

IMPACT OF MGNREGA ON RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION: A CASE STUDY OF JHARKHAND

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Migration in Jharkhand has increased during the post-independence by displacing a large tribal population for the purpose of land acquisition and mining. The combination of push and pull factors drive circular migration (particularly tribals and tribal women) in the state. Social factors play a critical role in migrating decisions. Those belonging to STs have a higher chance of migrating seasonally than people in any other social group. The study observed that temporary mobility is higher among the poorer sections of Indian society irrespective of the level of economic development of the states concerned. Male migration, especially in rural area, shows a declining trend. The decline in male migration also expected to be the outcome of the successful implementation of NREGA or may be due to increasing seasonal migration which is not fully captured in the data. It is expected that short term employment opportunities created under NREGA in the rural area reduces seasonal and distress related migration but it has not been able to reduce rural to urban flow. The present paper is a part of my thesis on "Evaluation of the Trends and Pattern of Rural-Urban Migration in Jharkhand". The paper is an analysis of the study conducted in the state of Jharkhand and has tried to investigate the impact of MGNREGA on rural-urban migration.

Keywords: MGNREGA, Rural-Urban Migration, Rural Employment, Tribal Migration, Tribal Women, Employment, Empowerment

INTRODUCTION

Rural employment constitutes the economic, social and cultural universe wherein rural families are bound to make their living. The official estimates of Government of India indicate that 70 per cent of the poor in India are overwhelmingly concentrated in rural areas. A vast majority of these rural poor are engaged in agriculture either as wage labourers or marginal farmers. There is also enough evidence to suggest a slow down in agriculture. Bhalla (2004) indicated that agricultural employment growth rate has become negative in a number of states. Thus, although farming is still an important activity in rural areas, it is increasingly unable to provide sufficient means of employment. The rural workforce suffers, due to the excessive seasonality of employment, lack of wage employment opportunities and low wage rates. These poor rural households resort to temporary or permanent migration to increase their employment days and cope with the risks.

Through the understanding of migration as a tool to reduce vulnerability and increase opportunities, Deogharia (2012) noted that Jharkhand has experienced constant in-flow and outflow of population. It was preferred as a place of residence by tribals as it was isolated from the rest of India. Oraon, the second largest tribe in Jharkhand came to the region in the fourteenth century after the fall of the Rohtasgarh fort. Even out migration of Santhals took place in eighteenth century from Hazaribag to Damin-e-koh. Seasonal and permanent migration started in Jharkhand in nineteenth century noted large population, especially tribals transported to the tea gardens of Assam and to the jute mills of Calcutta in the pre-independence era. The colonial regime had set up large tea estates for the production and trade of tea in Assam (Bhagat, 2016). Chaudhuri (2015) pointed that the local Assamese either opposed such capitalistic activity or demanded high wages, which created

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increased demand for an external source of labour. The Chottanagpur region (consisting of Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, and Odisha) thus provided cheap labour for the operation of the tea estates. He further commented that the mobilization and migration of tribals was preferred based on the colonial stereotypical notions of them being physically laborious and relatively docile. The indentured labor from Chotanagpur also migrated to work in jute mills of Calcutta.

The migration was facilitated by contractors who further depended on a class of labour-catchers, known as *arkattis* who would entice the people to go for work in Assam. The migrants were bounded by a contract of working for a stipulated time. The failure of the migrants to fulfill the terms of contracts was meted out with coercion. Thus, the initial migration in Jharkhand shows trends of mass movement over a large distance on contractual basis, which had undesirable violent outcomes in cases of failures (Chaudhuri, 2015).

METHODOLOGY

The study has been conducted in 5 districts of Jharkhand and a sample of 180 households has been covered during the 2014-15 time frame. The poor performing districts from each division was selected by using an index based on indicators like rural agriculture labour, number of BPL households and rural literacy rate of Jharkhand, and whether naxal affected district or not. The HHs were selected by using stage stratified sampling. Both quantitative and qualitative survey has been conducted for this study. The primary data collected has been analysed by using statistical tools like percentage, averages, regression. The field survey reported that almost all the sample households have members who have migrated out in search of employment.

MIGRATION IN JHARKHAND

The economic survey of India- 2016-17 showed that Jharkhand is a major source of migrant working population for different parts of the country (both in rural as well as urban areas). The survey revealed that Jharkhand has lost about 5 million working-age population between 2001 and 2011 averaging about 5 % of the working age population of the state every year as a migrant. Jharkhand, in absence of robust irrigation infrastructure, is still being predominantly a mono-cropped area. In addition to this, lack of basic industrial base, people are left without work in almost six months in a year. To combat this seasonal unemployment and creating an income safety net, the people of Jharkhand have adapted migration as a strategy to smoothen their source of income in the lean period of the year.

Several studies show that people of Jharkhand migrate to both rural and urban areas of different states of the country. With growing new urban agglomerations and resulting growth in developmental works like housing, roads, bridges etc, migrants from Jharkhand suffices the demand of labour in these types of works. On the other hand, due to agriculture wage differentials, migrants are also attracted towards the rural farm sectors of states like Punjab, Haryana, Maharashtra etc. The state has also witnessed the migration of people outside the state for works like in a brick kiln. Jharkhand has also been seen as a dominant source of domestic maids and servant especially to Delhi and adjoining national capital region. The proportion of rural to urban migration within the state is less as there are very few urban centers in the state, which can provide valuable employment on a regular basis. Studies have also shown an increase in the volume of long-term migration from the LWE affected areas. People opine that migration gives them an option to get out of the social disturbance and get long-term regular employment in other states.

Although the process of migration from the state has started decades ago, the state has witnessed a surge in both the type and volume of migration. Earlier, the migrant population showed a herd like behavior i.e. they used to move in groups. Continuing this trend, now the movement has become

more organized with the introduction of self-proclaimed agents who facilitates migration. Some migrants also opine that, with the continual intergenerational flow of people to the same destination, the villagers are quite acquainted with the places where they can get work.

Migration has both progressive as well as the retrogressive impact on the income of the populous. However, in case of Jharkhand, where the basic infrastructure and income generating resources are scarce, the option of migration is proving to be a boon to the population. Many studies have shown that due to the availability of work round the year and remittance effect has increased the income of most of the household's.

In the early nineteenth century, seasonal and permanent out-migration from hill coolies of Chotanagpur was reported (Cuthbert, 1847). The extent of migration from this region increased as the years passed. Between 1880 and 1921, a large number of the aboriginals and semi-aboriginals migrated from this region. Two major streams of labour migration emanated from this region in this period; one directed to the tea gardens of Assam and the other to the coal mines of Jharia. There was a regional and ethnic specialization in migration within Jharkhand.

Jharkhand continues to be a source of large-scale out-migration (Ghosh and Sharma, 1995). The tribals, who are one of the most deprived sections of the society, still out-migrate on a large scale from this region. A large number of them are seasonal migrants, migrating in agriculturally lean season and coming back to the village during the agriculture season. Migration has an impact on the tribal economy of Jharkhand. Migration has led to a rise in slums, rise in alcoholism, and breakdown of traditional society. Apart from this exploitation of women/ tribal migrants, rise in prostitution and public health impacts such as HIV/AIDS are another adverse impact of migration of labourers from Jharkhand.

MIGRATION AND TRIBALS

Tribal Migration

Though the early history of tribal out-migration is obscure, it is generally believed that Jharkhand was the destination of the tribals in the early times (ancient and medieval period). This region was relatively isolated from other regions of the country. Different tribes migrated to this region in different periods and lived a relatively isolated life free from the interference from the rest of the world. As stated before, after the fall of Rohtasgarh fort Oraon tribe of the region entered into this area. With the great out-migration of Santhal, the most numerous tribe of the region, from Hazaribag to the Damin-e-koh, which took place in late 18th century started the modern phase of migration in this region.

The tribal population has been migrating from Jharkhand since the last three centuries and more. The combination of push and pull factors drive circular migration particularly the tribals and tribal women more specifically. Thus, the circular migration, or rural-urban migration, is emerging as a dominant form of migration amongst STs in India.

Prior to independence, the out-migration of tribals to urban and industrial cities was very meager. This was due to physical environment constraints. Their limited needs too did not motivate them to move to the cities. However, this picture has changed considerably since independence. In the 18th and 19th Centuries, the migration was forced as the British employed tribal labour to work in the Assam tea gardens. However, since the latter half of the 20th Century, tribal people from these areas have started migrating voluntarily to earn their livelihood. In the last century, a noticeable change was visible in the nature and pattern of tribal migration. Between 1950 and 1980, tribal people migrated to the rural areas of Bihar, West Bengal mainly to work as agricultural labour (Mosse et al.,

1997). However, from 1980 onwards, they started migrating to bigger cities like Delhi, Kolkata, and Mumbai. Another new feature of tribal migration from these states in recent years has been the large-scale migration of single women to cities in search of livelihood, which is a subtle change from the earlier migration patterns when only the men migrated to urban centers. Tribal families nowadays are driven by poverty to send unmarried daughters to cities in search of work. The tribal women mostly find employment as domestic workers or work as casual labourers in the unorganized sector. The work is commonly poorly paid and insecure but it is very attractive to those from marginal areas where wages are too low to make a living.

Migration of Tribal Women

Tribal society largely favours social equality and tribal women have been equal partners with tribal men in the contribution to the household economy. Quite often, the tribal women perform more physical labour in their agricultural fields and forest than that of the tribal men. Tribal women usually enjoy a higher social status in their own communities than any Indian women do in general. As indicated earlier the socio-economic profile of tribals especially the tribal women is quite low as compared to tribal men and the general population. This in turn results in poor nutritional and health status among the tribals.

The various occupations in which the tribals are engaged in hunting, fishing, gathering of forest products, shifting cultivation to settled agriculture, rural crafts and artisans. Very few tribal groups are engaged in non-agricultural activities like mendicants, bards, pastoralists leading a semi-nomadic to nomadic life. The tribal women besides their routine work are also engaged in works in the agricultural fields, forests for long hours. Thus, the overall output in terms of a number of hours of work is very low. Even their schedule of long working hours continues during pregnancy, natal and postnatal stages. They have high morbidity rate, low child survival rate, and negative energy balance. They tend to suffer from taboos and superstitions and as a result, remain deprived of the benefits from existing development and welfare programs.

Generally, most of the natural resources including minerals are located in tribal areas. However, tribals are being alienated from their land and forest due to the ongoing deforestation, hydro-electric power generation, industrial growth and mining activities. Huge investments in construction of dams, power plants, industrialization, and mining create wealth to the nation and employment opportunities to various people but all of this is hardly of any benefit to the tribals. It rather leads to their social and cultural deprivation, land alienation, destruction of environment and displacements, which is often without any rehabilitation. Thus, migration can also have a negative effect on collective action and natural resource management.

MIGRATION AND MGNREGA

The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) aims at enhancing the livelihood security of people in rural areas by guaranteeing hundred days of wage-employment in a financial year to a rural household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work. MGNREGA serves as an effective safety net for the unemployed, especially during the times of famine and drought, supplementing household incomes and reducing migration to cities by villagers in search of work. It helps the economically rural poor by not just putting cash in their hands but also in creating sustainable assets. The Act also seeks to create durable assets and strengthen the livelihood resource base of the rural poor. The choice of works suggested in the Act address causes of chronic poverty like; drought, deforestation, soil erosion so that the process of employment generation is on a sustainable basis.

Apart from out-migration of the workforce for more prosperous options, there has been an even inflow of migrant in Jharkhand for commercial profits. These immigrants who constituted about 10-15% of immigrants were referred by the indigenous peoples as dikus. Even post-independence the influx of outsiders increased in districts like Ranchi, Dhanbad, and Hazaribag (Areepampil, 1996). The government of India (GOI) enacted the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA), 2005 (renamed as Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, MGNREGA). The main objective of the Act is: "To provide for the enhancement of livelihood security of the households in rural areas by providing at least 100 days of guaranteed wage employment in every financial year to every household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work". Its other objectives are reduction of distressed migration, creation of durable assets in villages, enlivening of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs), empowerment of rural women, promotion of inclusive growth and facilitation of multiplier effects on the rural economy.

MGNREGA being the largest public program has drawn a lot of attention of the leading economists and authors. They have brought in focus to a lot of problems regarding MGNREGA and its implementation. Though every one of them believed that it had some or the other drawbacks, they also believe that the government of India has finally come up with the scheme that could escape the failings of the past and actually reach the common man in a way all other schemes have been unable to. Ahuja, Tyagi, Chauhan, and Chaudhary (2011) conducted a study in Haryana to check the implementation of MGNREGA in two districts — one agriculturally-advanced (Karnal) and the other agriculturally-backward (Mewat). In this they found that the farmers owning large size of landholdings and more number of livestock are not much interested in participating in MGNREGA works as they are busy in their own activities. The farmers who have small land and livestock resources work in MGNREGA works. So employment scheme of MGNREGA is providing livelihood security to the resource-poor rural people. Thus, if the size of holding is large, the chances to work in MGNREGA work are less. It can be inferred that in agriculturally-developed area MGNREGA did not check the migration as the people were earning more income from migration.

Bhagat (2009) has the view that the push and pull factors have dominated much of the understanding of migration. Push factors like low income, low literacy, dependence on agriculture and high poverty are cited as some examples associated with place of origin. On the other hand, high income, high literacy, the dominance of industries and services, are the pull factors associated with place of destination. It has been found in this study that both in and out-migration rates have a significant positive association with per capita income, the percentage of workforce and share of GSDP in the non-agricultural sector. This means that higher income and sectoral transformation of the economy from agricultural to the non-agricultural sector is associated both with higher in-migration as well as out-migration rates. Jacob (2008) recommends that the aspect of MGNREGA where it can be used to curb rural-urban migration is conditional on the MGNREGA being implemented well in that region, otherwise, if work is not supplied, if wages aren't paid on time and if money is just being siphoned off, then workers will have no incentive to stop migrating. Bhagat (2012) thinks that temporary and seasonal migration has long been an important income diversification and risk-coping strategy in many agriculture-based economies in the developing world. Jaswal (2009) found that migration has reduced by more than half since MGNREGA was introduced. Solinski (2012) suggested that MGNREGA may benefit Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and those with little or no access to positive migration opportunities – in other words, it may be a good way to curb distress migration, which is commendable. However, it is unlikely to succeed in reducing mobility for work in general – which is not desirable anyway.

In the state of Jharkhand, MGNREGA continues to suffer from various loopholes; the most glaring

ones being, not getting the hundred days of wage employment and irregularities in payment of wages. In the current financial year, of the 32 lakhs job card holders, only 30,000 have got the 100-day work which does not even amount to 1 percent of the number. As a natural corollary to the increasing criminalization of this job guarantee scheme, demand for work under it is decreasing. Villagers have now resorted back to migrating to the cities in search of job opportunities. Hence, one of the basic objectives of which MGNREGA was launched; that is, reducing the incidence of migration, has now been destroyed.

EVALUATION OF MGNREGA AMONG SAMPLE HOUSEHOLD

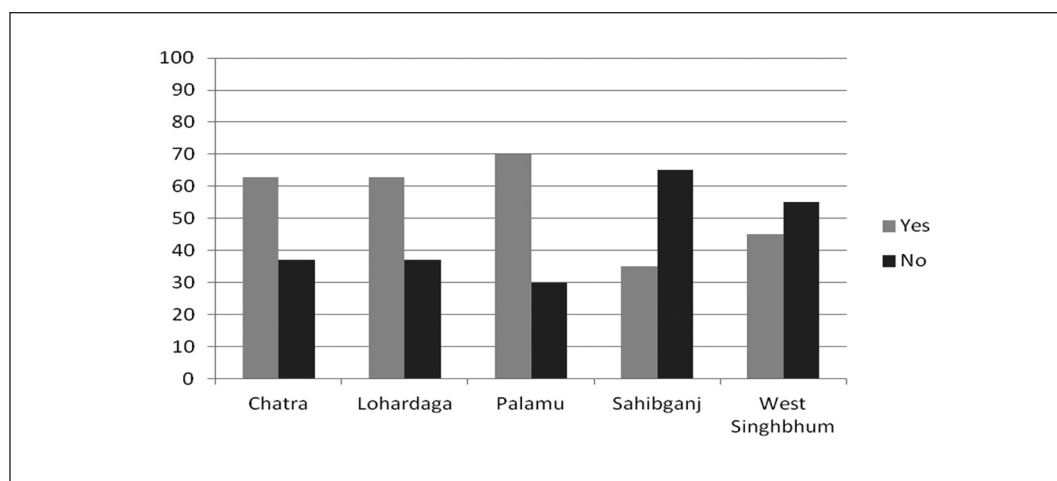
Among the 180 sample households surveyed within the 5 selected districts for the study, it came out that more than half households surveyed have access to MGNREGA jobs (Table1). This differs across the district with highest in Palamu (70 per cent) followed by Chatra and Lohardaga, and only 35 per cent of the sample households in Sahibganj have access to MGNREGA Jobs.

Table 1: Distribution of Households by Access to MGNREGA jobs

Districts	Yes	No	Total
Chatra	62.9	37.1	100
Lohardaga	62.9	37.1	100
Palamu	70.0	30.0	100
Sahibganj	35.0	65.0	100
West Singhbhum	45.0	55.0	100
Total	53.9	46.1	100
Total	97	83	180

Source: Field Survey

Figure 1: Distribution of Households by Access to MGNREGA jobs



Source: Field Survey

The registration of job card status given in Table 2 shows that status of job registration is highest by application followed by the small percentage of oral willingness and Gram Sabha in Palamu only. In Chatra and Lohardaga districts, cards are mainly registered through the application.

Table 2: Registration of Job Cards Registered in GP

	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
No Registration	37.1	40.0	30.0	67.5	55.0	47.2
By application	62.9	60.0	26.7	27.5	45.0	44.4
By oral willingness	0.0	0.0	40.0	5.0	0.0	7.8
In Gram Sabha	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Field Survey

The receipts were issued more than three-fourth (77 per cent) of the households. All the households of Chatra and Lohardaga received receipts. But in Palamu more than half of the households did not receive a receipt. In all the surveyed districts, not a single household reported that any fee has been charged to them for the registration of job card. It shows fair selection process in the issue of job card in the villages.

Around 63 per cent households received job card between 30-60 days followed by more than two months (28.4 per cent), while only a few of them reported obtained the same within one month (Table 3). Particularly, Palamu (76.2 per cent) and Chatra (40.9 per cent) household reported obtained job card in the longer period, i.e. more than 2 months period.

Table 3: Time Period for Obtaining Job Card

Time	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
15-30 days	0.0	4.8	4.8	30.8	0.0	6.3
30-60 days	59.1	90.5	19.0	53.8	94.4	63.2
More than 2 months	40.9	4.8	76.2	0.0	5.6	28.4
Any other	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.4	0.0	2.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

After obtaining the job card just one-third of the households got work within 2 months' time followed by more than 2 months and 15-30 days (Table 4). This has been observed relatively higher in Lohardaga and Palamu, where around 76 per cent and 86 percent respectively got jobs within 2 months of obtaining the job card.

Table 4: Time for Obtaining Work after getting Job Card

Time to obtain Job Card	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
Immediately	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
15-30 days	22.7	14.3	85.7	0.0	5.6	28.4
30-60 days	36.4	76.2	4.8	1.0	16.7	29.5
More than 2 months	40.9	4.8	4.8	84.6	27.8	28.4
More than 4 months	0.0	0.0	4.8	14.4	44.4	11.6
Others	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.6	1.1
Total	48.6	48.6	10.0	32.5	42.5	37.2

Source: Field Survey

About 80 per cent of the applicants obtained job cards themselves (Table 5). Some job cards were retained by the family members. In Sahibganj job card was obtained by all the applicants followed by Lohardaga and Palamu. The percentage of obtaining job card by family members was higher in West Singhbhum as half of them retained it.

Table 5: Whom Job Card is obtained

	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
With applicant	72.7	95.2	95.2	100.0	38.9	80.0
With any member of family of applicant	27.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	15.8
with panchayat	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
Other	0.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	11.1	3.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

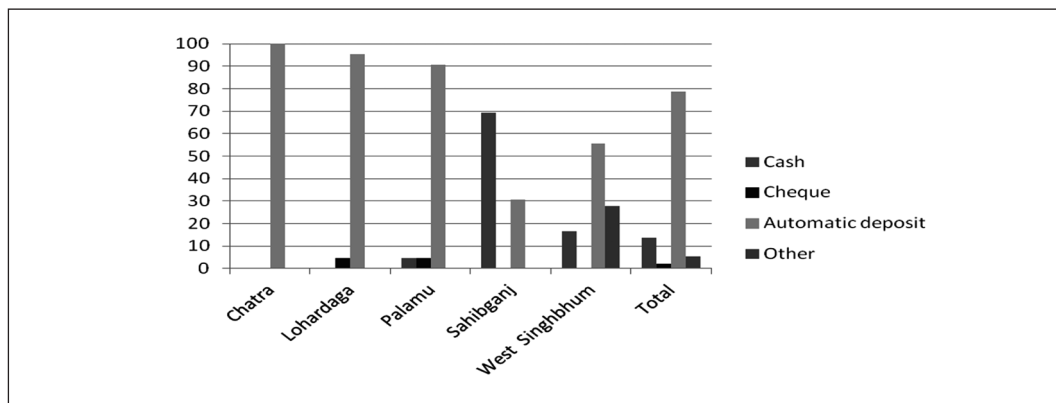
Source: Field Survey

Most of the payments for MGNREGA were through automatic deposit (Table 6). Just 14 per cent were in cash and cheque. In Chatra district most of the payment was through automatic deposit followed by Lohardaga and Palamu. This shows that most of the workers are having their accounts in financial institutions. This was higher in Sahibganj with 70 per cent workers were paid in cash for MGNREGA Work. This shows that either these people did not have accounts in a bank or the GP are not paying fairly.

Table 6: Mode of Payment of MGNREGA Work

Mode of Payment	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
Cash	0.0	0.0	4.8	69.2	16.7	13.7
Cheque	0.0	4.8	4.8	0.0	0.0	2.1
Automatic deposit	100.0	95.2	90.5	30.8	55.6	78.9
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	27.8	5.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

Figure 6 : Mode of Payment of MGNREGA Work

Source: Field Survey

Wage rates are fixed mostly on the basis of daily wage rates. A similar pattern can be seen across districts (Table 7). This has been observed relatively higher in Chatra and Sahibganj followed by Palamu and Lohardaga. But in Lohardaga and West Singhbhum piece rate and other methods are also adopted for wage fixation.

Table 7: Mode of Wage Fixation in the GP

Mode of wage fixation	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
Piece rate basis	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	11.1	3.2
Daily wage rates	100.0	90.5	95.2	100.0	72.2	91.6
Not known	0.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	1.1
Others	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	16.7	4.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

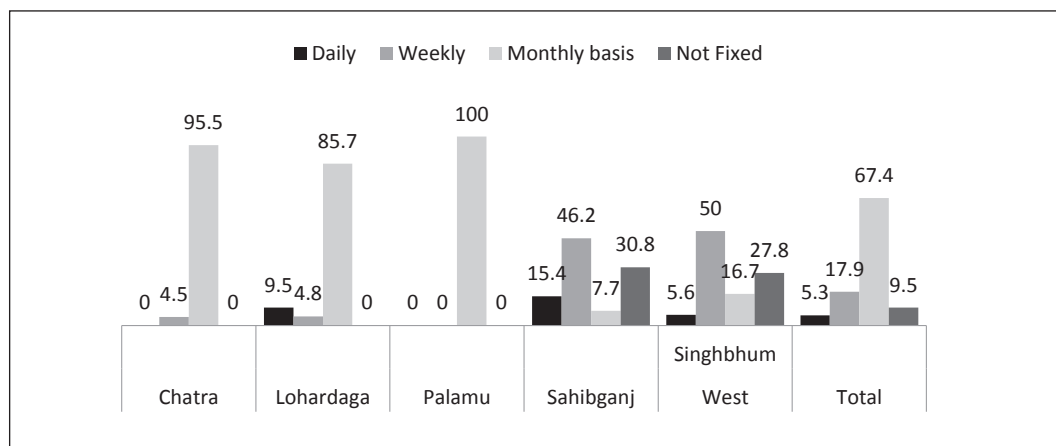
Source: Field Survey

About 67 per cent time period for getting MGNREGA wages may vary work-wise followed by monthly (Table 8). This was relatively higher in Palamu as most of the wages vary work-wise followed by Chatra and Lohardaga. But in Sahibganj 46 per cent payment varies monthly or by any other reason.

Table 8: Time-Period for getting MGNREGA Wages

Time to get wage	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
Daily	0.0	9.5	0.0	15.4	5.6	5.3
Monthly	4.5	4.8	0.0	46.2	50.0	17.9
May vary work-wise	95.5	85.7	100.0	7.7	16.7	67.4
Any other	0.0	0.0	0.0	30.8	27.8	9.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

Figure 8: Time Period for getting MGNREGA wages

Source: Field Survey

More than half stated that there has been no increase in wages in the private sector (Table 9). This holds true for Chatra and Lohardaga followed by West Singhbhum districts. Whereas people in Palamu and Sahibganj districts agree that there has been increased in wages in private sector.

Table 9: Wages in the Private Sector have been Enhanced

	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
Yes	4.5	4.8	95.2	92.3	38.9	43.2
No	95.5	95.2	4.8	7.7	61.1	56.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

The daily working hours for MGNREGA work is 6-7 hours as reported by 34.7 per cent respondents (Table 10). Around one-fourth says it is 4 to 5 hours and 7 to 8 hours respectively. In Lohardaga and Chatra 81 per cent and 73 per cent says it is 6 to 7 hours which is highest among districts. Whereas, 76 per cent says it is 4 to 5 hours in Palamu and 57 per cent in West Singhbhum says it is 7 to 8 hours.

Table 10: Daily Working Hour for MGNREGA Work in GP

Working Hours	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
3 to 4 hours	0.0	0.0	9.5	0.0	0.0	2.1
4 to 5 hours	0.0	0.0	76.2	46.2	16.7	26.3
5 to 6 hours	13.6	0.0	9.5	7.7	27.8	11.6
6 to 7 hours	72.7	81.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	34.7
7 to 8 hours	13.6	19.0	4.8	46.2	55.6	25.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

As reported by 71 per cent of the respondents, the daily working hours for non-MGNREGA work is 7 to 8 hours daily (Table 11). This has been observed higher in Palamu district with 95 per cent followed by Chatra and Lohardaga with 86.4 per cent and 85 per cent and lowest in West Singhbhum which is 28 per cent.

Table 11: Daily Working Hour for Non-MGNREGA Work in GP

	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
Below 1 hours	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
6 to 7 hours	13.6	10.0	0.0	46.2	27.8	17.0
7 to 8 hours	86.4	85.0	95.2	46.2	27.8	71.3
8 to 9 hours	0.0	0.0	4.8	7.7	11.1	4.3
9 to 10 hours	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	7.4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

Around 39 per cent have to travel less than 1 km for MGNREGA work site (Table 12). One- fifth travel 1 to 2 km followed by 19 per cent who travel 2 to 3 km. A little more than 10 per cent travel 3 to 4 km. 59 per cent in Chatra travel 1 to 2 km, 52 per cent in Lohardaga travel below 1 km and 62 per cent in Palamu travel 4 to 5 km for MGNREGA work-site from their residence.

Table 12: Distance of MGNREGA Work-site from Residence of Workers

Distance of Work	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
Below 1 km	36.4	52.4	9.5	23.1	72.2	38.9
1 to 2 km	59.1	14.3	4.8	30.8	0.0	22.1
2 to 3 km	4.5	33.3	0.0	46.2	22.2	18.9
3 to 4 km	0.0	0.0	19.0	0.0	5.6	5.3
4 to 5 km	0.0	0.0	61.9	0.0	0.0	13.7
7 to 8 km	0.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	1.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

Most of the MGNREGA work in Gram Panchayat is carried out by Gram Panchayat (Table 13). This has been observed higher in Lohardaga followed by Chatra, Palamu and West Singhbhum. In Sahibganj 46 per cent of the contractor's carryout this work in GP.

Table 13: Who is carrying out MGNREGA work in GP

	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
Contractors	4.5	0.0	0.0	46.2	5.6	8.4
Gram Panchayat	95.5	100.0	95.2	53.8	94.4	90.5
Others	0.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	1.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

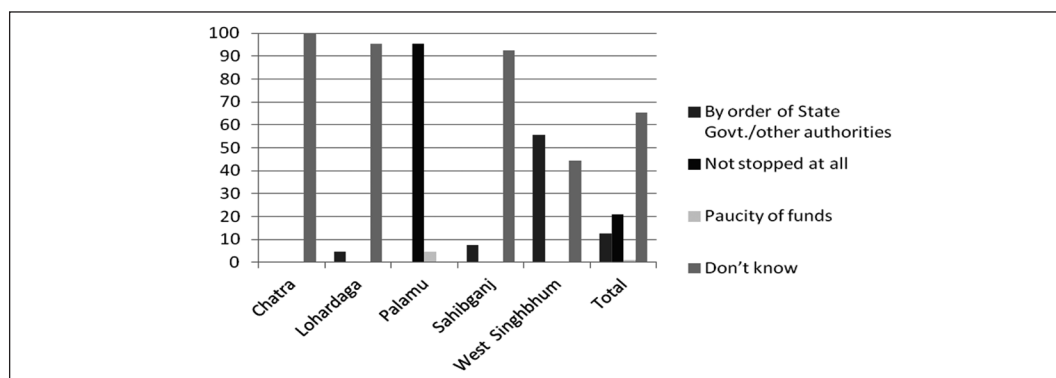
One-third replied that Muster roll attendance sheet was maintained in rough note books/ diaries kept by managers. About 10 per cent says attendance was maintained in Kutchha chits. In Palamu maintenance of muster roll attendance sheet in books/diaries was higher in Palamu and lowest in Lohardaga where no written records of attendance was maintained.

A little more than 10 per cent says that MGNREGA work was disrupted by order of State Govt./other authorities (Table 14). One-fifth says that MGNREGA work did not stop at all for any reason. This was higher in Palamu with 95 per cent saying that work did not stop whereas in West Singhbhum more than half reported that it was stopped by the order of State Govt./other authorities.

Table 14: MGNREGA Work Stopped/Disrupted

Causes of disruption in MGNREGA Work	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
By order of State Govt./other authorities	0.0	4.8	0.0	7.7	55.6	12.6
Not stopped at all	0.0	0.0	95.2	0.0	0.0	21.1
Paucity of funds	0.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	1.1
Don't know	100.0	95.2	0.0	92.3	44.4	65.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

Figure 14: MGNREGA work Stopped/Disrupted

Source: Field Survey

The decision regarding MGNREGA work is taken mostly by GP. A similar pattern was seen across all districts with the exception in West Singhbhum where Block level authority and others were also responsible for taking decisions regarding MGNREGA work in GP.

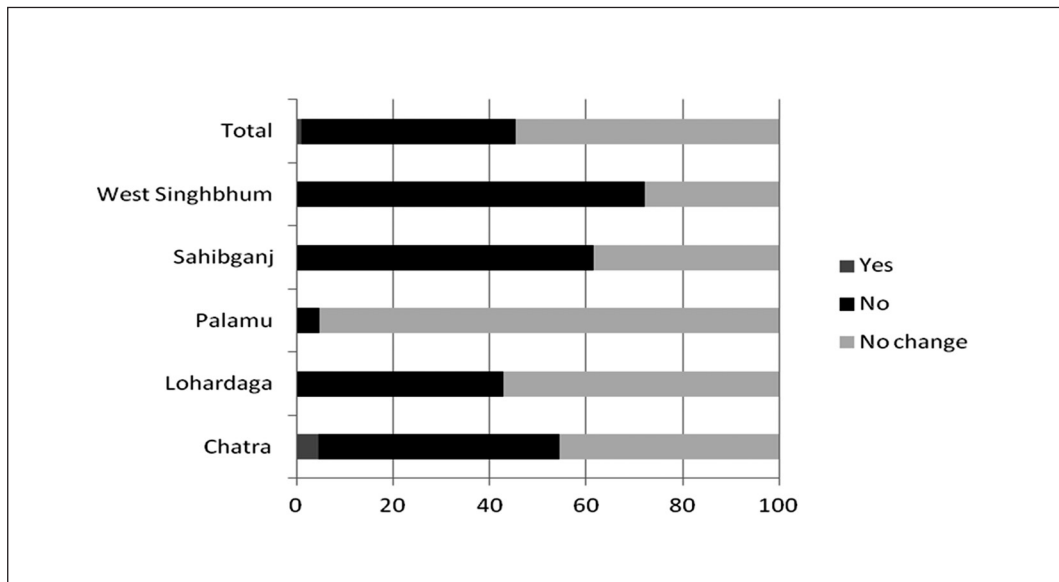
About 80 per cent MGNREGA works are approved in the Gram Panchayat. This is observed higher in Chatra and Palamu followed by Lohardaga and lowest in Sahibganj and West Singhbhum. Half of the respondents reported no improvement in the lifestyle of the workers after joining MGNREGA (Table 15). This holds true for all districts that there has been no improvement in the lifestyle of the workers after being engaged in the MGNREGA works. This was higher in Palamu and very few people in Chatra reported improvement in their livelihood.

Table 15: Workers Livelihood Improved after Joining MGNREGA

Livelihood Improved	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
Yes	4.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1
No	50.0	42.9	4.8	61.5	72.2	44.2
No change	45.5	57.1	95.2	38.5	27.8	54.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

Figure 15: Workers Livelihood Improved after Joining MGNREGA



Source: Field Survey

There was no significant change in the consumption of the food grains (Table 16). This holds true for all districts. Only 10 per cent reported that food grain consumption has increased in GP.

Table 16: Food grain consumption has increased in GP

Increased	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
Yes	27.3	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.5
No	50.0	52.4	4.8	61.5	77.8	47.4
No change	22.7	33.3	95.2	38.5	22.2	43.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

About half of the respondents said that there has been no increase in the agricultural productivity in the GP (Table 17). This was highest in Chatra and lowest in Palamu. Around 35 per cent reported an increase in the agricultural productivity. The district-wise distribution shows that 86 per cent respondents in Palamu agreed that there has been an increase in the agricultural production whereas no one from Sahibganj and West Singhbhum reported an increase in agricultural productivity.

Table 17: Agriculture Productivity has increased in GP

Agriculture Productivity Increased	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
Yes	31.8	38.1	85.7	0.0	0.0	34.7
No	63.6	52.4	0.0	61.5	83.3	50.5
No change	4.5	9.5	14.3	38.5	16.7	14.7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

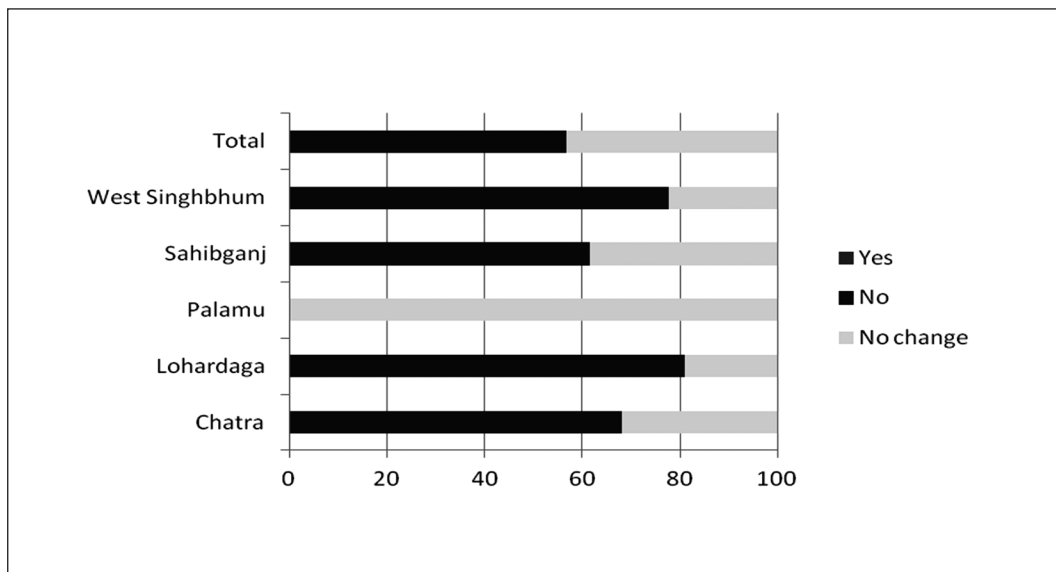
Source: Field Survey

According to the respondent there, more than half of them reported that there was no decline observed in the migration due to MGNREGA (Table 18). About 81 per cent of the respondents in Lohardaga district reported that migration has not decreased which is highest in comparison to other districts. This shows that despite MGNREGA work in surveyed GP still there is lack of employment within the village.

Table 18: Migration has Decreased in GP due to MGNREGA (Impact on MGNREGA)

Migration Decreased	Chatra	Lohardaga	Palamu	Sahibganj	West Singhbhum	Total
Yes	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No	68.2	81.0	0.0	61.5	77.8	56.8
No change	31.8	19.0	100.0	38.5	22.2	43.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Survey

Figure 18: Migration has Decreased in Gram Panchayat due to MGNREGA

Source: Field Survey

IMPACT OF MGNREGA ON MIGRATION

MGNREGA is a major rural employment generation scheme. A major cause of migration is a lack of employment opportunity in the rural area so MGNREGA which generates rural employment should adversely affect rural-urban migration. Our study considered a different aspect of MGNREGA to analyse its impact on sample household. Such as time period for obtaining job card, work wage and wage payment time lags in getting payment disruption in MGNREGA work etc. It was observed that the sample household was not interested in doing MGNREGA work because of irregular work, delay in wage payment etc. The sample household mentioned that their livelihood did not improve after joining MGNREGA. As mentioned in the tables above, the migrants chose to migrate from the villages for a better opportunity. Thus our study observed that the MGNREGA failed to curb migration.

Under the MGNREGA scheme, after obtaining the job card just one-third of the households got work within 02 months time followed by more than 2 months and 15-30 days. Most of the payments for MGNREGA were through automatic deposit. Just 14 per cent were in cash and cheque.

According to the respondents, more than half of them reported that there was no decline observed in the migration due to MGNREGA. About 81 per cent respondents in Lohardaga district reported that migration has not decreased which is highest in comparison to other districts. They even mentioned that their livelihood did not improve after joining MGNREGA. Thus, this shows that despite MGNREGA work in the surveyed GP still there is insufficient employment opportunities within the village.

CONCLUSION

It can be concluded from the study that migration has a positive impact on rural to urban migration. Among the sample households it was observed that because of migration their income, asset and

consumption level has improved, and a better and comparative regular employment has been achieved. They mostly migrate in the urban areas of other states either by self or by an agent/contractor friends/relatives and other villagers. The duration of migration is largely of 6-9 months and sometimes above. Although a large number of the sample households (almost 80 per cent) are availing benefits of MGNREGA. But the number of days of work is very less, which as a result, is not able to stop migration. It was also observed that mostly female members are largely involved in MGNREGA work in the rural areas due to a lesser number of work available. The impact of MGNREGA on livelihood of people is not very encouraging due to less number of days of work and as a result, low earning from it. However, the impact of MGNREGA on the wages in other sector and with improved infrastructure agriculture productivity has reported an increase. Overall the facilities provided during MGNREGA work are also satisfactory, but the disappointing feature is that it failed to curb the rural to urban migration in Jharkhand.

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