



## IMPROVING SOCIAL PROTECTION PORTABILITY FOR MIGRATION-AFFECTED CHILDREN

### Snapshot of recommendations

#### 1. Broad thrusts

- Enabling the institutionalization of a clear policy articulation for migration, prioritizing seasonal and circular migrants, at the state level for effective implementation by local authorities.
- Facilitating collaborations between employers, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and the state for universal coverage of informal migrant workers.
- Enabling interstate migrants to access social protection in Gujarat, in coordination with source states.

#### 2. Actionable recommendations

- Using data collected in Gujarat during the COVID-19 national lockdown for tracking migration patterns in children of migrant households.
- Conducting targeted interventions against child labour in identified corridors and sectors with

high prevalence (see Annexure-1).

- Scaling up the Migration Card initiative to cover all migrant children in the state.
- Launching awareness campaigns among migrants to inform them about the various social protection measures available to them.

#### 3. Future directions

- Exploring bilateral arrangements with source states in identified high interstate migration corridors.
- Providing maternity benefits for interstate migrants in Gujarat, where scheme benefits are available in their source states.
- Provisioning family shelters under SUH, or in the alternative adequate accommodation under the Affordable Rental Housing Complex vertical of PMAY for family migrants in urban areas such as Ahmedabad and Surat.

Designing social protection interventions with gender-integrated programming for more equitable delivery and uptake of schemes.

In the aftermath of the COVID-19 national lockdown in March 2020, India saw the mass movement of an estimated 11.4 million migrants back to their home states. Many more remained stranded at worksites and destination cities, and experienced hunger, indebtedness and sickness. The vulnerability of migrants was substantially exacerbated by their inadequate incorporation in social protection mechanisms, which have consistently failed to recognize circular and seasonal mobility patterns, despite being aimed at reducing the vulnerability of the poor. In particular, portability mechanisms that allow migrants to access entitlements across locations have remained inadequate.

The incorporation is more unequally skewed against women and children of migrant households. Pre-existing normative notions reinforce the already underrepresented migration of women and children through the silos of trafficking, marriage and associational migration, thereby underestimating them as beneficiaries in the social welfare infrastructure. Moreover, women have not been adequately enumerated as workers.

With reference to UNICEF's social protection framework, which aims to be shock responsive, the study investigates migrant incorporation and portability of benefits for social protection schemes that impact children directly, related to nutrition, maternal and antenatal care, immunization, primary healthcare and education. It also investigates food security, employment guarantee and worker welfare schemes that help migrant households cope with shocks, especially in the context of COVID-19. Based on qualitative data collected from five states (Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Odisha and Uttar Pradesh), the study documents challenges and good practices, and explores avenues to improve portability and access to social protection and welfare services for migrants, especially women and children.

This policy note focuses on initiatives and measures to improve portability and access to social protection and welfare for women and children affected by migration in the state of Gujarat. The study considered all children (up to the age of 18) affected by the migration process, including independent child migrants, those who accompany their parents and those left behind after their parents migrate for work.

## Data and methodology

Of the 72 semi-structured key informant interviews conducted for the study – with state government officials, CSO representatives and experts on migration – 11 were focused on Gujarat. The note also relies on secondary material, including data from the Census and National Sample Survey (NSS), policy documents, research reports, CSO studies and media articles. Authors acknowledge the limitations of purposive sampling as well as the degree of generalizability of official interviews, as respondents spoke about specific schemes within their domains.

## Migration overview in Gujarat

### Overall landscape

Gujarat is mainly a destination state, with a large pool of interstate migrants, on account of its wide gamut of manufacturing activities across major urban centres of the state. Long-distance and interstate migration streams to Gujarat are relatively recent phenomena from the mid-1990s when the state embarked on a path of significant industrialization outside of its traditional textile sector: mainly to gems and jewellery, furniture making, and petroleum and chemical industries. NSS 2007–08 data on migration suggests that about 44 per cent of the non-farm migrant workforce in Gujarat is engaged in manufacturing, with more than 80 per cent in these industries. These new migration streams to Gujarat are still evolving to incorporate skilled and unskilled labourers from various other states.

Census 2011 data shows that seven states contributed more than 90 per cent of about 9.11 million interstate migrants into Gujarat in 2001–10, with UP constituting the majority (26.4 per cent), followed by Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh (MP), Odisha and West Bengal. More than half of the interstate migration and child migration is concentrated in two districts: Surat and Ahmedabad (**see Figure 1**), showing the urban-centric nature of interstate migration in Gujarat. Surat is a major destination for interstate migrants from Odisha, UP, Maharashtra and West Bengal, while Ahmedabad receives flows from UP and Bihar.

While Gujarat is primarily a destination state, about 0.54 million people migrated out of the state from 2001 to 2010, one-third of whom were child migrants. Their major destinations were Mumbai and Thane (26 per cent, combined) and other bordering districts of Maharashtra and MP (**see Figure 2**). There are some migration

corridors across the tribal belt districts of MP and Gujarat, such as Panchmahal or Sabarkantha to Jhabua.

Moreover, despite being a destination hub of significance for interstate migrants, more than 80 per cent of the overall and child migration in Gujarat comprises intrastate migrants, with a significant portion being seasonal or short-term. There are two important streams of intrastate migration in Gujarat. One, tribal labour from the eastern belt to major cities in the state, dominated by unskilled migrants who engage in family migration to brick-kiln and construction sectors. Second, from salt-pan areas of Kachchh and Surendra Nagar, dominated by family migrants who migrate over the summer for a period of eight months.

The state witnesses especially high rates of short-term migration for rural women, indicative of high incidences of seasonal migration from the tribal belt.<sup>1</sup>

### A closer look at child migrants

Migration in Gujarat witnesses a strong flow of child migrants, nearly 3.27 million according to Census data from 2011. Children from districts in southern Rajasthan (Udaipur, Raksmandi, Bhilwara, Ajmer) and eastern Bihar (Kishanganj, Purnia) are hired by contractors to work in Gujarat. These children are an active labour force in industries such as brick kilns, sugarcane harvesting, textile construction, wage sharecropping, salt making, charcoal making and diamond cutting. A large group of child migrants from Rajasthan is also engaged in the pollination work of cotton farms in northern Gujarat.

They are predominantly from marginalized backgrounds, belonging to Bhil and other Adivasi communities. Most flows of child migrants are distress driven, with work in these industries being casualized, exploitative and illegal. Annexure 1 highlights prominent flows of child labour in specific industries.

Intrastate child migration is family based and from two tribal areas: a north Gujarat cluster around Dahod district and a South Gujarat cluster around the Dangs district. In recent years, increased cost of living due to rising rent and the privatization of services in bigger cities such as Surat and Ahmedabad have resulted in adult migrants leaving families in source areas. Conversely, the closure of schools during the pandemic has re-triggered family migration and the involvement of children in labour on construction and agricultural worksites.

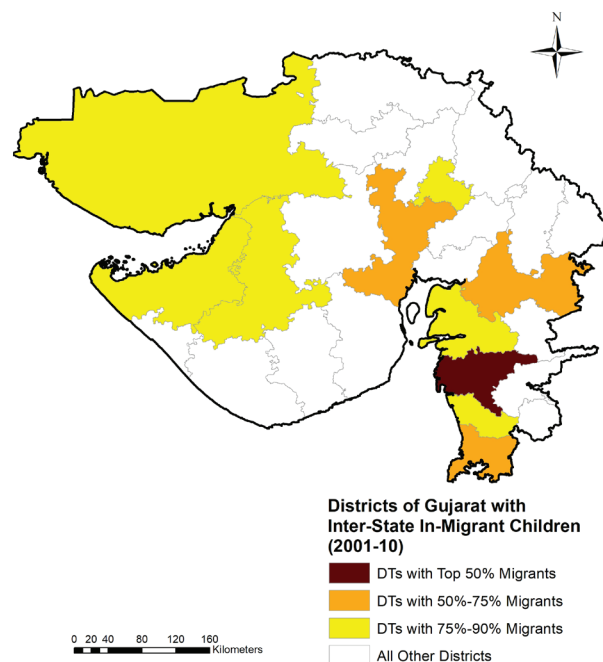


Figure 1. Map showing the distribution of interstate in-migrant children in Gujarat

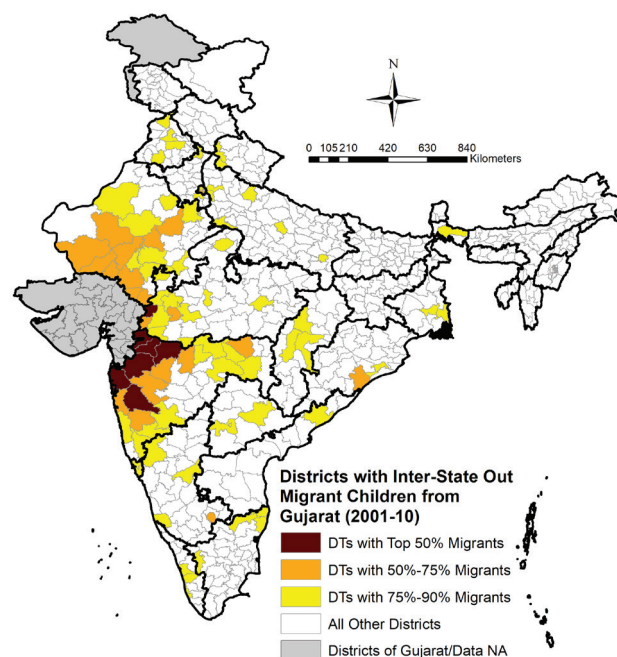


Figure 2. Map of India showing the destinations of child migrants from Gujarat

## Findings on access to social protection and welfare services for women and children

India's social protection and welfare landscape is complex and continually evolving. Some aspects, in principle, provide universal coverage, such as education and health. Others, such as the Public Distribution System (PDS; for food rations), while broad-based,

have eligibility criteria, in this case income levels and residential location. Social protection and welfare are operationalized through a gamut of Central and state schemes, missions and programmes.

The total budgeted expenditure of Gujarat in 2021–22 is targeted at 2,23,333 crore, an increase of 10 per cent from 2019 to 2020. Gujarat allocated 14.4 per cent of its total expenditure for education, while health and family welfare accounted for 5.7 per cent of the budget. Social welfare and nutrition saw a decline of 23 per cent, with only 7,160 crore allocated in 2021–22. Of this, 1,032 crore has been allocated to Vrudhdh Pension Yojana, Niradhar Vrudhdh Yojana, and Vaya Vandana Yojana; 939 crore has been allocated towards supplementary nutrition schemes.<sup>2</sup>

### **Education**

The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 (RTE Act) provides free and mandatory education to all children aged 6–14 years. It creates a statutory entitlement that all children in the country, regardless of their location or other identities, can claim as a right from the state. Despite this, migrant children face several challenges in accessing education, with the seasonality of migration adding to the difficulty.

In Gujarat, the increasing privatization of education and a decline in public schools have created an additional divide, wherein permanent and well-off long-term migrants are able to avail private education in urban areas, but seasonal and circular migrants are increasingly left out due to accessibility and language barriers in public schools. Despite the active participation of CSOs in the state, working towards increasing migrant children's access to education, these efforts remain fragmented due to limited support from the state.

### **Portability via migration cards and software**

In 2001, the Government of Gujarat introduced a Migration Card initiative to track students who were migrating along with their parents within the state and from other states, to reduce dropouts and ensure continuity in education during the period of migration. The cards would indicate the education level of the student and their grades, based on which the student could then continue schooling at the destination. The data helped track the status of intrastate and interstate migrant children by entering each migration stream separately.<sup>3</sup> While the introduction of migration cards was useful in facilitating the education of migrant children, it had limitations in tracking children accurately.

In 2009, the Migration Monitoring Software (MMS), an online tracking system for migrant children, was introduced to overcome these limitations and streamline the process of tracking in real time. Under MMS, a unique pre-printed number is given to each migrant child and displayed on the migration card. When migration takes place, the coordinator of the sending school cluster fills a form online using this number and the receiving coordinator is updated in real time. The system has proven successful in significantly reducing dropout rates among migrant children,<sup>4</sup> and was reported to be working well in the last few years before the lockdown, especially in the tribal districts of Dahod, Panchmahals and Dangs.

Under the Migration Card Initiative, intrastate migrant children are covered in seasonal hostels at their villages of origin, while interstate children are covered under Tent Special Training Programmes (Tent STPs) in temporary schools set up at the worksites of their parents.<sup>5</sup> Tent STPs allow Bal Mitras (teachers/instructors) to be selected as per the familiarity of language of the children on the worksite. The programme incorporates provisions for a morning snack and midday meals for the children being enrolled.

Seasonal hostels and other residential interventions are primarily aimed at retaining left-behind children in schools. In Gujarat, a survey is conducted each academic year, and children whose parents migrate intrastate are provided with hostel facilities. Boarding and lodging were initially provided by local NGOs and, since 2011–12, have been funded under Sarva Shiksha Abhiyaan (SSA) by the Government of Gujarat. The SMC/community maintains, constructs and manages these hostels, with support from the parents.<sup>6</sup> Interviews with CSOs highlighted some issues in running these schemes and receiving SSA support in north Gujarat, including gendered barriers in the uptake of seasonal hostels due to the lack of facilities for girl children. The general perception, however, was that with increased awareness, the scheme resulted in at least a 50 per cent improvement in children's school attendance.

### **Food security**

Foodgrain entitlements at subsidized rates are guaranteed to 50 per cent of urban and 75 per cent of rural households under the National Food Security Act, 2013 (NFSA). According to state estimates, Gujarat has 34.9 million beneficiaries, of which 11 per cent fall under the Antodaya Anna Yojana and the remaining under the NFSA priority households.<sup>7</sup>

NFSA is implemented through the PDS, which is designed to be household-specific and deliver entitlements in a place-specific manner. The need for portability of this infrastructure was highlighted during the COVID-19 lockdown, where stranded migrants were unable to access the PDS at their destinations.

In response, the Government of India expedited the One Nation One Ration Card (ONORC) scheme, which enables portability through an IT-driven system that includes the installation of electronic point of sale (ePoS) devices at PDS shops, seeding ration cards with Aadhaar numbers, and biometric transactions.

However, despite Gujarat operationalizing the scheme, less than 5000 migrants were able to access their NFSA entitlements in the state between August 2020 and April 2021.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, there is a lack of clarity on whether split households can use the scheme to access their entitlements partly at source and destination, with migrants availing ONORC in Gujarat reporting that their ration cards at source were cancelled, adversely affecting non-migrant family members.<sup>9</sup> Intrastate migrants, meanwhile, were affected by large-scale deletions of beneficiaries and cancellations of ration cards due to inactivity at source.<sup>10</sup> Information regarding the intrastate portability of PDS in Gujarat was not available.

Besides ONORC, the Gujarat government devised the Anna Brahma scheme for migrant workers to avail free ration in the state.<sup>11</sup> The scheme expanded the scope of PDS in the state to include interstate migrants who were able to furnish correct documentation. Though the scheme specifically targeted migrants, those living in informal settlements without proper documentation were left out of its mandate.

During the national lockdown, the state provided take-home rations (Bal Shakti) for children aged 3–6 years. The initiative converged the mandate of supplementary nutrition under the Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) and NFSA. Under this initiative, four packets, each comprising 166g/day as per nutrition norms, or 1 kg sukhadhi were provided on a weekly basis. Additionally, take-home ration was also provided to children aged 6 months to 3 years, pregnant and lactating mothers, and adolescent girls.

### **Maternal and child health**

The ICDS is an umbrella scheme comprising early childhood nutrition and health, and antenatal and

postnatal care of pregnant and lactating mothers. While the ICDS is universal and can be accessed by migrants at the place of destination, significant outreach issues are reported for temporary migrants and children who are multilocational and in remote locations. Circular and short-term migrants face issues due to improper documentation and enumeration.

Under the ICDS, the Government of Gujarat piloted the 'Poshan Sudha Yojana' (Spot Feeding Programme) in 10 backward blocks of Dahod, Narmada, Chhotaudepur, Mahisagar and Valsad, with the aim of reducing the prevalence of undernutrition and deficiencies in all pregnant and lactating mother and pregnancy outcomes.<sup>12</sup> While migrant women have access to this and other schemes such as the Janani Suraksha Yojana, which supports pregnant women's institutional births and conditional cash transfer, seasonal and circular migrants are unable to avail them due to the seasonality of their movement. Additionally, Surat reported migrant access to the PMMVY scheme, subject to them producing medical documents and hospitalization certificates, but interstate migrants faced limitations in accessing these and other schemes due to a language barrier, since information about these schemes is disseminated in Gujarati.

Due to the closure of Anganwadis during the lockdown, the Government of Gujarat adapted their ICDS delivery mechanisms. In remote areas, CPC volunteers and Mahila Mandali were integrated for the delivery of the scheme. The state also provided ICDS services through 'Umbare Anganwadi', a programme to provide supplementary nutrition to beneficiaries at their doorsteps. Free-to-air channels and mobile applications such as SATCOM and Vande Gujarat were used to deliver preschool education and non-nutrition activity-based curriculum twice a week. Evidence on the uptake of these schemes by migrant children was unclear.

### **Healthcare initiatives during COVID-19**

In Gujarat, specific initiatives were taken up for pregnant women migrants during the national lockdown in 2020. Separate quarantine and care centres were set up to facilitate safe delivery. Since the Anganwadi system was not fully operational, Gram Panchayats were mobilized to deliver ration to pregnant women. In Surat, the Municipal Corporation set up systematic quarantine and care facilities for COVID-positive migrants detected at check-posts. These designated COVID-19 care centres, located in schools and community halls, were managed by CSOs, with infrastructure being provided by the

## Mamta Card and e-Mamta

Since 2005, the Government of Gujarat has been operating a Mother and Child Protection card, called Mamta, which serves as a record of immunization and maternal health, and according to government health officials, is portable throughout the state and available to both interstate and intrastate migrant women. The card is linked to the government's online portal and dashboard known as the e-Mamta. Each beneficiary is entered into the system upon verification through a unique number for mother and child, who are then eligible to claim the services. The beneficiaries receive information and reminders about check-ups and services through SMS.<sup>13</sup> E-Mamta has also been used to track migrants for the distribution of take-home ration from Anganwadi centres near their workplaces.<sup>14</sup>

corporation. For migrants returning to their home states, free medical facilities were provided in these care centres; for migrants who came back to the city after the first surge of the pandemic, testing was conducted at city check-posts, and they were informed about free food provisions in the city.

Furthermore, the state introduced a mobile van service, Dhanvantri Rath, for non-COVID essential medical services. It was staffed with an Ayush doctor, a paramedic and nursing personnel, along with a local medical officer from an urban health centre, providing OPD services and field medical consultations to people, including malaria and dengue tests.<sup>15</sup> In Surat, this service was also used to treat migrants: the municipal corporation started the Dhanvantri Rath services in July 2020 for the distribution of ayurvedic and homoeopathic medicines in public places.

### Livelihood and labour

As a destination state, Gujarat sees a large number of in-migrants coming for employment. While the state acknowledges this population, most of the onus for their social protection is left to employers. However, given large-scale informal employment and the poor capacity of the Gujarat Labour Department to enforce regulation, this is mostly inadequate. While Gujarat has an unorganized workers' social security board, which registers and provides welfare benefits to workers in specific occupations and trades under the Unorganized Workers Social Security Act, 2008, it is not universal in its coverage and leaves out several groups of unorganized workers, including many migrant women and adolescents. Further, with no action against child labour despite its ubiquity, and women's work being seen as associated labour, migrant women and children's access to labour benefits is skewed. Many migrant workers also remain excluded due to the failure of employers or contractors responsible for registering them.

Building and Other Construction Workers (BOCW), who form a significant portion of the migrant workforce, are eligible for registration with state-level welfare boards for social welfare benefits. A cess for BOCW welfare is collected from employers and is supposed to be deposited with the Welfare Board. However, in Gujarat, BOCW cess funds were appropriated by the Finance Department and then reallocated through state budgets, leading to the exclusion of workers not covered by other schemes.

The welfare board operates a scheme called Annapurna Kitchen in Ahmedabad and Surat to provide cooked food to construction workers at subsidized rates. Interactions with CSOs and academics indicated that the scheme had limited utility due to location and targeting issues.

### Housing

Housing is a critical area of social welfare for urban migrant workers, especially in the informal sector. Lack of affordable housing options in larger cities, such as Ahmedabad and Surat, forces most migrants, including families, to live in informal settlements and on the streets, or take recourse to government shelter homes for the homeless. Construction workers are often forced to live in substandard accommodation provided on worksites by contractors.<sup>17</sup>

In Gujarat, the Shelter for Urban Homeless (SUH) scheme under the National Urban Livelihoods Mission is operational in 38 cities with 91 shelter homes. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) started 30 additional shelter homes for migrant workers, where they were provided with food, medicines and other facilities. Convergence was attempted by CSO initiatives in collaboration with the AMC to facilitate migrants to avail government schemes, create a database and understand the contributions of the migrants to the city and their problems.<sup>18</sup>

## Day-care initiatives for construction sites

In 2016, the BOCW Welfare Board came up with a programme to set up Anganwadis at construction sites active for at least three years and employing 100 workers with over 30 children in the 3-6 years age group. However, the programme was limited in its aim of ICDS convergence due to lack of training of staff and documentation issues. It was kept active by CSOs and developers in the form of privately run creches at construction sites in Ahmedabad.<sup>16</sup> CSOs reported that employers see benefits from providing on-site crèches in terms of children's security and the resulting impact on women workers' productivity, but highlighted that the number of sites with creches was still very low as a proportion of the total.

Similarly, the Surat Municipal Corporation provides 50 shelters to the urban poor. However, it has been highlighted that the locations of these facilities are distant from the labour nakas and construction sites, where migrants travel for work, thereby creating uptake issues, especially for short-term and circular migrants.<sup>19</sup> The SUH is also of limited utility to family migrants, because there are no shelters for families, just dormitories, forcing families willing to live in these shelters to break up. The proposed Affordable Rental Housing Complex scheme was identified as a possible solution for family migrants but the mechanism of implementation remains unclear.

## Analysis

In Gujarat, state officials and CSOs present a conflicting view on migrants' access to social protection and welfare infrastructure. State officials, while acknowledging interstate migration, see their responsibility limited to extending to "universal" types of entitlements such as health and education, based on the idea that migrants are "equal citizens of the country", while also emphasizing that migrant workers need to "take ownership" of and see themselves as residents of the city.<sup>20</sup> However, CSOs were of the view that while some intrastate migrants had equitable access to schemes; interstate, circular and short-term migrants faced barriers in access to schemes due to the lack of portability and issues with documentation.

In bigger cities such as Surat and Ahmedabad, the state acknowledged the increasing contribution of migrant labour to industries, with some efforts towards improving access to services. However, these efforts were ad hoc and sporadic. Similar efforts in peri-urban and rural areas were limited. The spatiality of industries such as construction and brick kilns resulted in limited access to services such as ICDS, PDS and education due to the distance of these services from worksites. While CSOs are working to allow migrant workers access to social protection, there has been limited state support

in institutionalizing these efforts. During COVID-19, the state-CSO relation remained strained, with CSOs claiming that the state had appropriated their relief efforts.

The institutional response to migration in Gujarat has been limited due to the outlook of various departments. For instance, while the state has notable distress migration in its tribal communities, interaction with the Tribal Development Department highlighted that migration was not a lens used by them to view this movement. Similarly, child labour and women's work are missed out when the Labour Department's view is driven largely by economic considerations. The state does not focus adequately on the intersecting vulnerabilities of identity, gender, nature of work and other socio-economic axes.

While the state's social protection and welfare infrastructure is designed for intrastate portability, interstate migrants face issues of eligibility and access due to a lack of documents such as residency proof, bank accounts and ration cards. Documentation barriers are stronger for circular migrants due to the short duration of their stay at destination.

## Policy recommendations

- There is a need for a clear articulation of policy towards migrants at the state level, so that local bodies and other authorities can direct their efforts accordingly. This will also ensure the institutionalization of efforts, which currently focus on ad-hoc arrangements. Such a policy must pay special attention to the needs of seasonal and circular migrants.
- The data collected in Gujarat during the COVID-19 national lockdown could be used for tracking migration patterns in children of migrant households. Municipal surveys could also be used in formulating policy interventions.
- Given the presence of child labour in specific

industries and migration corridors (see Annexure-1), targeted interventions focused on these industries and corridors could enhance safety and prevent the exploitation of children in the migration process.

- The state government may consider entering into bilateral arrangements with source states in heavy migration corridors for the welfare of migrant workers. These could include:
- Provision of funding for teachers and resources in the languages of source states, to ensure that migrant children's education is not affected. The Government of Odisha has entered into such an arrangement with Tamil Nadu, and a similar pilot may be explored for Odisha–Gujarat migrants.
- Concerted coordination between the police, child protection services and CSOs in Gujarat and other states to address child labour and trafficking.
- Provision of maternity benefits for interstate migrants in Gujarat, where such schemes are available in their source states.
- Establishment of migrant resource centres in Gujarat and labour helplines in the source languages of migrants.
- Awareness campaigns among migrants in their source languages, to inform them about the various social protection measures available.
- Gujarat's experience with migrant cards for children and mothers and the associated online tracking systems can be strengthened to increase the ease of portability:
- The ICDS coverage for migrants can be enhanced by integrating e-Mamta with Poshan/CAS to maintain digital health records. This will also facilitate the extension of the Mamta card

to interstate migrants and enable seamless maintenance and access of records across source and destination.

- Integration of MMS with other states' education software can be explored under the bilateral arrangements discussed above, so that the migration cards can be used by interstate child migrants as well.
- Residential hostels should be expanded with special attention to girl children.
- In peri-urban and urban destination areas, migrants' access to Anganwadi and PDS can be improved through a collaboration between employers, CSOs and the state, by increasing awareness, providing services at labour camps, improving transportation, etc.
- The coverage and implementation of the Unorganized Workers Social Security Act, 2008 (now subsumed under the Labour Code) must be enhanced to provide social welfare coverage to informal migrant workers in sectors other than BOCW.
- The state government could support and work with CSOs in helping migrant workers access schemes and protecting workers' rights in informal employment. Private employers can also be incentivized to facilitate access to social protection for their workers in the form of creche initiatives.
- In urban areas such as Ahmedabad and Surat, municipal corporations must consider providing family shelters under SUH or, alternatively, make available adequate accommodation under the Affordable Rental Housing Complex vertical of PMAY for family migrants in these cities.

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## Endnotes

1. CLRA, *Ensuring Rights of Migrant Children in Gujarat*, Prayas Centre for Labour Research and Action, 2019, p. 10.
2. Based on [Gujarat Budget Analysis 2021–22](#), PRS Legislative Research.
3. CLRA, see *supra* note 1, pp. 34-35.
4. NITI Aayog, [Migration Card and Migration Monitoring Software Tracking and educating migrant children in Gujarat](#), 2015.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. Data from [NFSA Dashboard for Gujarat](#).
8. Data from the [ONORC dashboard](#).
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10. Jog, P, '[Food security? 15 lakh people of Gujarat's 10 backward districts "taken off" subsidy list](#)', *Counterinterview*, October 2020.
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14. Talati, K.N., et al., 'Take home ration in ICDS programmes: Opportunities for integration with health system for improved utilisation via mamta card and e-mamta', *BMJ Global Health* vol. 1, no. 1 (A7-A8), 2016.
15. '[Dhanvantri Rath: Taking Non-COVID healthcare services to peoples' doorsteps in Ahmedabad](#)', Press Information Bureau, Government of India, July 2020.
16. CLRA, see supra note 1, p. 25.
17. Desai, R., '[Living at Worksites: Policy and Governance for Migrant Worker Housing in Ahmedabad's Construction Sector](#)', Prayas Centre for Labour Research and Action, 2020.
18. Marvada, K., '[Shelter and Social Security for Migrants](#)', *Homes in the City*.
19. Imaan, A. '[One year since lockdown, Surat migrant workers say life has only got harder](#)', *Scroll*, May 2021.
20. Interview with a government official, 22 April 2021.

## Annexure-1

Data on Child Migration and Industry Linkage in Gujarat			
Sector/Industry	Source/Destination	Nature of flow/stream	Characteristic of the flow
<b>Construction and Agriculture</b>	North Gujarat cluster near the Dahod district and South Gujarat cluster around the Dang district	Intrastate migration	Intrastate migration of tribal families
<b>Brick Kilns</b>	Chhattisgarh (Bilaspur, Janjgir), Rajasthan (Nagaur, Dungarpur), Uttar Pradesh (Kasganj), Gujarat (Dahod)	Interstate and intrastate migration	Children present as part of the family and follow-along migrants
<b>Textile</b>	Flow from the tribal block of Gogunda in the Udaipur district of Rajasthan to Surat	Interstate migration	Migrants employed for cutting, folding and packaging of saris.
<b>Zardozi Work Migrants</b>	Flow dominated by children from Bengal and Bihar	Interstate migration	–
<b>Construction</b>	Gujarat (Dahod), Madhya Pradesh (Jhabua, Alirajpur), Rajasthan (Banswara), Maharashtra (Nandurbar).	Intrastate and Interstate migration	Children present as part of the family and follow-along migrants
<b>Sugarcane Harvesting Industry</b>	Gujarat (Dang, Tapi), Maharashtra (Dhule, Nandurbar)	Intrastate and Interstate migration	Family migrants

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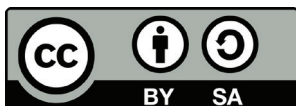
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