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CHILDREN IN CONFLICT PRONE AND UNDERDEVELOPED DISTRICTS OF ASSAM

How Congenial is the Environ to Ensure Well-Being?

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Introduction

In the development ladder of human being childhood occupy the most critical stage upon which depend much of the latter developments. This is a stage for nurture, love and care. Child development literatures are replete with writings on how children grow and develop into mature human beings; the role of parents or the care givers; role of environment and society at large including the peer group; importance of nutrition and overall wellbeing of the family and so on so forth. Child development theorists like Freud, Erikson, Kohlberg, Piaget, Bronfenbrenner, all attach utmost importance to this stage and give elaborate explanations to this stage from their unique theoretical understandings. While Freud attached importance to psychosexual orientations, Erikson to psychosocial aspects, Kohlberg to moral understanding, Piaget to cognitive development, Bronfenbrenner explained childhood through his ecological systems theory. Most theorists agree that Children are ready and open to develop certain things during specific stages; however, it doesn't just happen. Instead, they need proper environmental stimuli to develop these abilities. Due to several reasons like injury, illness, abuse or lack of proper caregiver, non fulfilment of basic needs like food and medical care, make it hard for a child to absorb the required stimulations for healthy growth and development and to acquire certain abilities in certain times in life. Urie Bronfenbrenner's Ecological System Theory¹ looks at a child's development within the

¹ Ecological System Theory is an evolving body of theory and research concerned with the processes and conditions that govern the course of human development in actual environments in which human beings live. This theory was developed by Urie Bronfenbrenner and elaborated in his seminal work *'The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design'*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979. According to him four systems operate upon the child in producing four types of nested environmental systems, with bi-directional influences within and between the systems. *Microsystem*: Immediate environments (family, school, peer group, neighbourhood, and childcare environment); *Mesosystem*: A system

context of the system of relationships that form his or her environment. This theory defines complex "layers" of environment, each having an effect on a child's development. It focuses on quality and context of the child's environment. In the context of American social life Bronfenbrenner referred to instability and unpredictability of family life as created by the economy as the most destructive force to a child's development. If the relationships in the immediate microsystem consisting of family, school, peer group, neighbourhood, and childcare environment break down, the child will not have the tools to explore other parts of his environment. These deficiencies show themselves especially in adolescence as anti-social behavior, lack of self-discipline, and inability to provide self-direction (Addison, 1992). Other elements in the environment which affect child development according to Bronfenbrenner are child's home, school, parental workplace, and the larger cultural context like the national economy and the political culture. Viewed from this theoretical perspective, child's environment is of supreme importance besides his genetic or biological characteristics, which also get nourishment in the environment where the child is placed. Of the several factors affecting child's growth and development parental care plays decisive role in charting out a child's future.

UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) specifically recognises that the child, for the full and harmonious development of his or her personality, should grow up in a family environment, in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding. However, now even after more than 20 years from the adoption UNCRC, an alarmingly large number of children continue to be deprived of the fundamental rights to grow up in a loving family environment. It is now recognised world over that there is a clear link between poverty, social exclusion and children at risk of losing their rights. Specifically, a child born to a household without parental and family care and support are vulnerable to violations of their rights to survive; be free from violence, abuse and exploitation; develop and learn and grow up in a supportive family environment and participate. Children under such situations are more vulnerable to malnutrition and

comprised of connections between immediate environments (i.e., a child's home and school); *Exosystem*: External environmental settings which only indirectly affect development (such as parent's workplace); and *Macrosystem*: The larger cultural context (Eastern vs. Western culture, national economy, political culture, subculture)

long term poverty, less likely to attend school and more likely to suffer from diseases or die young. It is also true that children lose parental care not always because they are not there, but children even with presence of one or both parents are at risk of losing parental care when the external environment and larger socio-cultural and economic contexts are not conducive, as in the case of conflicts and other social tensions including economic depression that prevail in the world today.

In view of the above, this paper basically tries to capture the social environment of the children in three relatively backward² and conflict prone districts of Assam, viz., Darrang, Udalguri and Baksa by providing in-depth information on the situation of children without parental care or at risk of losing parental care along with responses of the state and civil society. Children in countries like India get deprived of care largely because of certain indirect factors in the macrosystem such as poor governance, corruption and poor implementation of the rule of law. The home front in our country face direct impact of human insecurity in the forms of ethnic conflicts, government repression, violent crimes and sexual assault on women and children, secret killings in societal and political settings to name a few. Besides, dehumanisation of the people trapped in poverty and unemployment, lack of access to school and health care services, discriminatory policies and laws against weaker section of the people in society, all have direct impact on the home and family environment and children despite having their parents may face the trauma of dehumanisation. These factors are difficult to capture in a home environment and more complex to explain; and the insecurities generated could surround a household affecting the children.

Social protection measures for vulnerable families can go a long way in protecting the potential child victim of the nested system surrounding her/him. Social capital and network supports could provide some relief to children at risks with no parental care. The supports could be at individual initiatives of relatives or philanthropists. Institutional care specially designed for these vulnerable children could also go a long way in alleviating the situation. Such institutes could be created and supported by the state and civil society. There are institutions at the global level providing effective

² Udalguri district was formed in 2004, carving it out from the Darrang district. Darrang district ranked 22nd among the 23 districts in Human Development Index of Assam (Government of Assam, 2003). Baksa district was carved out largely from Nalbari (ranked 16th) and Barpeta districts (ranked 9th HDI).

services to the children in need of appropriate care. While trying to assess the situation of children in the districts in question this paper makes an attempt to delineate an outline of the probable services that one can design and to suggest an action plan.

Methods of Data Collection

This study is designed basically to capture information on certain indicators of home and family environment; presumed to reflect the status of wellbeing and security of the children. An insight into the nature of social supports along with the roles of the State in ensuring the rule of the law, that affect the overall wellbeing and security of children are also sought. The findings of the study strongly underscore the need for adopting/strengthening the support system for the children in the study area.

Sampling strategy

The study covers six revenue circles, in the three districts of Darrang, Baska and Udalguri. The relative remoteness of locations of the villages and absence of basic infrastructure and services may imply higher level of human insecurity in the villages.

The study acquired information from 30 villages in the three districts. The villages are located in interior and underdeveloped areas; some of the villages have experienced ethnic and communal violence in recent times leading to displacements and deaths of people. The villages of Dalgaon and Udalguri revenue circles covered in this study are affected in the recent (2008) violence and conflicts. These villages were specially selected to represent children from a highly disturbed and severely insecure environment. The rest of the villages in four revenue circles of Harisinga, Khorabari, Goreswar and Majbat are selected drawing the numbers from the random number table, using the entire list of villages of respective revenue circles. It is assumed that underdevelopment and conflicts in the study area are exposing the children to risks of losing parental care.

Normally the presence of parents at home, their good health and sources of a decent livelihood, a livable home, a decent home environment- free from alcoholism and domestic violence, devotion of time to children and a societal environment that is free from perceived threat and repression; can be presumed to indicate that those children, in general are less exposed to risks. Alternatively, absence of such situations can mean that the children are at great risk. The study, however, finds many negative aspects in home and societal environment, which make the children prone to insecurity. The *first*

stage of the survey tried to gather information on these aspects by visiting all the households in 30 villages.

Table 1.1: Households covered for the study

District	Revenue Circles	No of villages	No of HH covered at first stage	No of HH covered for detailed survey at second stage
Udalguri	Harisinga	6	368	40
	Majbat	5	285	35
	Udalguri	2	143	11
Darrang	Khoirabari	4	280	31
	Dalgaon	8	568	55
Baska	Goreswar	5	318	40
Total		30	1962	212

In order to ascertain the state of insecurity in the household and the environment surrounding the locality, the interviewers were especially trained to *sense*, besides objectively looking for certain indicators such as overall situation in the family, health and hygiene, interactions among the family members, the neighbourhood and so on affecting children's lives. Based on the perception of the interviewers on prevailing insecurity in the households, altogether 212 households were selected from the list of 1962 households for a detailed survey. The detailed survey tried to cover the aspects on religion and community, basic household provisions, educational attainment, sources of livelihood, place of work, availability of land- agriculture as well as homestead, return from agriculture, availability of livestock, presence of parents at home, educational dropouts and reasons, ailments and disabilities, nutritional level of the children below the age of 6 years, awareness on health and hygiene, parenting skills, awareness on rights of children, behavioural issues of the parents and children, overall environment and infrastructure of the family and the society, supports received from the State in the home front for overall wellbeing.

Apart from acquiring information from listing of household and the detailed survey, three focus group discussions (FGD) were conducted in the villages of Bhakatpara, Sherpur and No. 2 Singribari. One FGD was conducted with the members of Child Welfare Committee (CWC), Darrang at Magaldai. Altogether 25 Interviews were conducted with civil society members, village headmen, teachers, ASHA workers, anganawadi workers, farmers, traders etc. The FGDs and personal interviews provide

wide perspectives on the need of strengthening the home and societal environment for overall security and wellbeing of the children in the villages.

An overview of demographic and socio-economic situation of the study area

As mentioned above the survey at *second stage*, i.e., the detailed survey, covered 212 households, of which 158 (74.5 percent) are believers of Hinduism, 47 (22.2 percent) are believers of Islam and the rest 7 households belong to Christian faith. The community wise the sample households belonged to at least seven different communities, including Assamese (31 households or 14.6 percent), Bodo (67 households or 31.6 percent), Muslims with different languages or dialects (47 households or 22.2 percent), Bengali (22 households or 9.9 percent), Nepali (13 households or 8 percent), Rabha (9 households or 6.1 percent), Adibashi 5 households and Garo 2 households. Community of the rest could not be ascertained.

Table 2.1: Main livelihood sources in the listed Households in the first stage

District	Revenue Circles	Agri-culture	Casual labour	Agri & casual labour	Trade	Agri & trade	Teacher	Govt. service	Transport	Pvt service
Udalguri	Harisinga	103	96	23	14	-	7	6	3	2
	Majbat	76	68	22	12	2	2	7	4	
	Udalguri	29	70	7	5	1	3	-	-	
Darrang	Khoirabari	76	64	22	16	5	6	9	10	5
	Dalgaon	98	185	26	50	8	9	32	14	6
Baska	Goreswar	67	55	27	9	14	6	17	26	3
Total	1593 HH	449 (28.2)	538 (33.8)	127 (8.0)	106 (6.7)	30 (1.9)	33 (2.1)	71 (4.5)	63 (4.0)	16 (1.0)

* Source: Field work 2009-10

**A host of activities in the rest of the HHs

Table 2.1 lists the livelihood sources of all the households visited for the study in the first stage in 30 villages gives overall economic conditions of the people. Occupations in most of the sample villages reflect rising casualisation of the workforce. Agriculture remains the main occupation in about 28 percent of the households, which has become un-remunerative to support a household as the survey reveals. Because of this many farmers' households now have taken recourse to casual work (about 8 percent households) and petty trade (about 2 percent) to supplement household income derived from agriculture. Overall, the casual works (about 34 percent), trade and business

(about 7 percent), transport sector jobs (4 percent) are gradually becoming important sources of livelihood in the villages. There are some households in the sample villages with jobs in teaching and services sectors (104 households or about 7 percent). It is also found that some households derive income from certain skilled jobs in carpentry, tailoring and goldsmith. There are also people in Balabari and Sidhakhowa villages ensuring livelihood by begging. The tea estate also provide livelihood to a good number of people in No. 2 Rajagarh village.

Table 2.2: Main livelihood sources in the households sampled in the second stage

Agriculture	Casual labour	Trade	Too old	Begging	Pension & Remittance	Craft	Others	Total
19	162	14	2	3	2	2	7	212

* Source: Field work 2009-10

The key interviews reveal that the economic condition of most of the villages is poor. Agriculture, though is the major source of livelihood, is not remunerative enough to lead a decent life and ensure all the needs of the children (also reported by ASHA worker at Kalitapara). In the villages there are a large section of casual workers and lack capital for self-employment initiatives (told by the village headman, Balabari, the teacher at Ajagar, the Anganawadi worker at Sidhakhowa). Flood is also forcing people in some villages to adopt casual works (ASHA worker at Gorbasti). The poor not having access to land resources too depend on casual work (Mr. P, a villager at Batabari; Village Council Development Committee [VCDC] president at Tengajhar) and the income from casual work is too meager to fulfill the basic needs (ASHA worker at Rajapukhuri, the teacher at Bihapara). People struggle to ensure their livelihood and this leaves most of them with no time to think of other matters (the farmer at Chaparabari). The casual jobs are not available in required numbers in the villages. Joblessness led frustration often lead to domestic violence (the village headman at Singimari). The state of Joblessness in some villages also forces the poor to take recourse to sell country liquor (the teacher at Polashbasti) and in diverse petty jobs in trade and non-motorised transports of rickshaw pulling and pushcarts. Economic condition in some villages are however reportedly good (VCDC member at Nagrasara village).

Overall, the survey reflects rising casualisation of the workforce and un-remunerative household income. The reported monthly income from the main occupation reflects that

in most of the households (143 households or 67 percent) earning was less than Rs. 1900/ a month (the income based poverty line figure in a rural household of the survey period, 2009-10). Unremunerative income forces the people to look for subsidiary income, mostly in casual works. This helps substantially to improve the household income; the derived result is that after incorporation of income of subsidiary sources, 43 sample households have been able to raise their monthly income level beyond Rs. 1900/. The table 2.3 reflects that income is too scanty in some households and there is high variability of incomes derived from secondary sources as compared to the main sources of income. The family size in the sample households are large to feed with such poor income. Among the 212 households, there were 30 households with one child, 62 households with 2 children, 64 households with 3 children and 56 households with more than three children; maximum being 7 in one household.

Information on household's access to safe drinking water, clean fuel for cooking, electricity, and sanitary toilets for defecation reflect the capacity of the household to protect and take care of their children. It is found that most of the sample households (more than 90 percent) have access to safe drinking water; protected sources are being the tubewell and dugwell. Inadequacy of basic household infrastructure, however, is revealed in the use of kerosene for lighting (used by about 94 percent households), use of firewood for cooking (97 percent of the households) and lack of access to sanitary toilets (more than 95 percent households are devoid of this facility). It is however found that sanitation practice is relatively satisfactory in a good proportion of the households (more than 62 percent). It may be mentioned that the use of firewood for cooking, which results in indoor air pollution, and open space for defecation that lead to several infectious diseases, have some definite negative impacts on the wellbeing of the children.

Table 2.3: Income of the sampled households

Monthly household income	HH Income from main occupation	HH Income from main as well as subsidiary occupation
Less than Rs. 1600	132	69
Rs. 1600-1900	11	31
Rs. 1900-2400	22	38
Rs. 2400-3000	6	26
More than Rs. 3000	2	26
NA	39	22
Total HH	212	212

Mean Income	1177	1880
Max	5000	9450
Min	400	450
SD	591.7	1150.6

* Source: Field work 2009-10

The situation of the children in the study area

Of the total of 1962 households visited, children below the age 18 are found in 1593 of them (81 % of total). In 44 percent households there are children below 6 years of age. Single parents with children below 18 years are found in six percent of the total households among which five percent had only mothers. There are seven households with no parents (Table 3.1). This number is quite significant even in the sample of 1963 households. As per the 2001 Census there are 288,280 households in the study area and with the magnitude of parentless household as found in the study, the total projected parentless households could be as high as 1000 in the entire study area.

Table 3.1: Presence of parents at home

District	Revenue Circles	Both	Only father	Only mother	No parents	Step mother
Udalguri	Harisinga	212	6	6	1	1
	Majbat	190	4	19	1	-
	Udalguri	112	-	5	2	-
Darrang	Khoirabari	220	4	14	-	-
	Dalgaon	458	-	21	-	-
Baska	Goreswar	234	4	13	3	-
Total		1426 (89.5)	18	78 (4.9)	7	1

* Source: Field work 2009-10

** No information for 63 HH

This however, reflects only one part of the risks the unfortunate children. The study revealed that the children are at risk of losing parental care not only because they do not have one or both the parents but because of web of factors in their environment.

Health, malnourishment and wellbeing

General ailments were reported in 132 households out of the 1593 households listed with children below 18 years. Physically and mentally challenged children are captured in 60 households. There are about 289,000 households in the study area (Darrang and Udalguri district and Goreswar Revenue Circle of Baska district, 2001 Census of India

data) and the proportionately such un-privileged children in the study area could be several thousands.

The most common ailments reported in the households are fever, cough, pneumonia, malaria, diarrhoea, asthma, abdomen pain, jaundice, faryngitis, tonsillitis, measles, dermatological diseases (scabies!) etc.

The ASHA worker at Rajapukhuri village reported that prevalence of diarrhoea and anemia is very common in the village. There is a health centre in the village, but its impact is not visible. The village headman at No. 2 Jhargaon, also reported that malaria, diarrhoea, fever and cough are common in the village and the local sub center caters the need of health care. The anganwadi worker at Sidhakhowa reported that diarrhoea and fever are the common ailments in the village and there is no concern for health and hygiene in most of the households. There is a scope of believe that the type of ailments recorded in the households might have been caused by the exposure to unhygienic environment in the surroundings. Moreover, the immunisation coverage of the children in the sampled households is poor with only 35 percent households reporting full immunisation coverage of their children.

Other physical challenges faced by these unprivileged children are in the form of epilepsy, polio, impairment in hearing, speech and sights. A number of spastic children were also found in the sampled households (Appendix table 5). It is found that disabilities of the children in most of the cases remain unattended. The poor families are unable to take any special care for their disabled children. A few families took the children to doctors, but without any follow up care. Even when options were there for cure in some instances, financial constraints put the families on back foot.

Malnourishment of the Children

The study tried to measure the status of malnourishment of the children below 6 years of age. Accordingly weights and heights are measured of 109 children in the sample households. Three nutritional status indicators height for age (stunting), weight for height (wasting), weight for age (underweight) are expressed in standard deviation units from the median of reference population. The height for age index is an indicator of linear growth retardation and cumulative growth deficits. Children whose height for age SD score is below minus two standard deviations from the median of the reference

population are considered short of their age and are chronically malnourished and children below minus three SD are severely malnourished and stunted. This reflects failure to receive adequate nutrition over a long period of time.

The deviations of scores of weight for height index reflect thinness of children for their height and their current nutritional status. This may be result of inadequate food intake or recent episode of illness causing loss of weight. On the other hand, weight for age is a composite index of height for age and weight for height; the standard deviations reflecting underweight of the children.

The results reflect that more than 50 percent children in the sample villages are chronically malnourished (the NFHS-3 figures for Assam was 21 percent and country as a whole was 24 percent); the proportion of male being more at 59 percent compared to the female children (about 42 percent). It is found that malnourishment level is more in the conflict prone villages of Dalgaon circle area, where 69 percent of the children of below age six years are of stunted growth, compared to the villages of Harisinga (33.3 percent), Majbat (50 percent) and Goreswar circles (42.4 percent).

Wasted growth, however, is observed more in Harisinga circle (33.3 percent below minus 2 SD); compared to average of all the villages (15.6 percent) and Dalgaon circle villages (24.1 percent). This figure is much lower in Majbat (8.1 percent) and Goreswar circle villages (6.1 percent). The reported ailments in the villages of Majbat and Goreswar circle are relatively less and this could be the result of better index in wasting (Tables 3.2 to 3.6).

The overall index of malnourishments of the children in the sample villages reflects much worsened scenario compared to the contemporary situation of the country (as reflected by the NFHS data of 2005-06) and we find much deviated figures in the conflict prone villages of the study area.

Table 3.2: Malnourishment in all study villages

<i>Height for age (stunting)</i>	All children	Male children	Female children
% below - 3 SD	33.0	37.5	28.3
% below - 2 SD	50.5	58.9	41.5
<i>Weight for height (wasting)</i>			
% below - 3 SD	5.5	5.4	5.7

% below - 2 SD	15.6	19.6	11.3
Weight for age (underweight)			
% below - 3 SD	14.7	21.4	7.5
% below - 2 SD	24.8	32.1	17.0
N	109	56	53

* Source: Calculation based on data generated from field work 2009-10

Table 3.3: Malnourishment in villages of Dalgaon Circle

Height for age (stunting)	All children	Male children	Female children
% below - 3 SD	44.8	40.0	7.1
% below - 2 SD	69.0	73.3	28.6
Weight for height (wasting)			
% below - 3 SD	10.3	13.3	7.1
% below - 2 SD	24.1	20.0	28.6
Weight for age (underweight)			
% below - 3 SD	20.7	26.7	14.3
% below - 2 SD	44.8	53.3	35.7
N	29	15	14

Table 3.4: Malnourishment in villages of Harisinga Circle

Height for age (stunting)	All children	Male children	Female children
% below - 3 SD	26.7	28.6	25.0
% below - 2 SD	33.3	42.9	25.0
Weight for height (wasting)			
% below - 3 SD	13.3	0	25.0
% below - 2 SD	33.9	42.9	25.0
Weight for age (underweight)			
% below - 3 SD	33.3	42.9	25.0
% below - 2 SD	46.7	42.9	50.0
N	15	7	8

Table 3.5: Malnourishment in villages of Majbat Circle

Height for age (stunting)	All children	Male children	Female children
% below - 3 SD	37.5	45.5	30.8
% below - 2 SD	50.0	54.5	46.2
Weight for height (wasting)			
% below - 3 SD	0	0	0
% below - 2 SD	8.3	18.2	0

Weight for age (underweight)			
% below - 3 SD	4.2	9.1	0
% below - 2 SD	8.3	18.2	0
N	24		13

Table 3.6: Malnourishment in villages of Goreswar Circle

Height for age (stunting)	All children	Male children	Female children
% below - 3 SD	24.2	35.3	12.2
% below - 2 SD	42.4	58.8	25.0
Weight for height (wasting)			
% below - 3 SD	3.0	5.9	0
% below - 2 SD	6.1	11.8	0
Weight for age (underweight)			
% below - 3 SD	9.1	17.6	0
% below - 2 SD	12.1	23.5	0
N	33	17	16

Access to quality education for children

The survey revealed that access to quality education in most of the villages is poor. The ICDS centre aimed at taking care of child nutrition and health problems and to ensure pre-school education has an important role to play in creating a base for proper mental, physical and social development of the underprivileged children centre in the study villages. Regrettably three villages in Harisinga Revenue Circle and two in the Majbat circle do not have ICDS center at all. No doubt ICDS in India is one of the world's largest and most unique programmes for early childhood development providing pre-school education on one hand and breaking the vicious cycle of malnutrition, morbidity, reduced learning capacity and mortality, on the other. But the benefits of ICDS could not be availed equally by all and fail to serve its avowed objectives.

It was reported in most of the villages that the ICDS centers remain closed for most part of the year and functions whenever there are supplies of food items for the children (Mr. N, Teacher at Ajagar village; Mr. M, VCD member at Tengajhar village; Mr. B, trader at Jabrangpara). Visits to ICDS centres revealed that although these supplement the nutritional requirements of children to some extent if supplies are in place, but other expected services like health check up, referral services, nutritional and health education are found missing in those centres .

So far as the school education is concerned situation is really grave. Field visit captures incidences where that the children in fact panic to go to school. It was difficult to ascertain the reasons. It is, however, not true that all the poor parents do not take efforts to send the children to school, as it is often assumed. Visit to the field gave us clue that the school environment is not congenial enough to attract the child to school (case of a girl child in Bhakatpara- some detail in the FGD reports in section V). Fear to attend school is also reported in other villages (Sherpur, Batabari, Rajapukhuri, Sidhakhowa, No. 2 Singribari, Chaparabari etc.).

School dropouts are found in 204 sample households (12.8 percent) out of the total 1593 households listed with children below 18 years. The respondent houses cited numerous reasons for school dropout; poor economic condition being the prime reason for dropout (Table 3.7).

Table 3.7: Reasons for school dropouts

District	Revenue Circles	Total dropouts	Economic	Child labour	Not interested in study	Fear for school	Physical problem	Mentally Challenged	Domestic work /loss of parents	Effect conflict
Udalguri	Harisinga	34	10	6	4	1	2	-	5	-
	Majbat	30	17	-	5	1	-	-	5	-
	Udalguri	25	11	-	5	2	-	-		6
Darrang	Khoirabari	24	12	4	1	-	-	2		-
	Dalgaon	74	36	10	8	-	2	4	1	-
Baska	Goreswar	17	9	-	2	5	2	-		-
Total		204	95 (46.6)	20 (9.8)	25 (12.3)	9 (4.4)	6 (2.9)	6 (2.9)	11 (5.4)	6 (2.9)

* Source: Field work 2009-10

Interaction at household level reflected that teachers' attendance and classes at local primary school are irregular; parents are unable to take up the matter seriously. Some parents cannot afford to provide school dresses and books, leading to school dropouts. Alcoholism and domestic violence also had its share in children dropping out of school. Hostile home environment also forces the child to leave home and continue education from relatives' home. We came across a women organisation in a village, where they organise regular meetings; activities and outcome are not known. Domestic chores also forces children out of school as reported by some households at Malmura village.

Physical and mental challenges faced by the children are one of the major causes (in six percent of the households) of school dropout in the study villages. Field visit could

capture children with poor intellectual development. It is, however, seen that family members are indifferent and unresponsive to the situation. Ignorance and lack of concern from the fellow villagers and the local community make the situation worse. We met a child who has to bear the entire burden as a kind of slur and has to face ridicule whenever he/she comes out of house (a case in Bhakatpara village).

Poor economic conditions, loss of father, poor health condition of parents, lack of initiatives from home compel children to dropout of schools (cases in No. 2 Batamari village). Other reasons for dropping out of school as related by the villagers are need to look after domestic chores, failure in exams, and lack of supports from parents as well as poor motivational level of parents and children alike (cases in No.2 Rajagarh, No 2 Singribari village).

Teacher absenteeism is one of the basic problems of school system in the state. In our study area also irregular presence of teacher in village schools were observed and reported as well, problem of commuting during the monsoon, lack of appreciation of the need for education of girl child are some of the reasons leading to poor education foundation and insecurity of the children (Cases in Neoli, No. 3 Uttar Dimakuchi, Dakshin Garuajhar village).

Coming to the issue of girl child's education, many households fail to appreciate the need for education of girl child. Apart from not able to bear the cost of education of the girl child distance factor also forces the parents not to send their daughters to school. Responsibilities at home after the death of mother, poor economic condition, lack of motivation to go to school, shyness are also some of the factors that debar a girl child from attending school.

Access to schools and their quality

All the 30 sample villages, except three, have primary schools within the villages. Access to primary school is difficult from the No 2 Neoli village, particularly during the monsoon. Moreover, there is fear of wild animals in this village. Apart from this, even after taking the effort to walk to neighbouring village to attend school, students sometimes find the teachers absent. These are some of the reasons for children abstaining from school and subsequently dropping out from school; particularly by the

girl children in the village. Children from other two villages can access the primary school in their neighbouring village with ease.

Middle schools are available in nine sample villages and high school in three villages. The key interviews reflect serious gap between the presence of physical infrastructure, delivery of quality education and subsequent role of the teachers.

Parents to an extent are aware of the need for education of their children, but unable to send their wards because of poor economic conditions. Desired initiatives from the teachers are not seen to pull the students to school. The students suffer from some kind of fear to attend school, as reported by Mr A, Headman, Balabari Village. The overall environment in the government schools is not conducive. The parents and teachers blame each other for the deteriorating environment of the school. In some villages students are regular in school and less prone to diseases (reported by Ms. B. Boro, ASHA worker, Kalitapara village). The key interviews reflected that in number of villages teachers are indifferent to towards school and often remain absent (Mr. L, farmer Chaparabari, Mr. S. K., Farmer, Pathakpur; Ms. D. Devi, ASHA worker, Gor Basti, Ms L. K., Teacher, Bihapara, Mr. G. S., Surveillance Worker, Moholiapara).

Children in many villages lack enthusiasm to attend the school. The parents too, are not encouraging their children to attend school. Education assumes least priority in many sample villages (reported by Ms J. K., ASHA worker in Rajapukhuri).

Insecurity and vulnerability of children in Assam

The National Family Health Survey, 2005-06 data reveals that 0.7 percent children in Assam (the country figure is 0.3 percent) under the age of 18 have lost both of their parents. As per the 2001 census in Assam there were 125.81 lakh children under the age of 18. Thus, the figure of children without parents in the state could stand at more than 88 thousand. Considering that undivided Darrang (presently Darrang and Udalguri) district constitutes 5.64 percent of Assam's total population, the proportionate figure of children without parents in the district could come to 5000. This is also indicated by the NFH survey that 7.2 percent children have lost one or both parents in Assam. Country average of this figure is 4.9 percent.

The Child Protection INFORMATION Sheet, UNICEF (2006) clearly mentions that

Children without parental care find themselves at a higher risk of discrimination, inadequate care, abuse and exploitation, and their well-being is often insufficiently monitored.....Inadequate care environments can impair children's emotional and social development and leave them vulnerable to exploitation, sexual abuse and physical violence.

Different studies and reports have highlighted the condition of children in Assam. The available data from these sources reflect a situation of high vulnerability risk factor among a sizeable section of children in the state. It is found that altogether 11.7 percent children (India 11.8 percent) are engaged in work paid or unpaid, within or outside the family. In Assam less than one third children (31.4 percent; India 43.5 percent) under the age of two received full vaccinations. The NFHS 2005-06 found that 7.3 percent children (India as a whole is 5.8 percent) under the age of five suffer from ARI and 31.4 percent suffer from Diarrhoea (India 59.8 percent). Altogether 29.8 percent children under the age of six in Assam used ICDS services (India as a whole 32.9 percent). Altogether 46.5 percent children under the age of five are chronically malnourished (India 48 percent).

In the year 2009 in Assam altogether 899 children went missing in the age group of 0-18 years, there were 10 cases of child rape, 5 cases of kidnapping and 44 cases of crime against children (indiatat.org). Data for the year 2007 showed that altogether 167 crimes were committed against children; there were 34 cases of rape and 29 cases of kidnapping. Altogether 2134 cases of children went missing in the age group of 0 to 18 in Assam during 2004 to 2006. A study conducted by Ministry of Women and Child Development during 2007 (Study on Child Abuse: India 2007; Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India, wcd.nic.in) reveals that more than 86 percent children in Assam (India 53 percent) face sexual abuse, highest in India. District wise data on crime is not available. This however can be estimated that in undivided Darrang district which has about 6 lakh child populations some of the cases of crime against children could be accounted to this district as well.

The social and economic environment reflected by the survey and key interviews

As is the case with all poverty ridden areas and areas disposed towards conflict and violence, the study locale too project a negative environment, detrimental towards children's overall growth and wellbeing. The conflict prone locality in Dalgaon circle

area has lagged behind in economic, educational and overall development process. The communal conflict of 2008 has retarded development process of the Bhakatapara locality to a significant extent. Apart from the economic and societal depression that engulfs the entire life system, the children's health, both physical and mental are hugely affected. A conflict induced fear psychosis has been observed among the children which has made them directionless. One could see some kind of learned helplessness in their eyes.

Although the situation has improved with the presence of security personnel; it will require time to bring back the normal situation. Teachers have a significant role to play in the present context and some of them are reported to be making efforts to bring the children back to school and make them prepared for the examination (as reported by Ms. B.B., Teacher, Bhakatpara). However, general people do not speak very kindly of the teachers.

Moreover, alcoholism and nuisance created by the alcoholics and general conflicts and fights among villagers are common in some villages. The behaviour of people lack social responsibility (as reported by Ms. D.D., teacher at Polashbasti; Mr. K, farmer at Pathakpur; Mr.N.M., President, VCD at Tengajhar; Mr.D.B, School President at No. 2 Jalhangpar; Ms. B, Teacher at Jalukbari; Mr.A D, teacher at Batamari village; Mr.G S, Surveillance Worker at Moholiapara). Alcoholism among those in the teaching profession is also reported by the villagers. Significant presence of domestic violence is reported in Sidhakhowa.

Alcoholism is very rampant in the study area. The survey reflects that alcoholism is present in about 37 percent of the total households. Domestic violence is present in more than 10 percent households. From the table 4.2 this can be inferred that alcoholism is not highly correlated with domestic violence. As indicated in earlier section joblessness and poor economic conditions led frustration is one of the major causes of domestic violence.

Moreover, there is poor reflection of opportunities and infrastructure for the children for games and extra-curricular activities in the villages. Among the 212 households only in 17 households it was reported that children get opportunity to play in an organised

way in the villages. Apart from this access to newspapers, community support to sustain motivation of the children are virtually absent in the households.

Table 4.1: Overall infrastructure in the family and society to sustain motivation of children

	Opportunity to play	Access to newspaper	Community support in sustaining motivation
Yes	17	6	4
Total sample	212	212	212

* Source: Field work 2009-10

Table 4.2: Overall home environment in the listed households

District	Revenue Circles	Total HH having Children	Alcoholism	Domestic violence	Time devoted to play	Time devoted to teach	Perceived threat of violence	Perceived threat of repression
Udalguri	Harisinga	289	148 (51.2)	7 (2.4)	5 (1.7)	68 (23.5)	0	1
	Majbat	214	123 (57.5)	19 (8.9)	82 (38.3)	73 (34.1)	15 (7.7)	0
	Udalguri	119	49 (41.2)	26 (21.8)	3 (2.5)	16 (13.4)	116 (97.5)	0
Darrang	Khoirabari	238	80 (33.6)	27 (11.3)	157 (66.0)	100 (42.0)	23 (9.7)	2
	Dalgaon	479	72 (15.0)	69 (14.4)	70 (14.6)	143 (29.9)	370 (77.2)	21
Baska	Goreswar	254	109 (42.9)	19 (7.5)	156 (61.4)	134 (52.8)	83 (32.7)	4
Total		1593	581 (36.5)	167 (10.5)	473 (29.7)	534 (33.5)	607 (38.1)	28 (1.8)

* Source: Field work 2009-10

One however, finds some encouraging environment in a few villages. As reported in the key interview with a local the poor village of Balabari in Dalgaon area has some strong social bonding and the village is free from any internal conflict. In general people help each other if need arises. A part of the contribution raised during the religious celebration is distributed among the poor children. Children are taught Arabic in the Mosque, and if required contribution is raised for their education.

Overall environment of the village Kalitapara is congenial and free from unruly behaviour. Here the society is well disposed towards education and realise the importance of education, but the illiterate parents in most cases are not responsive

(reported by the ASHA worker). The environment for education is congenial in No 2 Jhargaon village. In past few years there is improvement in education with rising level of educational attainment. Most of the children in the village go to school. There is a youth club in the village and sports and games are regular activities for the children. The women of the village have formed SHGs and this has made them empowered to an extent (the village headman at No 2 Jhargaon). In Nagrasara, the economic condition overall is good. The parents are mostly illiterate, but send their wards to school. Overall health of the children is good and the social environment is congenial (reported by the VCDC member). In Tengajhar village during the summer the teachers conduct coaching classes for higher classes charging Rs. 10 to 20 per student. There are no initiatives to make plans for rest of the children during the vacation (reported, President of VCDC). The same initiative is seen in the Singimari village. During the Bihu season games are organized for the children in this village.

Parenting skills and status of parenting

There is indication that parents to an extent are aware about the need for education, but are unable to send their wards because of poor economic condition. The survey tried to collect information on parenting skills - their affection and involvement with the children, time spent with them, their general disposition toward their offspring, awareness about child rights, health and hygiene. Parental awareness about the child's need for food and nutrition, health care and protection from physical abuse, were taken as proxy for their knowledge of child rights.

Poor full immunization coverage (35 percent) of the children in the sampled households although point at lack of awareness about child's health, there are other factors in the society's overall environment that affect the parental behaviour. It is also true that a host of factors, including poor delivery of services affect the immunisation coverage. Poverty combined with lack of awareness about healthy and hygienic behaviour dispose children to disease and unhealthy practices. It is found that in just 38 percent household children use soap or detergent after defecation. Health awareness is so low that only 61 percent households are aware of the location of the health centers.

Table 4.3: Devotion of time to children in teaching and playing

Response	Teaching	Playing
Never	174 (82.1 percent)	181 (85.4)
Occasionally	25 (11.8)	19 (9.0)
Regularly	13 (6.1)	12 (5.6)
Total HH	212	212

* Source: Field work 2009-10

Table 4.4: Ensuring rights of children

Response	Ensuring food	Attending health care	Protecting from physical abuse
Yes	143 (67.5)	182 (85.8)	211
No	69 (32.5)	30 (14.2)	1
Total HH	212	212	212

* Source: Field work 2009-10

Table 4.5: Presence of alcoholism and family violence

Response	Alcoholism	Family violence
Yes	98 (46.2)	63 (29.7)
No	114 (53.8)	149(70.3)
Total HH	212	212

* Source: Field work 2009-10

Weak attachment of parents to their children and lack of involvement is reflected by the figures of devotion of time in teaching and playing. However, this is not always by choice. It rather reflects overall quality of life, which is devoid of many things, but most importantly the resources, the lack of which hamper any enrichment, whether physical, mental or overall wellbeing of the family. Spending time with children call for leisure time both for the parents and the children, coupled with knowledge and understanding about different aspects of life and an attitude towards children's welfare. In situation where food, clothing, shelter and self protection in the face of conflict become the basic issues, child's needs are always pushed to the backburner. It is not very difficult to fathom the situation depicted by the above three tables (Table 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5), when we find that the head of the households in 138 sample households (65.1 percent) are illiterate and in 27 households they are just literate and not even completed their

primary schooling. Presence of alcoholism and family violence further limit the parental involvement with children. Moreover, ailments of parents are reported in about 90 households reflecting their constraints to look after their children.

Presence of young mother in the sample households

It is now widely known that adolescent pregnancy is detrimental to both the mother and the child. But the survey of 212 households captured mothers in 56 households having attained their motherhood prior to reaching 18 years of age. There are 26 mothers who attained their motherhood even before they completed 16 year of age. The calculation is based on the reported age of mother and the age of the first child.

Constraints to earn a decent livelihood for wellbeing of the children

Loss of sources of income and property has been reported in the villages affected by the ethnic conflict of 2008. The peasants of the Sherpur village used to lease in land from the neighbouring villages inhabited by different communities. The aftermath of the conflicts now makes it unfeasible. Moreover, now it is not possible for the traders of the Sherpur village to enter the neighbouring villages, with which they had business transactions for long. This virtually has affected the income sources and forcing many of them to migrate out for jobs even to the places of remote Haryana state.

The ethnic conflict shattered the entire economic base of this village. To earn livelihood within the villages become difficult. It is found that only 71 households (33.5 percent) of the total 212 households could ensure their livelihood working within the village. A good number of households (121 or 57 percent) move out of their village, but mostly confines to the block boundary for jobs. Household heads in rest 20 households stay outside their home in order to earn livelihood. Absence of the earning members during the entire day obviously affects the care received by their children. Moreover, many poor parents move out of their villages in search petty casual jobs during the entire day and are unable to provide adequate attention to their children after getting back exhausted by the end of the day. Moreover, there is frustration of not acquiring a decent job.

Agriculture land is not available in 153 households (72.2 percent of the sample of 212 households) and another 31 households (14.6 percent) just have less than an acre of

agriculture land, not sufficient enough to grow food required for the entire family. It is found that only 30 households have a pair of bullock. It is found that 22 sample households are leasing in land for agriculture purpose. Overall, there is no return from home grown paddy in 146 households (68.9 percent of the 212 households). Altogether 47 households (22.2 percent) reported return of less than 30 mounds (about 8 quintal of rice). Food security from home production is found to be ensured only in 19 households of the total 212 sample households. This leaves most of the households to depend on the market for basic foods.

Moreover, it is found that there are 18 households without homestead and 103 households with a homestead of less than one bigha (0.33 acre) land. Homesteads to a great extent could supplement household income from the productions of fruits and vegetables along with supplementing nutritional requirements of the children.

Milch cow was found in 77 households (39 households having one, 30 having two, rest more than two) goat in 59 households (30 having one, 13 having two) poultry in 110 households (one for commercial purpose) and pigs in 23 households. These resources along with homestead productions supplement family income and nutritional requirements of the children. Access to these resources are found to be absent in most of the households.

Support of the state in consolidation of the impoverished households

State supports under the flagships programmes of IAY, NREGA, ICDS, NRHM and TSC fail to prop up majority of the impoverished households and to ensure wellbeing of their children. Moreover, those who have been able to avail benefits under the programmes, majority of them expressed dissatisfaction about the support they received. It can be assumed that, wellbeing from such heavily funded programme is not derived to a desirable extent.

Table 4.6: Supports under the flagship programmes of government of India

Response	IAY	NREGA	ICDS	NRHM	TSC
Yes	68 (32.1 %)	92 (43.4%)	68 (32.1%)	51 (24.1%)	20 (9.4%)
No	144	120	144	161	192
Total	212	212	212	212	212

* Source: Field work 2009-10

Presently IAY, NREGA and ICDS programmes are operational in the villages. The outcome of NREAGA is not satisfactory. There is no scheme for sanitation in the village (VCDC member at Nagrasara village).

Household income in the sampled household and the key interviews to a large extent reflect impoverishment in the villages. Moreover, it was found that 83 percent households in the listed households are *Katchha* houses and about 11 percent houses are in non-livable conditions. A total of 68 households in the sample of 212 have availed the support of IAY, and 52 households expressed their satisfaction on the quality of the allotment. NREGA has been able to support 92 (43 percent) households. The information on the number of days of work the household got is not acquired. The household income, however reflect that allocation of work was not to a significant extent. A total of 54 households expressed satisfaction on the NREGA job acquired by them. Of the 51 households that availed the provisions under NRHM, 40 households expressed their satisfaction on the services received. Altogether 36 out of the 68 sampled households availing the benefits of ICDS expressed satisfaction on the quality of the services received. The coverage of TSC is found to be poor in the study villages.

TSC has failed to cover households in the villages as the scheme is partially contributory and the households are reluctant to contribute Rs. 300/; 10 percent of the total cost (told by the teachers at the Ajagar, Bihapara village). The other reason could be lack of hygienic sense among the poor villagers. Electricity supply is also not available in many sample villages (Ajagar, Chaparabari, Pathakpur, Tengajhar).

Local responses to the needs for civil society interventions for supportive care for children

For a thorough understanding of the child related issues of the study areas, two Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were held among the villagers. These discussions gave a number of additional information and helped the study team gain proper insight into the situation of children there. The FGDs at Bhakatapara village on 14th November 2009 and in Sherpur village, on December 3, 2009 revealed certain crucial aspects of child development that needs urgent attention. The need for civil society and the state interventions in particular has come out very strongly.

The FGDs at the two villages revolved around the following guiding questions -

1. What do you think about the state of children in this area? Do you think that the children here have the facilities needed for their all round development? Is the environment around here is conducive for their healthy growth and development?
2. Do you think that there is a need of institutional interventions?
3. What kind of support do you think this area needs in order to help proper growth and development of the children of this area?

FGD at Bhakatpara

The major problem of this area started with the conflict that sprang up during October 2008. The basic issue since then has been a sense of insecurity among the children. Killings and burning down of villages, which the children witnessed, have left them utterly shaken with fear and constant feeling of insecurity. It has left a deep psychological scar in the minds of the people and especially the children. The misunderstandings among different groups of people have to be removed and peace is to be established (discussant, retired head master).

Earlier there used to be schools for art and culture, songs, dance, debates etc. where children used to get opportunity to develop their talents and also get engaged. But now after the disturbances all such organizations have been closed. So children are deprived of these extracurricular activities. Such centers should be opened for proper development of the children (Female, member of a local NGO).

There is something wrong in the culture prevailing in the society. Parents do not give adequate attention to their children. Children become very unruly from their childhood, they do not listen to their elders. They start engaging in different types of mischief. They are therefore easily misguided and get swayed by boys from organisation (*sangathan* meaning militants). What is most needed today is social awareness (male, retired teacher).

The main reason of backwardness of this society is the habit of taking alcohols. People are in the habit of preparing and drinking homemade alcohols. So it is very easy to have access to hard drink and get intoxicated. People old and young take to drinking. There have been attempts in the past to stop the families engaged in preparing and selling

drinks from this business, but they ask for alternative livelihood. Most of the poor day labourers spend whatever they earn by way of daily wage on alcohol and mete out violence upon their wives and children. Under such circumstances what will the children learn?

People here are not interested to listen to anything worthwhile. When we call them for meetings they are not interested. We have helped many farmers by giving loans etc. but people are not attracted. When we hold meetings many people would stand outside and watch rather than coming inside (Female discussant of an NGO). Parents do not take adequate care of their children. They are not bothered to know what they are doing once they send them to school. Many a time children are not in schools but loitering around. They do not care with whom the children are mixing. They would rather taunt at the parents who are taking care of the children. The situation and environments are such that here even those parents who want to take care have to face with difficulties.

Our society has failed to cope with the changing society. We have different social organisations. All have strict rules and regulations and keep on holding meetings on and off. *Gram Sabhas* are held. They discuss several things but never ever they discuss education and children issues never figure in their discussions. Social organisations are there but they are also not trained. They want to accomplish something but they get no clue as to how they should go forward (Discussant male, teacher).

There are schools, primary and secondary. But teachers are not interested in teaching. They have neither aptitude not attitude to teach. They are not aware of the individual differences of children. They do not study themselves. There is a lot of brain drain from this village as many conscious parents have shifted their students to Sipajhar or Mongoldoi, considering whatever limited scope they see for their children.

People of Bhakatpara are not aware that there is a world beyond Bhakatpara. Their understanding of reality is limited and they cannot visualise anything big. There is a need for them to conceptualise the meaning of development. If a child can greet people properly, tell his or her name correctly, sing or recite a poem or draw some animal or something they think that the child is developed. Now people are talking of global village and society is going ahead. But we are confined to petty things. We have strong

student organizations like ABSU, AASU. They hold meetings almost 365 days a year but they never ever have the agenda of education.

Children remain out of home till late at night, till 9-10 pm just gossiping around the corner or on the streets. But guardians are oblivious. Nobody seems to be bothered about that. Some strict rules are to be set so that children are inside their homes after it is dark.

Children of Bhakatpara are very good football players but there is no scope for them to take this forward. The Bhakatpara high school does not even have a football. The football team once had won the Dewkon trophy and participated in the *Subrata* cup at national level. But there is no physical instructor in the school. Despite repeated attempt to get one for the high school, it could not be materialised.

This may be commented that the entire situation of the rural areas of Darrang district or Assam is not different what is reflected by the data of the villages and by the FGDs. People feel that institutional interventions at least at an initial stage could create an environment to support children at the risk of parental care.

FGD at Sherpur

A lot of development related initiatives are needed in the area to raise the quality of life of the villagers. The impoverished and conflict prone village of Sherpur is not covered by drinking water supply of PHED. The FGD indicated that lack of supply of safe drinking water is one of the reasons that cause the children to suffer from diarrhea, liver problem etc. Malaria is also rampant in the village. The village also lack electricity and health facilities. Moreover, among the poor working community of the village there is no appreciation for the education system, no timetable for eating or doing other daily activities, including taking care of personal health and hygiene. As parents are busy doing hard labour to earn they have hardly any time left to take care of the children. People feel that some interventions as a kind of model is required to generate demonstrative impacts, apart from making provisions of certain additional support facilities in the village and usher in the progress of the village (Male discussant, age 35). People clearly raised voices for the need for civil society and institutional interventions. Institutional model could create a good environment. The village also housed an SOS village, which is now non functional because of certain problems in the area. The

participants enthusiastically mentioned two examples, where one student of the SOS village became engineer and the other a hotel management graduate. This served as a demonstrative effect for the villagers to encourage their children also to follow the path. One could also learn the disciplines of everyday life followed in that institutional setting (male discussant, age 50).

One major deficiency that has been pointed by the villagers is that there is no environment for children's development. No facilities to play and to engage in extra-curricular activities. The recent conflicts also restricted the movements of the children. Children just run about in the fields without getting the benefits of organised play. As there are no resources for equipments or play materials and the situation prevailing there allow no organised games, children's physical and mental needs are not taken care of. Play has been recognised as essential to development because it contributes to the cognitive, physical, social and emotional wellbeing of children and youth. Play is so important to optimal child development that it has been recognized by the United Nations High Commission for Human Rights as a right of every child.³ Capabilities of people are greatly stunted because of poverty and lack of exposure to the development possibilities, and especially the whole thought process about the future of their children. Although there are about 7-8 government servicemen in the village of 1200 voters, much contribution cannot be expected from them too in development initiatives of the village.

Ensuring restoration of jobs and business activities is the main issue in Sherpur village (Male discussant, age 55). There were 195 traders in the villages with their shops at Bhakatpara market. But since the day of the conflict the year before, none of them could go back and resume trading. Their shops and goods have been looted. Many of them have left the village to look for jobs elsewhere, closing their old livelihood for good. There is a sense of fear all the time and children suffer because of that. There is effort for peace initiatives. Only few people from the conflicting village came forward. Very few people are open up to address the issues. The priority for the people living in those areas are not the children's needs but to ensure their livelihood. Therefore, the prime

³ Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights- Convention on the Rights of the Child, General Assembly Resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989.

need for them at present is to open the daily and weekly markets, which will facilitate free movements of all the villagers. They believe that there will be interactions among the people from the conflicting villages and this will slowly remove feeling of distrust and fear (Male, discussant 45 year).

Overall there is violation of child rights in numerous ways. There is notable absence of effective institutions, State supported as well as voluntary organisations, to address the issues of children. The State though has made provisions through its centrally funded flagship programmes; weak state-society synergy has made the efforts ineffective to a large extent.

Conclusion: Prioritising areas and villages for intervention

The paper presents the overall situation of the children in the three districts of Darrang, Udalguri and Baska based on sample survey of 30 villages. This section puts an effort to prioritise the areas for intervention.

Indicators of insecurities in the study villages

Based on the indicators presented in table 6.1 attempt is made to construct a composite index of insecurities of the children to rank the study villages based on quantitative information acquired in the sample villages⁴ (Appendix table 8). The application of principal component analysis is considered as a landmark in summarising the variations of large number of indicators into a smaller number of orthogonal components⁵. This method enables to determine a vector known as the first principle component, linearly dependent on the constituent indicators having the maximum sum of squared correlations with the indicators or explains the maximum variance when weights are normalised to unity (Kundu, 1980). The composition of the indicators to a

⁴ Preparation of a composite index or summarisation of the multidimensional insecurity data is considered necessary to rank our study villages. This is based on the assumption that in ethnic conflict inflicted districts children are more prone to insecurities.

⁵ Principal Component Analysis helps to identify and present the indicators accounting for significant part of explanations in the datasets. We in our analysis find that in the first principal component six indicators explain maximum variations in insecurities in the villages and these demand priority in interventions. PCA overall provides precisions and methodological justice for interventions to combat children's insecurity in our study area.

single index (rank) has two stages- elimination of bias of the scale and determination of weights of the indicators. The composite index for the geographical units (villages in our context) is obtained by post multiplying the determined vector (first PCA showing maximum explanations) with the data matrix (Appendix table 8).

The ranking of most insecure villages overall reflects that the first ten villages are located in the conflict prone areas of Dalgaon and Udalguri revenue circles. The score of First Principle Components reflect that perceived threat of violence, domestic violence, lack of opportunities to play, occurrence of diseases, presence of mentally and physically challenged children, casualisation of work accounts for significant part of explanations of insecurities in the study villages. All these indicators clearly put children at risks of losing parental care.

Overall, the villages located in the conflict prone areas are most uncongenial for the wellbeing of the children. This however does not reflect that the overall situation of the children in other study villages (this also reflects the situation in the three districts) are good. Overall insecurity indicators for each of the villages are presented in table 6.5, which require interventions.

Table 6.1: Indicators of insecurities in the study villages

No	Indicators	Score of First Principle Component
1	Proportion of households with school dropouts to total enumerated households with children below 18 years	0.556643
2	Proportion of households with single parents to total enumerated households with children below 18 years	-0.31643
3	Proportion of households with no parents to total enumerated households with children below 18 years	-0.0228
4	Proportion of households reporting casual work and agriculture labour as main occupations to total enumerated households with children below 18 years	0.113835
5	Proportion of households with presence of mentally and physically challenged children to total enumerated households with children below 18 years	0.594167
6	Proportion of households with ailing children (during the time) of visit to total enumerated households with children below 18 years	0.785792
7	Proportion of households with non-livable homes to total enumerated households with children below 18 years	-0.30505

8	Proportion of households having incidences of alcoholism to total enumerated households with children below 18 years	-0.41882
9	Proportion of households having incidences of domestic violence to total enumerated households with children below 18 years	0.609213
10	Proportion of households devoting no time to play to children to total enumerated households with children below 18 years	0.652522
11	Proportion of households perceiving threat of violence to total enumerated households with children below 18 years	0.679763

Considering the gravity of the situation- the localities centering on the conflict prone villages (the top ranked villages in the sample, table 6.2) may require a nodal center for interventions. It is observed that better road infrastructure and communication has made the Bhaktapara/Sherpur/Batabari/Balabari locality accessible to the district headquarters. These localities are not far from the district headquarters where most of the amenities required for wellbeing of the children are available. Table 6.3 presents an impression on the distance to access the basic services from the suggested nodal center.

Table 6.2: Ranking (most insecure) villages based on score of First Principle Component

Sl No.	Village	Circle and District	Score
1	Balabari	Dalgaon, Darrang	195.09
2	Sidhakhowa	Udalguri, Udalguri	181.75
3	Batabari	Dalgaon, Darrang	163.12
4	Niz Shyamabari	Dalgaon, Darrang	162.76
5	Kalitapara	Dalgaon, Darrang	142.31
6	Sherpur	Dalgaon, Darrang	118.74
7	Punia	Dalgaon, Darrang	112.23
8	No 2 Jhargaon	Udalguri, Udalguri	109.78
9	Rajapukhuri	Dalgaon, Darrang	97.64
10	Bhakatpara	Dalgaon, Darrang	85.92
11	No 2 Dakshin Garuajhar	Harisinga, Udalguri	83.41
12	No 2 Pathakpur	Majbat, Udalguri	82.29
13	No 3 Uttar Dimakuchi	Harisinga, Udalguri	75.88
14	Neoli	Harisinga, Udalguri	65.01
15	No 2 Rajagarh	Harisinga, Udalguri	63.63
16	Jabrangpara	Goreswar, Baska	62.83
17	No 2 Singribari	Harisinga, Udalguri	53.74
18	No 1 Batamari	Khoirabari, Darrang	49.65
19	Nagrasara	Harisinga, Udalguri	49.32
20	Bihapara	Goreswar, Baska	46.75
21	Jalukbari	Khoirabari, Darrang	40.09
22	Ajagar	Majbat, Udalguri	37.05

23	Tengajhar	Goreswar, Baska	36.71
24	Moholiapara	Khoirabari, Darrang	36.15
25	No 2 Jalhangpara	Goreswar, Baska	35.07
26	Chaparabari	Majbat, Udalguri	32.62
27	Gorbasti	Majbat, Udalguri	30.04
28	Singimari	Goreswar, Baska	27.69
29	Polashbasti	Majbat, Udalguri	25.98
30	Malmura	Khoirabari, Darrang	4.19

Table 6.3: Distance of basic facilities from the proposed nodal center of activities

Facilities	Location and Distance
District Hospital	Mangaldoi, 19 km
Markets- Grocery, vegetable & all household requirements	Mangaldoi, 19 km
English medium school	Mangaldoi, 19 km
College with all discipline	Mangaldoi, 19 km

Table 6.4: Areas of perceived risk factors in the villages

Indicator adopted in the study	Areas of risk factors
Domestic violence, alcoholism, non-livable home	Socio-cultural
Casualisation of workforce	Economic
Ailments, mentally and physically challenged children, malnutrition	Health
Threat of violence	Political- environmental
Threat of violence, school dropouts	Psycho-social educational

The study overall captures the areas of risk factors requiring physical, emotional, intellectual and cultural development of the children. It has emerged that in the villages parents to a large extent have failed to bear the primary responsibilities of upbringing and development of the child (Article 18, UNCRC). The children in the study areas now require special protections and supports from the State and civil society organisations. Some families in the villages require direct care in the form of protection, a good livable home and food and nutrition. Sustaining the motivation for education and skill development programme is another intervening area where the State and civil society need to play an active role. Preventive and curative health care and psycho-social supports are also of utmost importance in the study areas.

The interventions could come in making provisions of essential services-food and nutrition, shelter and protection in family environment in case of most of the families in the villages. This however will also require a supportive social environment and making essential services of education and health care available at a convenient distance. In the depleting social environment of the study villages, interventions through advocacy will be crucial along with forcing the state to make available basic social sector services. Tying up with other civil society and voluntary organisations would be also crucial for the nodal agency. Role of advocacy programme in the study villages would remain a priority area. Intervention at households as well as at community level has become call of the hour at present environment.

Capacity building of the parents and guardians of the children in assuring parental care would be also crucial in the villages. The study reveals many parents fails to appreciate the need of education, need of a congenial home environment and health and hygiene for their children.

From the study the need of special care centers for physically and mentally challenged also has emerged. Discussion with the members of CWC at Darrang also revealed the need for special care centers, short stay as well as of a state home for the insecure children in the Darrang district. The CWC members feel that a size of 100 bedded home would able to meet the demand of care required in Darrang district.

Table 6.4 has listed out insecurities on children in the study villages. Comprehensive or holistic interventions could be made based on the list. The nature of the problem though overall remains the same in the study villages the magnitude varies across the villages as the ranks reflect. There could be many explanations for variations - conflicts and violence are one of them.

Table 6.5: Insecurities of children in the study villages and interventions required (Ranking according to the level of insecurities)

Rank	Villages	Insecurities and interventions required	Comments
1	Balabari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poor economic conditions, casualisation of the workforce, presence of beggars households; can not 	*In this village some reflection on social bonding on religious line was observed. However, this intervention was not

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> give attention to children High school dropouts Presence of single parents households (mother) High incidences of ailments among children Perceived threat of violence and assaults Presence of domestic violence 	supporting the poor children.
2	Sidhakhowa	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poor economic conditions, no resources, casualisation of workforce High number of non-livable houses Threat of violence and assault High rate of school dropout Presence of orphan and single parents households High incidences of ailments-diahhorea etc among children Presence of physically challenged children High incidences of domestic violence No scope for recreational activities and concern for children Lack of provisions for sanitation and hygiene 	
3	Batabari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poor economic conditions, casualisation of workforce Lack of appreciation for education and school dropouts for economic reasons High presence of domestic violence and no environment for education Presence of single parents (mother) Presence of physically and mentally challenged children High incidences of ailments 	

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> among children Perceived threat of violence and assaults 	
4	Niz Shyamabari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School dropouts Poor economy and casualisation of workforce Presence of single parents (mother) Perceived threat of violence Lack of community initiatives/guidance in education and recreational activities 	
5	Kalitapara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School dropouts Presence of physically challenged children Presence of alcoholism and domestic violence Threat of violence and repression 	*The key interview however reflect a congenial environment for children in this village
6	Sherpur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poor economic conditions, high casualisation of workforce Poor appreciation for education, School dropouts Lack of community initiatives/guidance in education and recreational activities Poor infrastructure facilities-drinking water etc. Presence of mentally and physically challenged children Presence of single parents households (mother) Perceived threat of violence and assaults and subsequent fear psychosis 	
7	Punia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alcoholism and domestic violence, no environment for education Threat of violence Presence of physically challenged children 	
8	No 2 Jhargaon	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High incidences of 	*The key interview however

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> alcoholism and domestic violence No concern for recreational activities of children Presence of single parents (mother) Presence of physically challenged children 	reflect a congenial environment for children in this village
9	Rajapukhuri	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Poor appreciation for education, School dropouts Presence of mentally challenged children Presence of single parents households (mother) Presence of alcoholism and domestic violence Perceived threat of violence and subsequent fear psychosis 	
10	Bhakatpara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School dropouts Presence of mentally and physically challenged children Presence of single parents households (mother) Alcoholism and domestic violence, deteriorating social environment Poor social and community initiatives Perceived threat of violence and assaults and subsequent fear psychosis 	
11	No 2 Dakshin Garuajhar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School dropouts and lack of appreciation for education Presence of physically challenged children Presence of single parents Casualisation of workforce 	
12	No 2 Pathakpur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School dropouts & lack of appreciation for education of girl child Presence of single parents (mother) High casualisation of workforce 	

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of appreciation, care and recreational activities for children Non-livable homes Presence of alcoholism Lack of infrastructure- water supply, healthcare, ICDS and electricity 	
13	No 3 Uttar Dimakuchi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School dropouts (economic reasons) Casualisation of workforce Prevalence of ailing children Presence of alcoholism 	
14	Neoli	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School dropouts Poor communication and infrastructure Presence of single parents Presence of ailing children Presence of physically challenged children Presence of alcoholism 	
15	No 2 Rajagarh	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School dropouts, no schools Presence of single parents and orphan Casualisation of workforce Ailing and physically challenged children Presences of non-livable house Presence of alcoholism 	
16	Jabrangpara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School dropouts Presence of single parents Casualisation of workforce Presence of physically challenged children Presence of alcoholism and domestic violence Perceived threat of violence 	
17	No 2 Singribari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School dropouts Presence of child labour Casualisation of workforce Presence of ailing children Presence of alcoholism 	
18	No 1 Batamari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High incidences of school dropouts 	

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of single parents • Casualisation of workforce • Presence of physically and mentally challenged children • High presence of non-livable homes • Presence of alcoholism and domestic violences 	
19	Nagrasara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School dropouts • Presence of single parents and orphaned children • Casualisation of workforce • Ailing and physically challenged children • Presence of alcoholism 	* Field observation and key interview however revealed that the overall environment of the village is good
20	Bihapara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School dropouts • Presence of single parents • Casualisation of workforce, poor economy 	
21	Jalukbari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School dropouts • Presence of single parents (mother) • Presence of ailing children • Presence of physically challenged children • Casualisation of workforce • Presence of non-livable homes • Presence of alcoholism and domestic violence 	* This village was once declared as model village; but one wonders on what ground! This poor village has high out migration of workforce.
22	Ajagar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School dropouts • Presence of single parents • Casualisation of workforce • Non-livable homes • Poor infrastructure and communication • No provisions for extra-curricular activities 	
23	Tengajhar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presence of single parents and orphan children • Casualisation of workforce • Non-livable homes • Presence of alcoholism and domestic violence 	* Some initiative was visible to organize recreational activities and tuitions classes for children

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor infrastrucure- no electricity 	
24	Moholiapara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School dropouts • Presence of single parents • Casualisation of workers • Alcoholism and domestic violence 	
25	No 2 Jalthangpara	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School dropouts • Presence of single parents and orphan • Casualisation of workers • Presence of physically and mentally challenged children • Presence of non-livable homes • Presence of alcoholism and domestic violence 	
26	Chaparabari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School dropouts • Presence of single parents and orphan • Casualisation of workforce • Presence of physically and mentally challenged children • Non-livable homes • Presence of alcoholism and domestic violence • Poor communication and infrastructure, no electricity 	
27	Gorbasti	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School dropouts • Presence of single parents • Presence of alcoholism • Poor communication and no electricity, water supply, health centre 	
28	Singimari	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School dropouts • Presence of single parents • Casualisation of workforce 	* Some initiatives for conducting coaching classes and games for children were observed
29	Polashbasti	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School dropouts • Presence of single parents • Casualisation of workforce • Presence of alcoholism and domestic violence 	* Flood has ruined the economy of the village
30	Malmura	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School dropout, poor education development • Presence of single parents 	

		<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Casualisation of workforce• Non-livable house• Alcoholism and domestic violence	
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Appendix Table 1: Number of Households Covered in Stage I of the Study; Sample

District	Circle	Village	HH covered in stage I	HH with Children <18 years	HH with Children < 6 years	School dropout in HH
Darrang	Dalgaon	Bhakatpara	60	44	15	9
		Sherpur	68	61	32	10
		Batabari	72	59	40	9
		Balabari	72	65	50	15
		Kalitapara	73	55	25	4
		Rajapukhuri	73	66	45	12
		Punia	72	59	36	3
		Niz Shayamabari	78	70	47	12
Udalguri	Udalguri	Sidhakhowa	75	68	42	23
		No. 2 Jhargaon	68	51	19	2
Darrang	Khoirabari	Jalukbari	66	56	33	6
		Malmura	74	63	27	3
		Moholiapara	69	54	21	4
		No 1 Batamari	71	65	33	11
Udalguri	Harisinga	No 2 Rajagarh	75	61	31	7
		Neoli	25	23	17	3
		No 3 Uttar Dimakuchi	73	55	24	5
		No 2 Singribari	61	43	28	6
		Dakshin Garuajhar	62	53	27	10
		Nagrasara	72	54	25	3
Baska	Goreswar	Jabrangpara	62	51	22	3
		Singimari	71	53	29	4
		Tengajhar	69	54	24	2
		Bihapara	60	51	29	3
		No 2 Jalthagpara	56	45	28	5
Udalguri	Majbat	Ajagar	54	43	19	4
		No 2 Pathakpur	31	25	18	5
		Chaparabari	73	54	29	7
		Polashbasti	82	57	30	8
		Gorbasti	45	35	21	6

* Source: Field work 2009-10

Appendix Table 2: Presence of Parents in the listed households

District	Circle		Both	Only father	Only mother	No parents	Step mother
Darrang	Dalgaon	Bhakatpara	40		4		
		Sherpur	56		5		
		Batabari	57		2		
		Balabari	60		5		
		Kalitapara	55				
		Rajapukhuri	64		2		
		Punia	59				
		Niz Shayamabari	67		3		
Udalguri	Udalguri	Sidhakhowa	63		3	2	
		No. 2 Jhargaon	49		2		
Darrang	Khoirabari	Jalukbari	51		5		
		Malmura	60	1	2		
		Moholiapara	50	2	2		
		No 1 Batamari	59	1	5		
Udalguri	Harisinga	No 2 Rajagarh	54	1	5	1	
		Neoli	20	1	2		
		No 3 Uttar Dimakuchi	54	1			
		No 2 Singribari	42				1
		Dakshin Garuajhar	48	3	1		
		Nagrasara	48	1	3	1	
Baska	Goreswar	Jabrangpara	48	1	2		
		Singimari	48	2	3		
		Tengajhar	51		2	1	
		Bihapara	48		3		
		No 2 Jalthagpara	39	1	3	2	
Udalguri	Majbat	Ajagar	40	1	2		
		No 2 Pathakpur	21		4		
		Chaparabari	47	3	3	1	
		Polashbasti	50		7		
		Gorbasti	32		3		

Appendix Table 3: Ailments of Children in the listed households

District	Circle	Village	Ailing children found in HH	Children physically challenged	Children mentally challenged	Ailing parents in the HH
Darrang	Dalgaon	Bhakatpara	1	1-polio	3	6
		Sherpur	4	3- polio 2	3	3
		Batabari	15	5; dumb2, polio-2	0	19
		Balabari	19	3; eye, PH, NA	0	26
		Kalitapara	5	5; PH	0	6
		Rajapukhuri	7	3; deaf, eye, polio	0	5
		Punia	3	1; dumb	0	0
		Niz Shayamabari	8	2; dumb, polio	1	7
		Udalguri	Udalguri	Sidhakhowa	10	1; fracture
No. 2 Jhargaon	1			1	0	4
Darrang	Khoirabari	Jalukbari	8	2	0	14
		Malmura	0	1; deaf	0	4
		Moholiapara	1	1; deaf	0	5
		No 1 Batamari	3	1; dumb	2	9
Udalguri	Harisinga	No 2 Rajagarh	4	3; PH, cut lip, deaf	0	5
		Neoli	5	2; deaf, eye	0	4
		No 3 Uttar Dimakuchi	10	1	0	3
		No 2 Singribari	4	0	0	1
		Dakshin Garuajhar	3	3-spastic, deaf n dumb	0	3
		Nagrasara	6	1; deaf	0	3
Baska	Goreswar	Jabrangpara	3	3; dumb 2, NA 1	0	8
		Singimari	2	0	0	10
		Tengajhar	3	0	0	8
		Bihapara	0	0	0	3
		No 2 Jalhangpara	0	2; dumb, PH	1	3
		Udalguri	Majbat	Ajar	1	0
No 2 Pathakpur	2			0	0	1
Chaparabari	2			1 dumb	1	3
Polashbasti	1			0	0	1
Gorbasti	1			0	0	1

Appendix Table 4: Housing conditions of the listed households

District	Circle	Village	Own house	Semi-pucca	Katcha	Livable house
Darrang	Dalgaon	Bhakatpara	42	25	19	60
		Sherpur	46	4	57	NA
		Batabari	55	7	51	58
		Balabari	64	5	60	62
		Kalitapara	1	22	32	53
		Rajapukhuri	65	4	62	63
		Punia	59	27	30	59
		Niz Shayamabari	68	5	63	66
Udalguri	Udalguri	Sidhakhowa	65	0	66	52
		No. 2 Jhargaon	51	13	38	51
Darrang	Khoirabari	Jalukbari	56	6	50	50
		Malmura	63	15	48	55
		Moholiapara	54	14	36	51
		No 1 Batamari	57	8	57	56
Udalguri	Harisinga	No 2 Rajagarh	57	3	58	53
		Neoli	23	0	23	22
		No 3 Uttar Dimakuchi	55	14	39	54
		No 2 Singribari	42	6	37	41
		Dakshin Garuajhar	53	6	47	51
		Nagrasara	53	16	37	52
Baska	Goreswar	Jabrangpara	51	3	43	48
		Singimari	53	1	52	49
		Tengajhar	54	1	52	49
		Bihapara	51	3	47	47
		No 2 Jalhangpara	42	1	40	37
Udalguri	Majbat	Ajar	40	4	33	38
		No 2 Pathakpur	22	1	24	19
		Chaparabari	48	8	44	47
		Polashbasti	55	7	47	54
		Gorbasti	35	5	30	28

Appendix Table 5: Overall home environment in the listed households

District	Circle	Village	Alcoholism	Domestic violence	Time devoted to play	Time devoted to teach	Perceived threat of violence	Perceived threat of repression	Perceived threat of assault
Darrang	Dalgaon	Bhakatpara	5	2	29	18	28	0	1
		Sherpur	0	1	14	14	45	4	5
		Batabari	0	13	6	20	46	2	3
		Balabari	0	23	0	11	65	0	0
		Kalitapara	27	10	3	33	55	5	0
		Rajapukhuri	1	4	0	9	2	0	0
		Punia	39	12	18	31	59	0	1
Udalguri	Udalguri	Niz Shayamabari	0	4	0	7	70	0	0
		Sidhakhowa	1	20	0	7	65	0	0
Darrang	Khoirabari	No. 2 Jhargaon	48	6	3	9	51	0	0
		Jalukbari	17	7	34	29	0	0	0
		Malmura	25	7	58	29	3	0	0
		Moholiapara	24	7	25	21	1	0	0
Udalguri	Harisinga	No 1 Batamari	14	6	40	21	15	1	1
		No 2 Rajagarh	26	1	0	10	0	0	0
		Neoli	19	2	1	2	0	0	0
		U. Dimakuchi	20	0	2	12	0	1	0
		No 2 Singribari	36	1	0	7	0	0	0
		D. Garuajhar	4	0	0	13	0	0	0
		Nagrasara	43	3	2	24	0	0	0
Baska	Goreswar	Jabrangpara	32	6	29	24	31	0	0
		Singimari	9	4	42	41	7	1	2
		Tengajhar	31	5	33	29	16	0	0
		Bihapara	3	1	24	21	7	0	1
		No 2 Jalhangpara	34	3	28	19	22	0	0
Udalguri	Majbat	Ajagar	5	1	21	21	1	0	0
		No 2 Pathakpur	17	4	3	7	11	0	0
		Chaparabari	36	8	22	19	1	0	0
		Polashbasti	47	6	22	18	2	0	0
		Gorbasti	18	0	14	8	0	0	0

Appendix Table 6: Insecurity Indicators of Children in the listed households (Percent of HH)

No	With children <18years	With school dropout	With Single parents	Without parents	Depend on casual works	With challenged children	With non-livable home	With presence pf alcoholism	With presence of domestic violence	With devoting no time to play	With perceiving threat of violence
1	44	20.5	9.1	0	59.1	9.1	0	11.4	4.5	34.1	63.6
2	61	16.4	8.2	0	47.5	9.8	11.5	0.0	1.6	73.8	73.8
3	59	15.3	3.4	0	54.2	8.5	1.7	0.0	22.0	89.8	78.0
4	65	23.1	7.7	0	49.2	4.6	4.6	0.0	35.4	100.0	100.0
5	55	7.3	0.0	0	58.2	9.1	3.6	49.1	18.2	94.5	100.0
6	66	18.2	3.0	0	74.2	4.5	4.5	1.5	6.1	100.0	3.0
7	59	5.1	0.0	0	55.9	1.7	0.0	66.1	20.3	69.5	100.0
8	70	17.1	4.3	0	71.4	4.3	5.7	0.0	5.7	100.0	100.0
9	68	33.8	4.4	2.9	86.8	2.9	20.6	1.5	29.4	100.0	95.6
10	51	3.9	3.9	0	78.4	2.0	0.0	94.1	11.8	94.1	100.0
11	56	10.7	8.9	0	55.4	3.6	10.7	30.4	12.5	39.3	0.0
12	63	4.8	4.8	0	65.1	1.6	12.7	39.7	11.1	7.9	4.8
13	54	7.4	7.4	0	68.5	1.9	5.6	44.4	13.0	53.7	1.9
14	65	16.9	9.2	0	47.7	1.5	13.8	21.5	9.2	38.5	23.1
15	61	11.5	9.8	1.6	73.8	4.9	14.8	42.6	1.6	100.0	0.0
16	23	13.0	13.0	4.3	69.6	8.7	4.3	82.6	8.7	95.7	0.0
17	55	9.1	1.8	0	78.2	1.8	1.8	36.4	0.0	96.4	0.0
18	43	14.0	0.0	0	74.4	0.0	4.7	83.7	2.3	100.0	0.0
19	53	18.9	7.5	0	56.6	5.7	3.8	7.5	0.0	100.0	0.0
20	54	5.6	7.4	1.9	61.1	1.9	3.7	79.6	5.6	96.3	0.0
21	51	5.9	5.9	0	41.2	5.9	5.9	62.7	11.8	43.1	60.8
22	53	7.5	9.4	0	50.9	0.0	7.5	17.0	7.5	20.8	13.2
23	54	3.7	3.7	1.9	63.0	0.0	9.3	57.4	9.3	38.9	29.6
24	51	5.9	5.9	0	45.1	0.0	7.8	5.9	2.0	52.9	13.7
25	45	11.1	8.9	4.4	37.8	4.4	17.8	75.6	6.7	37.8	48.9
26	43	9.3	7.0	0	44.2	0.0	2.3	11.6	2.3	51.2	2.3
27	25	20.0	16.0	0	76.0	0.0	8.0	68.0	16.0	88.0	44.0
28	54	13.0	11.1	1.9	68.5	1.9	3.7	66.7	14.8	59.3	1.9
29	57	14.0	12.3	0	70.2	0.0	1.8	82.5	10.5	61.4	3.5
30	35	17.1	8.6	0	82.9	0.0	2.9	51.4	0.0	60.0	0.0