportion have left their children in their hometowns for various reasons. Figure 1 illustrates the percentage distribution of children who migrated with their parents compared to those who stayed behind, referred to as "the left behind," across different sectors.

Yes, migrated No, stayed back in the hometown

3.1

96.9

97.2

93.5

(N=506)

(N=287)

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS

GARMENTS WORKERS

DOMESTIC HELP WORKERS

Figure 1: Children Migrated with their Parents vs. Stayed Back at Home of Informal Sector Worker's (in percentage)

Source: Based on Primary Survey, 2022

Among the three sectors, children of construction workers who stayed back at their home is 6.5%, which is relatively high. Due to the variability and non-settlement nature of work, parents feel it is safe to keep their children in their hometown in the care of their grandparents or relatives. Further, we tried to examine the nature of schooling opted for by these two categories of children. In our sample, there was no notable difference between the types of schools attended by the children who migrated and those who stayed in their home towns. Around 70% of these children go to government schools and around 30% go to private schools (refer to Table 4). However, we noticed a difference in the dropout ratio. It can be observed in Table 4 that the children "left behind" dropout level stood at 8.7% and for migrated children, the drop rate is 10.8%. This difference shows that children who migrated with their parents are more prone to be school dropouts because of the seasonal migration of parents from place to place. Due to change of place, children experience variation in academics and often miss the academic year, and hence, drop out of school. This finding recommends a dedicated educational system for the migrant workers who can join the school at any time of the academic year and also flexibility in terms of language.

This percentage is regarding the overall number of children (935). In some cases, parents take one child with them and the other isleft behind. In this study, such data is taken into consideration.

Table 4: Profile of Children Migrated vs. Left Behind

Particulars	Left Behind (N=46)	Migrated (889)
% of Children Going to Government Schools	70.3	70.1
% of Children Going to Private Schools	29.7	29.9
% of Children Dropped Out of School	8.7	10.8

Source: Based on Primary Survey, 2022

#### **Education profile of Migrant Workers' Children**

The educational details spread across different age groups of children in the study area reveal that (refer to Table 5), 2.7% of total children are going to preschool (i.e., Anganwadi centres). Around 42.9% are primary school-going children, followed by 18.8% in middle school and around 26% in high school. Among these, we observed that the maximum number of children, i.e., 61.3% go to Kannada medium schools as it is a common course in most of the government schools in Karnataka, while only 35.6% of the children go to English medium schools.

**Table 5: Education Status and Medium of Schooling** 

	Construction Workers	Garments Workers	Domestic Help Workers	Overall
	(N=506)	(N=287)	(N=142)	(N=935)
Type of Current Education				
Pre-School	2.1	3.5	3.1	2.7
Primary (I - V)	47.4	34.8	43.5	42.9
Middle (VI - VII)	18.0	19.5	19.9	18.8
High School (VIII – X)	24.8	30.5	21.4	26.0
Medium				
Kannada	68.8	48.1	50.4	61.3
Telugu	1.8	1.7	3.1	2.1
Tamil	1.1	1.0	0.0	0.6
English	28.2	38.3	45.8	35.6
Urdu	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.1
Others	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.4

Source: Primary Survey, 2022

About 68.8% of children of construction workers learned in Kannada medium while 28.2% of them studied in English medium (Table 5); this percentage was significantly more when compared to other two sectors of migrants, with a small percent in other language medium schools like Tamil and Urdu medium.

Table 6: Children's Education- Types of School

	Construction	Garments Workers	Domestic Help Workers	Overall
	Workers (N=506)	(N=287)	(N=142)	(N=935)
Type of School				
Government School	78.8	62.0	56.9	70.1
Private School	21.2	38.0	43.1	29.9
If Government School then, W	hy did you Choose so	?		
Affordable	83.0	80.4	86.5	82.1
Government Schools are Better than Private Schools	16.2	18.4	10.8	16.1
Mid-Day Meal	1.2	1.3	2.7	1.4
Any Other, Specify	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.3
If Private School, then Why die	d you Choose so?			
Private Schools are Better than Government Schools	10.8	17.5	16.1	14.6
Quality Education	31.2	25.8	19.6	26.4
Better Faculty	2.2	0.0	7.1	2.4
English Medium	55.9	56.7	55.4	56.1
Education				
Ongoing	86.8	89.2	92.3	88.3
Dropped	12.3	9.4	7.7	10.7

Source: Primary survey, 2022

Among the total number of children, the majority of them (70%) are going to government schools, the rest opted for private schools (refer to Table 6). Majority of the migrant children go to government schools. Sector-wise, high percentage of children opting for private school can be observed among domestic help workers. Among those who are going to government school, a maximum number of them i.e., 82.1% of the respondents held that they preferred government school as it was affordable. It was observed in the study that 16.1% of them think government school is better than private school. Among parents who chose private schools, (29.9%), the majority of them sent their children to English medium education. Only 26.4% spoke about the quality of education in private schools and 14.6% reported that private schools are better than government schools. This finding is significant, as the number of parents choosing private schools is relatively low, yet important because these children are migrants from other states. They face challenges in government schools, particularly due to language barriers.

One of the key aspects that need special attention is the dropout ratio of these migrant children. It is evident from Table 6 that, around 10.7% of them are school dropouts. What is most striking is the dropout ratio in different sectors. We can observe that among the three sectors, the dropout ratio among the children of the construction sector is quite high (12.3%). The next highest is among the children of the garment sector with 9.4% and 7.7%in case of domestic help workers. To ensure clear identification, this is graphically represented in Figure 2.

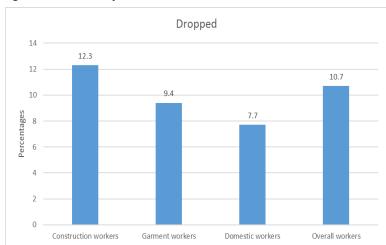


Figure 2: School Dropouts across Sectors

Source: Primary Survey, 2022

To examine this further we probed the reasons for their dropout (Table 7). Around 10.7% were dropouts mainly from high school and middle school. Some dropped out of school voluntarily while others are forced to do so under appalling conditions.

**Table 7: Reason for School Dropouts** 

	Construction Workers	Garments Workers	Domestic Help Workers	Overall
	(N=506)	(N=287)	(N=142)	(N=935)
Changing Location	8.1	0.0	18.2	7.0
Not Interested in Education	30.6	29.6	27.3	30.0
Distance	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.0
Language Barrier	11.3	14.8	0.0	11.0
Work at Home (Household Chores)	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.0
Financial Difficulties	14.5	18.5	27.3	17.0
Employed	6.5	14.8	0.0	8.0
Health	1.6	0.7	0.0	3.0
Could not get Admission	4.8	7.4	9.1	6.0
COVID-19 Pandemic	3.2	0.0	0.0	2.0
Others	16.1	7.4	18.2	14.0

**Source:** Primary Survey, 2022

Among the various reasons, we received a very surprising response: a good number (30%) of these migrant children were not interested in education. This is equally evident in all three sectors of the study (30.6%of construction workers' children, 29.6% of garment workers' children and 27.3% of domestic workers' children). This is a very distinctive and complex social reality that needs to be addressed immediately. One common reason for the lack of interest can be attributed to parental attitude towards education. As most of the parents do not have formal schooling and few have completed just their primary school education, they do not follow up with children's performance in

school regularly. Hence, parents' attitude towards their children's education is an important determinant of whether children stay in school or not. Constant failure due to high academic pressure causes a lack of self-confidence in them, leading to lack of interest in education. The second-most common reason given is financial difficulties (17%), followed by the language barrier (11%). Financial problems are common as these migrants come from poor socio-economic background. However, language problems are an important issue that need to be addressed. The language barrier can cause a major academic disadvantage. Migrant children move from different ethnic backgrounds and may not be familiar with the local language as government schools offer education in their native language. In Karnataka schools, students must learn Kannada as a compulsory language. In our sample, we found that nearly 28.7% of the migrants are from other states. They have different language background. This makes a child face difficulty in adapting to a new language, and hence, may become a dropout. Among the different study sectors, though lack of interest in education is common, changing the location is also reported to be one of the key reasons, especially among domestic help workers and construction workers. Nearly 18.2% of the domestic help workers reported that the main reason for their children's school dropout is the changing location. This is reported by 8.1% of construction workers.

# **Summary**

The study examined the complex relationship between parental migration and children's educational outcomes, with a particular focus on the construction sector, where the impact is most severe. Seasonal migration and the resulting disruptions in education lead to higher dropout rates, especially when combined with language barriers and lack of parental motivation. While some sectors like garment work and domestic help show better educational outcomes for migrant children, a holistic and flexible education system is essential to address the broader challenges faced by all migrant families. Addressing these issues requires immediate policy intervention, particularly in creating flexible education models and language options, to ensure that no child is left behind in their pursuit of education. Some of the pointers that policymakers can consider to have more inclusive education for migrant children include: (1) Flexible Education System for Migrant Children: Establish a dedicated and flexible education system tailored to the needs of migrant workers' children, allowing them to join school at any point in the academic year. This would address the disruption caused by seasonal migration, particularly for children in sectors like construction, where high mobility results in higher dropout rates; (2) Language Flexibility in Schools: Introduce language flexibility in government schools to accommodate migrant children from different linguistic backgrounds. This would help reduce language barriers, making education more accessible and encouraging continued school attendance; (3) Parental Engagement and Awareness: Implement programmes aimed at raising awareness among migrant parents about the longterm value of education and the importance of motivating their children. Parental encouragement plays a crucial role in keeping children interested in their studies and reducing dropout rates; (4) Sectorspecific Interventions: Focus policy efforts on sectors like construction, where migration is frequent, and the negative impact on children's education is most severe. Special educational interventions and support programs should be provided to ensure these children are not disproportionately affected. (5) Sensitization of some of the government scheme is essential. On the one hand, it increases reach and coverage of the policy; on the other hand, it will lead to a positive shift in the society.

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# **Annexures**

**Annexure 1: Migration Profile of Informal Sector Workers** 

Particulars	Construction workers (N=356)	Garments workers (N=201)	Domestic help workers (N=101)	Overall (N=656)
2000 – 2010	2.8	2.0	3.0	2.6
2010 – 2015	1.4	1.5	4.0	4.4
2015 – 2020	83.9	92.1	86.1	91.2
2020 and above	11.9	4.5	6.9	0.0
Reasons to Migrate	•			
Work	63.7	0.5	71.3	68.0
Work & Education	32.0	73.8	27.7	28.8
Work & Finances Problem	2.8	23.8	1.0	2.5
Work Contract	1.4	2.0	0.0	0.8
Were you Employed before Migrat	ing?	•	•	•
Yes	76.5	83.2	88.1	80.3
No	23.5	16.8	11.9	19.7
Years of Experience in the Current	t Industry	-	1	
0 – 5	73.4	59.8	67.3	61.8
05 – 10	19.8	35.2	26.8	29.6
10 – 15	4.1	3.5	4.0	5.4
15 – 20	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9
20 – 25	0.0	1.5	2.0	1.6
Did You Migrate Alone or with Far	nily?			•
Alone	13.6	12.9	18.8	14.2
With Family	84.7	85.6	78.2	84.0
With Other Close Relatives/ Friends	0.6	0.5	3.0	0.5
Other	1.1	1.0	0.0	1.4
Did Your Child/Children Migrate v	vith You?			•
Yes	79.0	84.2	74.3	79.9
No	21.0	15.8	25.7	20.1
Did Someone Staying in Bengalur	u Help You to Come	e Here?		•
Yes	77.6	75.2	75.2	76.5
No	22.4	24.8	24.8	23.5
If Yes, Who Was it?				
Friends	25.3	28.0	20.0	25.3
Relatives	58.2	70.0	80.0	65.6
Neighbours	13.9	2.0	0.0	7.1
Others	2.5	0.0	0.0	1.9

**Source:** Based on Primary Survey, 2022-2023

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ISBN 978-93-93879-81-3



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Dr V K R V Rao Road, Nagarabhavi P.O., Bangalore - 560 072, India Phone: 0091-80-23215468, 23215519, 23215592; Fax: 0091-80-23217008

E-mail: sobin@isec.ac.in; Web: www.isec.ac.in