Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework and the Literature Review

2.1: Defining the key terms

There are some key terms used in this thesis. These terms need to be defined so that their meanings can be understood clearly.

Child:

There is no absolute definition of childhood irrespective of subjective or official. The boundary between childhood and adulthood is a culturally construct (Davin 1999, Kumar 2010, Bisht 2008). Therefore, childhood may be conceived differently in different cultural contexts. However, there is no doubt that a child is a young person who is yet to reach full physical and intellectual maturity like an adult. Though every individual may not achieve required maturity at a particular time period, yet the age has been popular criteria for making distinction between child and adult. However, there is no universally accepted age of childhood. There may be difference between the socially and legally conceived ages of adulthood. Moreover, it may vary over time, between countries or even within a country. For example, in India childhood is defined differently for different purposes and it is given in the following table.
Table 2.1: Minimum ages (years) defined by Indian national legislation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Admission to employment or full time work including hazardous work, part-time and full-time work</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Merchant Shipping Act 1958</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>• Motor Transport Workers’ Act 1961</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>• Apprentices Act 1961</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>• Bidi and Cigar Workers’ Act 1966</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Plantation Labour Act 1951</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Factories Act 1948</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Mines Act 1952</td>
<td>18</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

| Right to giving consent in changing his/her own identities | 18 |
| Right to marriage |  |
| • Boys | 21 |
| • Girls | 18 |
| Right to property transaction | 21 |
| Right to consuming alcohol or other controlled substances | 21 |

Source: UNICEF

It appears from the above table that as far as physical labour is concerned a person in India below the age 14 is considered to be child in almost all the concerned laws except one, the Mines Act 1952. But for some other purposes, e.g. right to vote, marriage, property transaction or giving consent in changing one’s own identities, where intellectual growth is
largely concerned, the minimum ages are higher than this and not below 18. This age is also a condition for the entry in most of the government job. In most of the world, including most of the United States, parts of the United Kingdom (England, Northern Ireland, Wales), India and China, the legal adult age is 18 for most purposes. Thus it appears that 18 is the largely accepted age worldwide to distinguish between childhood and adulthood. This age receives importance in the definition of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) too where India is one of the signatories. According to the Article 1 of the Convention “a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier” (UNHCHR 1989:2). Though according to this definition there is scope for individual countries to set an age below 18 years, yet the Committee on the Rights of the Child, the monitoring body for the Convention, has encouraged States to review the age of majority if it is set below that age and to increase the level of protection for all children under 18. The National Commission for Protection of Child Rights in India was expressed its intention in 2008 to review the age of childhood and increase the minimum age of adulthood to 18 but so far this did not make any result (Thacker 2009).

In this study I have paid my focus on those children who are between five to eighteen years of age. In West Bengal a child of age five qualifies for admission in a primary school. There are twelve grades in the school education system. Thus a child needs at least twelve years to complete its school education. This period allows a child not only to attain the age of adulthood (or at least close to it) but also gives the opportunity to take part in the first public examination (secondary level). Both of them are very important to enter into wider
employment market including government jobs. Moreover, this period allows many children to carry on their higher secondary level education, which is one of the preconditions for the entry into the higher education like professional or general courses in colleges and universities. Making such opportunity is also an imperative of the CRC (Article 28).

On the other hand, mere elementary education, that is, eight years of schooling, which is expected to be completed by the age of fourteen and is free and compulsory according to the Right to Education Act in India, largely limits the employability of a person. Moreover, by this age a child would not be able to complete its full course of school education though in most cases a child can study up to secondary level, if not higher secondary level, from the school where she/he can complete eighth grade of schooling. Furthermore, if a child does not continue education after fourteen years of age there is large possibility that they will stay idle, at least, for the following couple of years.

**Education:**

The term ‘education’ is derived from the Latin word ‘Educo’ that means ‘to bring up’ (Prasad 2004). It has a very wide connotation and is hard to define. “Philosophers and thinkers from Socrates to Dewey in the West and Yajnavalkya to Gandhi in the East have defined education in accordance with their philosophy of life with result that there emerged divergent concepts and definition of education” (Aggarwal 2002:3).
According to the preconception of philosophers and thinkers, education may contribute to all aspects of human life. The education of a person is lifelong process and it starts from the very beginning of its childhood, immediately after birth and continues until death. In the most primitive societies the process of education was simple – children would learn by doing and observing. The entire education was informal and they would learn from the entire environment, from all activities and from almost everybody.

The purpose of education is the transmission of the values and accumulated knowledge of a society. Over time the society became more and more complex, and the values and accumulated knowledge between generations continued to be different as well as complex. It became difficult to transfer all of them simply by doing and observing. Thus the process of transferring them no longer remained limited to informal way of teaching and learning rather it included formal and non-formal education process. Along with informal education there appeared formal and non-formal education. “Formal education in India refers to the hierarchically structured education system running from the kindergarten through the university, including institutions of technical and professional education and training” (Mitra 2007:2). It is highly structured and rigid and it is characterized by uniformity to a large extent. After completion of designated stages of such education it is possible for an individual to claim government employment.

On the other hand the Non-Formal Education (NFE) is “an educational activity, occurring in the traditional framework of formal education system” (ibid: 2). In India it is characterized by “flexibility in terms of organization, timing and duration of teaching and learning,
clientele groups, age group of learners, contents, methodology of instruction and evaluation procedure” (ibid: 2). The main motto behind this education system is to make the formal education easier to access to a large extent for those who are otherwise remained unable to access it.

Education may be affected by migration in several ways. When a family member migrate from one place to another the migrant may find the destination new in various ways and the person has to learn how to adjust himself in the new situation. And thus he would gather some knowledge. Since migrants migrate in the hope of better income opportunities, it is expected that it would help improving the economic condition of the family involved. The better economic condition may help better access to formal education from those families. This suggests that migration may affect formal education too. Therefore, it appears that migration may affect all three educational processes – informal, formal and non-formal. But for my study it would be too big to cover all these educational processes. So, I would like to limit my focus to the formal education only. Even the formal education too is a vast area of education. Therefore, I would like to further limit education from grade 1 to 12.

**Temporary Migration:**

There are many definitions of migration. According to IUSSP Multilingual Demographic Dictionary, as cited in Bhagat (2005:3), “Migration is a form of spatial mobility, which involves change in the usual place of residence and implies movement across an administrative boundary”. This defines neither the ‘usual place of residence (UPR)’ nor the
size of administrative boundary. The Human Development Report 2009 defines migrant as “An individual who has changed their usual place of residence, either by crossing an international border or moving within their country of origin to another region, district or municipality” (UNDP 2009:211). This also did not define UPR but to some degree it defines the boundary. However, there are incidences of defining UPR. For example, the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO) in India defined it as a place where a person had stayed continuously for a period of six months or more. This definition is also unable to “embrace the simultaneous stay of a person in more than one space” (Siddiqui 2005: 1). They fail to embrace movement of nomadic people too who don’t have any settled home and thus don’t have any usual place of residence. They also don’t recognize those as migrant who migrated for less than six months. Moreover, during the period in between two surveys a person can complete several migration cycles i.e. source-destination-source, and at the time of enumeration it may found that the person’s usual place of residence did not change. Such migration is also not recognized in the aforesaid surveys.

In the definitions of migration the concept of administrative boundary is also a tricky thing. In case of international migration a country is a spatial unit whereas in case of internal migration this may be inter and intrastate, inter and intra-district, inter-village and rural-urban, urban-urban migration. There is evidence that a single organisation, for example the Census of India, changed definition of a spatial unit over time. Up to 1961 migration data was based on district as the lowest spatial unit i.e. intra district migration was ignored. In addition, until the 64th round of National Sample Survey a person would be termed as migrant if its place of residence and place of birth were different. The place of birth relate
only to in-migration to a particular place and fails to indicate the magnitude and direction to out migration. Moreover, it does not identify whether the migrants come from rice producing villages or not. Seasonal or circular migration is not captured in census and other enumeration exercises. Thus it appears that it is difficult to develop a universally accepted definition of migration.

Classification of migration, such as internal-international, temporary-permanent, forced-voluntary, is also difficult (ibid). Therefore, scholars tend to adopt conservative definitions of migration to study it. For example, Deshinkar and Farrington (2009) defined circular migration “as a temporary move from, followed by return to, the normal place of residence, for purposes of employment” (p 1). This considers commuters too as migrants. But the coverage of migration in this thesis is further narrower and it excludes commuters. Therefore, for this thesis the temporary migration is defined as a temporary move with the expectation that they would be absent for a certain period from the normal place of residence, for purposes of earning.

2.2: Understanding linkage between migration and child education:

The major step of school education of a child is its enrolment in a school. The enrolment of a child may depend upon various factors including attitude of concerned guardian towards education. Only a positive attitude can help in this regard. Migration may play important role in the process that contributes to the changes in attitude of a person including the attitude, negative or positive, towards the education of child. For example, migration is likely to lead a
person to interact with a wider world, where the migrants often experience the advantage of education. They may experience that an educated person easily finds bus for journey or fills up forms required to seek reservation in trains and so on. Some of them may also feel that education has little or no value at all for the work they perform. These experiences are likely to influence the decision of a person whether a child should be enrolled in school or not. In the present day context, when the necessity of education is high, particularly when the people are away from home, migrants are expected to acknowledge the importance of education. The surveys of PROBE team (1999) and Rana et al (2002) show that the aspiration of parents for education for their child is high. There may be many factors that contributed to this high rise of aspiration. Experiencing the need of education in every day life is likely to be important among them. Arguably education is more important for the persons who interact more with the wider world than those who stay behind at home. Thus the people with migration experience are likely to be more inclined than a person who stays behind at home. This may also influence decision making on what short of education should be arranged for their children. For example, evidences are there where migrants wanted their children to be admitted in English medium schools (Zacharia and Rajan 2009).

From school the children are expected to learn something from the curriculum, popularly known as quality education in the education discourse. It is the quality education that can serve the purpose of education, i.e. to achieve the goal of development, not only at the individual level but also at the wider level. The achievement of quality education for a child is subject to various factors and they are well conceptualized in the Global Monitoring Report 2005, prepared by UNESCO.
This figure suggests that four interrelated factors – school characteristics, child characteristics, the characteristics of the context, and the learning outcome. All individual factors are characterized by diversity.

Arguably, many of the factors that affect education quality are likely to be affected by migration. For example, let’s take the learning time into account. This indicates that children should be in school for a minimum period of time, which is around 800 hours a year [give exact figure and reference]. Migration may lead many children to be unable to attend school
for required amount of hours in many ways. For example, the children who migrate to the brickfields are less likely to have access to any educational institution partly because they are too far away from their place of origin to attend the school they are enrolled in, if at all, and, partly because of unavailability of school in the destination since brickfields are generally well away from any locality where schools are likely to be available.

On the other hand, there is also the possibility that schools in many destinations provide education of better quality compared to the schools in the source of the migrants. In this case migration may help many children to access to these schools provided that there is no restriction to access to them on the ground of migration status.

Now I would like to develop a model to analyse the linkage between migration and education. I would like to develop this based on the model developed by Kothari (2002) to understand the causes and consequences of migration in the light of chronic poverty. According to her, people migrate or stay behind as a result of chronic poverty. Both migration and staying behind may either lead to further poverty or to get out of it. This is presented in the figure form as below.
Figure 2.2: Framework for understanding migration and poverty

If this figure is applied to understand the relation between migration and child education the figure may appear as below.

Figure 2.3: Framework for understanding the linkage between migration and child education

From Figure 2.3 it appears that some children of the families involved in migration can be seen as migrant whereas others as left behind. The effects of migration on education of both
the categories of children may either be positive or be negative. This explains well the consequences of migration on child education particularly when we look at the position of children in relation to migration. The model fails to accommodate the influence of migration from the family and from the local society. Thus it needs some modifications. The modified figure is presented as below.

Figure 2.4: Modification of understanding the linkage between migration and child education

It appears from the figure above that migration affects education of children in many ways. Some of them are positive and others are negative. But for a child the positive and the negative effects are not mutually exclusive. Often many of them go simultaneously. For example, a child was fortunate to secure admission in a so-called good school. But the environment in that school may not be conducive to that particular child because of differences in many respects such as culture, language or something else. The net result is the combined effect of positive and negative effects of migration. The combined effect may run between absolute positive and absolute negative effect of migration, as shown in the figure.
below. Thus, for some children theoretically the effect is absolutely positive and for some others this may be absolutely negative.

Figure 2.5: Understanding net effect of migration

2.3: Conceptualizing the effects of migration on education

One of the primary conditions of migration is physical movement from one place to another. Migration may lead to separation of family. Migration involves cost as well as brings money from outside. In the destination the migrants interact with new situation, which may influence the attitude of the migrants with regard to the necessity of education. All these are likely to education of children. In the following section I am going to discuss them in details.

Physical movement and the access to education

Migrants are not only adults. Many of them are children i.e. they are also seen to be involved in physical movement from one place to another. This may affect their education in various ways. For many, this may be facilitative whereas for many others this may be restrictive. In
many destinations the schooling facilities are much better than the facilities at the place of their origin. In this case migration may open up the opportunity to obtain better learning achievement. For example, migration may help to access to schools in destination much better than schools at their origin. At the same time schools in the destination may pose many problems to the immigrant children. These may be related to language, culture and so on (Wegerif et. al. 1999). The medium of instruction may be different from that of the language the child used to. For many children the access to the schools in the destination may be restrictive too. Since many of the migrants are poor the schools in the destination may be too expensive to them. Moreover, the schools may be too far away from their place of residence. The access may also be affected on the ground of mismatch between the start of academic year in the school and the time of migration in the year. If a child migrates well after the start of the academic year its admission in the school may be refused. Above all, the concern of access to school in the destination is likely to arise mainly when the duration of migration is not less than one year, the duration of normal academic year in school.

When the children migrate for less than one year they are likely not be in school in the destination. If they are enrolled at all it would be in the schools at the place of origin. Due to migration these children are likely to remain absent in school. A linear relationship may be drawn between the lengths of migration and absence in school. Since regular attendance is crucial for the learning achievement from school curriculum (CREATE 2011) it is obvious that migration may affect education of such children negatively. Since the duration of absence from home may vary between migrants, children may miss school for varied length. For some, the length of migration may coincide with the length of school vacation.
Apparently their attendance in school may not be affected due to migration, but still there is big chance to get their education affected negatively. These children may not find adequate time, if they find it at all, to prepare their lesson outside school. The time spent beyond school time for the preparation of lesson is also crucial for learning achievement (Jalan and Panda 2010). The migrant children may have to sacrifice this time.

**When children don’t migrate out**

From the discussion above it became clear that education of children may be affected when they are directly involved in physical movement. Many children may also be seen as staying behind whereas other members migrate out. In this case apparently children are unlikely to miss school since they are around it as usual. Then, does it affect education of children at all? We will discuss on this in the following paragraphs.

Education of children may seek direct as well as indirect contribution from families. Different members in the family may play different roles in this process and the roles may change over time, i.e. with the age of the child or the members. For example, as a child grow up he/she will tend to depend less on others in terms of going to school or getting prepared for that. The direct supports include admitting children into school, ensuring their regular attendance in school, helping them to prepare their lesson at home and so on. Indirect supports include providing mental support to the children, disciplining them so that they are always on track with regard to their schooling, making sure proper health care for them so that health problem does not affect their education, and so on. Different members in the family may take different roles in these regards. There may be some members whose care is
more important for the education of children. Absence of these members may affect education of children negatively. For example, absence of a member who used to help preparing lesson is likely to affect education of a child.

At different age level of children, role of some members may be more important than others. For example, towards the younger age the role of mother in the life of children is more important than others. Similarly as children grow up, disciplinary actions become more important. In the patriarchal society males or more particularly fathers’ role is more important in this regard. Unless these are substituted by other means, the education of children is likely to be affected. In joint family there are likely to be many other members who may replace the father’s role.

Migration of part of family may lead to reorganization of labour division in the family. This may take into account the labour of children and thus there is some possibilities of reducing the time of preparation of lesson at home.
2.4: Literature review

The literature finds an ambiguous relationship between remittances and schooling. On one hand, by relaxing the household’s liquidity constraints, remittances allow an investment in education. On the other hand ....the migration of the household head can disrupt the family life and have a negative impact on children’s school performance. Therefore, the effect of remittances on schooling is still an empirical question not accurately answered by the literature yet. (Borraz 2005:no page number).

Children of the families involved in migration can be found as left behind or as migrants. Therefore, their education is likely to be affected differently in many respects. For example, access to school may be difficult for migrant children whereas this is as usual for the left behind children. Thus the discussion in this chapter is divided into two sections. The first section of this chapter focuses on the left behind children and the second section on migrant children.

The impact of migration on education of left behind children

Migration leads the migrant to an environment, which is likely to be different from the place the migrant come from. Srivastava and Sasikumar (2005: 175) state that “Exposure to different environment, including the stresses that it carries, has a deep impact on the attitudes, habits and awareness levels of migrant workers depending upon the lengths of
migrant and the place to which it occurs.” These impacts on them may be transferred by the migrants to the places they migrated from by way of regular visits or interaction over telephone, letters, emails and so on. Arguably this may affect education of children left behind. An example in Gulati (1983) supports this assumption. According to this example, in Kerala of India, a fisherman’s daughter admitted her children in English Medium School since her migrant husband wanted their children to have the best education and be fluent in English.

Migration and the expectation of economic well-being are almost inseparable. Though many people may not be able to get out of the existing economic condition (Deshinkar and Start 2003) and for many others the condition deteriorates (see Anandabazar Patrika) often migration help people to improve it (UNDP 2009, Zachriah and Rajan 2009, Banerjee et al 2002). Thus, as far as the role of economic condition of family on education is concerned, theoretically there would be no change with some children, some may be affected negatively, and for the rest the effect is likely to be positive. Migration may affect left behind families not only economically but also create some crisis in the families. So the education of children is likely to be affected by both of these simultaneously. However, their effect may be different in different context. For example, the remittance in economically sound family is as important as in the poor one. Or, crisis to the families having support from difference sources cannot affect them as adversely as in the case of families who don’t have much support. It is difficult to show a combined effect in a child because some effects are measurable whereas others, such as psychological effect, not. The available studies tend to say either the effect of
economy or the effect of absence. The following discussion considers the economic concern first and then move to the effect caused by absence of family members.

**Economic effect:**

The remittance would reduce budget constraints of sending families and this may also lead their behaviour change (Hadi 1999). As part of this modification the remittance receiving households may incline more towards the investment on child education. In a study in Bangladesh Afsar (2005) found that about 40 percent of migrants’ families used remittances to educate children and treat sick members. In Kerala, Zachariah and Rajan (2009) found that the expenditure on child education is higher in the households from where people have migrated out. Lu and Treiman (2007) also made the similar findings among South African Black labour migrants.

The investment of remittances on child education could be in various forms. Rahman et al (1996, cited in Afsar 2005) found that the school enrolment rates among members of migrant families in rural areas is greater compared with age cohorts of non-migrant families. It is also likely that many children would be in school even if there was no migration from their families. Then it would be natural question in what ways the remittances are used for education of children from such families. In this case children are more likely to go to private school/colleges (Zachariah and Rajan 2009, and Gulati 1983, Battistella and Conaco 1998), which is more expensive than in government run institutions. Bryant (2005) also notes
similar findings in IOM (2003), which found in Philippines that the children of migrants were much more likely to go to private schools than children of non-migrants.

Not necessarily all the families, involved in migration, receive remittance. Many migrants may fail to send remittance. To meet the expenditure of many of such migration the families’ economic condition may go down and sometimes it may be severe. In such condition arguably the budget constraints would increase which may affect investment on child education negatively. This area is largely under researched and may be that’s why no study considering such case was available to me.

For many families the remittance becomes irregular and uncertain. This can be severe to many poor families. To overcome this crisis families are likely to take up strategies feasible to them. For example, children may be sent to relatives in other villages to borrow money (Seeley et al 2009) or they may be involved in income earning activities with other family members (Rogaly et al 2001, Srivastava and Sasikumar 2005, IOM 2005). Involvement with such activities may lead children to remain absent from schools affecting their education. But if economic condition of family is not too tight children from migrant families are less likely to participate in labour market activities (Mansuri 2006).

The enrolment of children often does not involve a big cost either in the absolute monetary term or in terms of opportunity cost and thus they are affordable. But as the children grow up they move from lower standard to higher standard in school which is likely to involve greater amount of expenditure because at higher level they may need to buy more books and copy
books and many other things. On the top of this as the children grow up the opportunity cost, i.e. the possible amount of earning if the children were not in school, also increases. Thus the retention of children, particularly from poorer families, may be under serious problems. Edwards and Ureta (2003) state that remittance may improve this retention rate. From the data from 2531 households in 143 villages in Pakistan Mansuri (2006) concludes that children in migrant households are not only more likely to attend school, they are more likely to stay in school and accumulate more years of schooling in comparison to their counterparts in non-migrant households in the same village. Borraz (2005) also noted similar findings from a study in Mexico. But if there is no remittance received from migrants then the situation of the school participation is worse (Lu and Treiman 2007).

The performance in school may vary between children depending upon many factors including regularity in school, access to reading materials (UNESCO 2007). From the analysis of Human Development Profile 2004-2005 of India Mueller and Shariff (2009) came to conclusion that there was a positive correlation between remittances received from migrants and the schooling attendance of teens. The magnitude of correlation was greater when focused on low-caste households, and male schooling attendance in particular becomes more positive and statistically significant. Well-being with the help of remittances not only allows children to be regular in school but also improve the chance to have access to reading materials. Thus there is strong likelihood that children from migrant households would perform better in school. This hypothesis is substantiated by findings in IOM 2003 (cited in Bryant 2005). According to this the children from migrant households received better marks in the school exams than children from non-migrant households. However, not necessarily
this is always true. Reyes (nd) also did the same finding. From a study Bryant (2005) noted that there was no difference in marks between children of migrant and non-migrant families.

The impact of migration can also contribute to gender equality in child education through the improvement of family economic condition as well as transfer of secular belief. Female participation is more strongly related to family wealth (Checchi 1999). Shah and Arnold (1985) found (cited in Hadi 2001) migrant-family members are more concerned for the education of their girls than others and this is probably because migration has raised aspiration for the education of girls. Hadi (2001) found in Bangladesh that “[t]he chance for girls to be enrolled in school is 96 per cent higher among migrant families than among non-migrant families, even when socio-demographic factors such as age, years of schooling, land ownership and religion are taken into consideration” (p58).

**Effect of family member’s absence:**

The migrant member in the family may be father, mother or others including siblings in relation to the left behind children. Absence of any of these members is likely to create some crisis. Children including their education are likely to suffer from this crisis. Children are likely to long for the love and care from biological parents. Parents are also major source of guidance (Battistella and Conaco 1998). Therefore, it appears that the children may be mentally disturbed and lose parental guidance, an important element for education of children, by the absence of their parents. Pottinger (2005) found that migration is directly related to poor performance in school and psychological difficulties. Reyes (no date) states
that parental absence creates disruption and changes in care giving arrangement. S/he also states that there is always an emotional aspect that goes along with parents leaving their children. But evidences show that not necessarily all the children are affected equally. Battistella and Conaco (1998) conducted a study in the Phillipines among the children of average age 11.3 years. The finding of the study was complex. In that study some children were found to become disobedient, rebellious and naughty whereas almost equal number of children were found obedient, serious and capable of taking care of themselves. The study also found that absence of mother and father did not affect their children equally. Children of absent mother were found to perform least well in school. In the similar way parental absence may affect education of sons’ and daughters’ differently. While a lack of role model reduced sons’ academic performance, girls’ observations of their mothers’ economic difficulties increased their motivation to excel in school (Booth 1996)

Absence of family members may lead labour shortage in the family and thus increase workload on those who are left behind. The nature of response to this crisis may differ depending upon several factors including its economic condition. Poor families often have small patch of land and/or cattle. The absence of family member may push children to take care of them such as carrying food to the field, bringing grass for the cattle, taking care of cattle at home etc. (Seeley et al 2009). Children may also be sought to perform other activities too. For example, they are sent to other village to borrow money from relatives or to take sick members to medical doctors (ibid). There is great possibility that these activities would lead children to miss school and thus affecting their education. But the absence of family members not necessarily increases workload on those who are left behind in the
family including children. Families having better economic condition may allow them to hire in labour and thus mitigate this crisis without involving children. Perhaps that’s why Mansuri (2006), in her study in Pakistan, found children from migrants’ families participate less in labour market activities.

Rana et al (2001) along with Global Monitoring Report 2005 suggest that assistance to prepare lesson at home make valuable contribution to academic performance. Assistance may come in various ways including from family members. If the member, who assists children in preparing their lesson, migrate, the education of children is likely to be affected negatively. Among the Swazi children Booth (1995) found that even if the fathers, who were generally more educated than their wives, don’t assist directly only their presence influenced the development of children, who pick up basic cognitive skills and vocabulary simply through observation and modeling.

Sometimes as a response to husband’s migration the left behind wife along with her children move to her natal village (Seeley et al 2009, Gulati 1983). If the natal village is far away from the husband’s village the distance may stand against regular attendance of children in school.
The impact of children’s own migration on education

Migrants include a large number of children. They may migrate with their parents, kin, relatives or on their own. This migration of children may affect access to education. Migration may improve access to education for some children, but for many others this may squeeze the possibility of access. As evidenced by Hashim (2005& 2006?) many children in Ghana are sent to the urban centres to stay with their employers and continue their education. In this case children have to perform as domestic servant as well. Many other children migrated to earn money by doing some work and sponsor their own education in the source village. Still many other remit money so that their siblings can continue their study. Iversen (2002) also evidenced that migrant children attended night schools in the destination. Migration also contributed to dropping out of school. Many children, uninterested in education, migrate to escape from schooling.

Seasonal migration, a commonplace from rural to urban or other developed rural areas in India (Smita 2008; Wadikar and Das 2004; Deshinkar 2006; Rogaly et al 2001, 2002; Rafique and Rogaly 2005; Breman 1985 and 1996), may put many children to the process of dropping out of school. In a diagramme Smita (2008) shows that how this migration coincides with large part of an academic year in school. Since there is hardly any provision for education of such children in the destination they remain untouched from education for a long period of time. When they come back to home at the end of season and return to school they are likely to find difficulties to follow the lesson because by that time the school has
finished a large part of the syllabus. Consequently they are likely to be uninterested in education and gradually end up with dropping out.