

**SEASONAL LABOUR MIGRATION AND ROLE OF MGNREGS:  
A CASE STUDY OF MAHABUBNAGAR DISTRICT IN ANDHRA PRADESH**

**SEASONAL LABOUR MIGRATION AND ROLE OF MGNREGS:  
A CASE STUDY OF MAHABUBNAGAR DISTRICT IN ANDHRA PRADESH**

Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University  
for the award of the degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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PhD Programme in Economics  
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**CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES**

**October 2011**


I hereby affirm that the work for this thesis titled "SEASONAL LABOUR MIGRATION AND ROLE OF MGNREGS: A CASE STUDY OF MAHABUBNAGAR DISTRICT IN ANDHRA PRADESH", being submitted as part of the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Economics of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, was carried out entirely by myself. I also affirm that it was not part of any other programme of study and has not been submitted to any other University for the award of any degree.

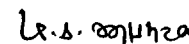
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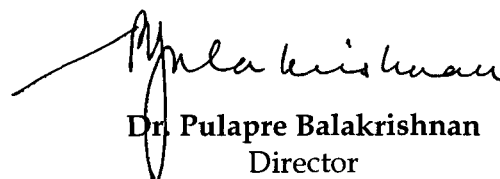
  
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Certified that this study is the bona fide work of Vijay Korra, carried out under our supervision at the Centre for Development Studies.

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*...IN THE MEMORY OF MY PARENTS...*

*Late Shri. Korra Neelya Naik and Shrimati. Laxmi*



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**SEASONAL LABOUR MIGRATION AND ROLE OF MGNREGS:  
A CASE STUDY OF MAHABUBNAGAR DISTRICT IN ANDHRA PRADESH**

**ABSTRACT**

Human mobility takes place for various motives, and more often than not, from more disadvantaged areas to better-off regions. Migration is a multifaceted occurrence which varies according to country, state, region, class, social groups, etc. At the moment, probably more than any time in the past, the country is witnessing large and growing movements of labour. According to Census 2001, 30 per cent of India's total population are migrants. Indeed, India is the second largest developing nation in the world only after China which is witnessing large scale internal migration. Of this, short-term or seasonal migration forms a major part, and continues to grow over time. It is widely argued in migration literature that labour migration is essentially driven by two factors, namely development and distress conditions. Development seems to encourage voluntary movements with choices, while distress conditions are supposedly responsible for involuntary migrations and leave few other options for a vulnerable population. In this regard, quite a few studies have ascertained that seasonal migration mainly takes place on account of unemployment, recurrent agrarian distress, mounting inequalities and inadequate livelihood generation in most parts of the Indian countryside. Moreover, agrarian distress and alterations in the urban labour market indeed augmented labour migrations in the country. As a result, the whole spectrum of the labour migration process is changing constantly over the years. Accordingly, the nature, magnitude, patterns and trends of migrations have been evolving eventually. This has a greater relevance in distress-prone districts like Mahabubnagar of Andhra Pradesh where agriculture is becoming increasingly uncertain, unprofitable and a trivial source of employment and livelihood.

*Internal Migration*

It is in this context, this thesis made a modest attempt to understand the dynamics of seasonal labour migration in the backdrop of Mahabubnagar district in Andhra Pradesh. Leaving apart the exploration of data on short-term migration in India based on NSSO, 2007-08 survey, the thesis mainly focused on examining the determinants, characteristics, magnitude and patterns of seasonal labour migration based on a field survey executed in the villages of Mahabubnagar district. Subsequently, it carried out a systematic analysis to find the linkages between household resources, rural markets and seasonal labour migration. Finally, a modest attempt has been made to check the impact of the MGNREGS on seasonal labour migration in the study region. However, at aggregate level, this study found that Bihar, Gujarat, Jharkhand, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh are major pockets of short-term migration which is primarily employment-led, particularly by male migrants. In fact, the proportion of short-term migrants in rural India is just below two per cent and less than one per cent for urban areas. These migrants are mainly from low MPCE groups, casual workers and illiterates that migrated to the same state but another district and then to other states. Of these migrants females were predominantly engaged in agriculture and other service sectors whereas males were occupied in manufacturing, construction and transport sectors.

On the other hand, the micro analysis revealed that 22 per cent of the total sample population in the study villages were migrants and males outnumbered their female

counterparts. Migration has taken place from economically downtrodden social communities especially Lambadas (ST) followed by OBCs and SC communities. Further, most of them are illiterates, chiefly in the age groups of 31-40 years who primarily migrated for wage earnings, survival and employment purposes. It is not surprising that bulk of the households sent more than one family member towards Hyderabad and Mumbai, while a marginal proportion headed for rural destinations, in particular to Nalgonda and Guntur districts. Building construction sector is the major source for employment followed by the agricultural sector. However, regardless of the nature of the destination, 90 per cent were seasonal migrants. Most of their earnings were spent on daily consumption, repayment of debts, investment in farming and house construction. Therefore, most of the migrants expressed the desire to migrate again in the coming season. With reference to household resources and seasonal migration, the study revealed that households with inadequate amenities and resources were more inclined to migrate and thus their likelihood of migration is greater than that of better off households. Similarly, households with less participation in village labour market, lack of livestock and implements are also more prone to migrate out of the village for employment. 2

The study with reference to the MGNREGS in Andhra Pradesh revealed that OBCs followed by SCs, STs are the main beneficiary households wherein only half of the households engaged in the scheme during 2009-10 financial year. Ironically, though male participation is greater than that of females, they could get only 50 days of work. Indeed, the most of the demand for work is from male workers. Overall, the scheme is efficiently implemented in Chittoor, Kadapa, Kurnool, Vizianagaram, Ranga Reddy and Srikakulam districts. Paradoxically, some of the backward districts had better performed than the developed districts and vice versa. There were mixed results at the village level, with the bulk of the workers getting 30-60 days of work and wages of Rs. 60-70 per day. The male workers not only outnumbered females but were also paid better wages. Hence despite being MGNREGS beneficiaries, 28 per cent of the households reported migration. On the other hand, notwithstanding the shortfall in implementation of the programme, most of the beneficiary households admitted that the government sponsored employment scheme had indeed enhanced their livelihood options and security. Consequently, it allowed them to spend more of their income on daily food consumption, investment in agriculture, health and children's education. 2 and 4 W 30

To sum up, there is the need for appropriate policies and regulations to tackle the issues pertaining to seasonal migration. Safe and secure working and living conditions at the destinations must be the target of such labour laws. Enforcement of migrant labour laws and protecting basic human rights of the mobile population/citizens must be the foremost priority and responsible of the governments, both state and central. This would ensure the free and safe passage of migrants between the regions/states. The MGNREG Scheme is undoubtedly has helped and brought changes in the lives of the rural poor. Nonetheless, it is surrounded by multiple problems which need to be addressed in due course in order to make it more beneficial, efficient and sustainable in the long run.

**Key words:** *Migration, Seasonal Migration, Short-Term Migration, Temporary Migration, Labour, Employment, Wages, Earnings, Construction, Agriculture, Distress, Survival, Rural, Urban, MGNREGS, Mahabubnagar, Andhra Pradesh.*

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APHDR	Andhra Pradesh Human Development Report
NCRL	National Commission on Rural Labour
POB	Place of Birth
POLR	Place of Last Residence
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organization
UPR	Usual Place of Residence
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
MGNREGA(S)	Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (Scheme)
MPCE	Monthly Per Capita Consumer Expenditure
SHG	Self Help Group
UPAS	Usual Principal Activity Status
SSS	Shrama Shakthi Sangham
BPL	Below Poverty Line
AAY	Antyodaya Anna Yojana
APL	Above Poverty Line
PDS	Public Distribution System
LPG	Liquefied Petroleum Gas
IAMR	Institute of Applied Manpower Research
HH	Households
IHD	Institute for Human Development

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. The Background

The movement of people from one place to another is a complex phenomenon. Historically, people always preferred to migrate from less advantaged regions to more economically privileged regions. Migration is a multifaceted occurrence which varies according to country, state, region, class, social groups, etc. In fact, migration, more often than not, takes place either for employment or for settling permanently in places other than that of origin. The duration of stay of migrants at destination decides whether the nature of migration is permanent or temporary. Migration by labour force is by and large temporary in nature and a more rampant and regular phenomenon in developing countries than in developed nations. At the moment, probably more than any time in the past, labour migration in India is increasing rapidly. Indeed, after China, India is the second largest developing nation in the world witnessing large scale internal migration. Why 2

According to Census 2001 30 per cent of India's total population are migrants of which short-term or seasonal migrations forms a major part, and continues to grow over time. This sort of migration is more often related to employment than permanent shift of residence. However, the scale of labour migration would depend on the equations of labour supply and demand in the labour markets of the place of origin and destination (Bhaduri et al., 1909). In fact, the initiation and continuation of the globalization and liberalization process has essentially altered the macro shape of the Indian economy, which in turn has brought about changes in the structure and functioning of the labour market (Srivastava et al., 2003). Moreover, frequent distress in the agricultural sector and massive developmental activities in urban India have in fact altered the labour market compositions. Concurrently, inter-state and intra-state inequality in several dimensions of economic and social development



has not declined and has gone up in certain dimensions (Kundu, 1996). More importantly, the introduction and extensive usage of technology in agriculture has resulted in the reduction of labour demand for agricultural activities which has ultimately augmented labour out-migration from the rural areas (Reddy, 2003). These developments in the economy have in fact altered the whole spectrum of the labour migration process over the years.

At present, the major problem India encountering is primarily associated with the stagnation and volatility of agriculture (Vyas, 2005; Vaidyanathan, 2006). Hence, the possibilities of creating livelihood opportunities outside agriculture in rural areas seem to be limited, since much of the growth in non-farm employment in many of the states has been poverty induced (Kundu, 2007). On the other hand, in recent years, unemployment, frequent crop failure, indebtedness, inadequate credit facilities, lack of alternative opportunities, droughts and poverty level in rural areas has been escalating, thereby leading to despair or distress conditions in the rural sector (Sainath, 2011). This marginalization of agriculture has indeed enforced the peasant community to look for alternative opportunities to earn a livelihood (Vyas, 2001). As a result, the rural poor, labour class, and small and marginal farming communities are on the move, temporarily leaving their homes in search of employment and livelihood in other prosperous rural and/or urban areas of the country. Most of these migrants belong to the Scheduled Tribes (ST) and Scheduled Castes (SC), and tend to be relatively young, and with low levels of education (Smita, 2007).

Migration is not a choice for poor people, but is the only option for survival after alienation from the land and exploitation in several socio-economic aspects in their || places of origin (Thelma et al., 2002). It has also been established that scarcity of land and regional disparities are the other major factors in the rural labourer's decision to migrate to other areas (de Haan, 1999). Correspondingly, on account of inadequate farm and non-farm employment opportunities within the village, most of the households are compelled to migrate during the lean agricultural season to

supplement their farm income (Rani et al., 2001). This is especially true in the case of seasonal migrants who are driven by the complete collapse of rural employment generation, the economic difficulties of cultivation and also inadequate employment opportunities in their vicinity or towns (Sainath, 2011). Besides, imbalanced growth, development and transformation between rural and urban economies where rural areas are completely neglected in the planning process and also in the matter of allocation of development projects (Sharma, 1997). In addition, lack of industrial and infrastructural development in the Indian countryside in fact stimulated large-scale temporary seasonal labour migration in the country (Chandrasekhar et al., 2007).

The temporary migration is a repeated interaction between the place of origin and the destination, and is the result of individual or household needs (Guest, 2003). However, there are a growing number of migrants within the temporary movements which can be categorized as seasonal migrants (NCRL, 1991). Seasonal migration is where people travel to other regions to work during a particular agricultural season and come back to the village of origin at the end of the season (Abril et al., 2001). The basic elements that are involved in seasonal migration are: (i) lack of alternatives in the place of origin force families to migrate in search of work, (ii) their work is based on indebtedness and generates little or no surplus for the labourers at the end of the season, and is merely for survival, (iii) their work involves large-scale violation of labour laws (Smita, 2007). In fact, it is predominantly characterized by peasants and landless labourers from rural areas being induced by various adverse conditions to leave their homes in search of employment for a short period (Deshingkar et al., 2009).

Fuwa (2007) states that inadequate income from cultivation and other economic motives are the main roots of the migration decision. For some, it generates income for daily consumption and fulfillment of other basic needs, and for others it is a way to acquire an alternative source of income through wage labour (Lucas, 2003). Indeed, migration has a positive effect in reducing poverty and uneven development of the rural households (UNDP, 1998, 2009; Hugo, 2005). Seasonal migration within

India has often been misunderstood or ignored in public policy in spite of research demonstrating that it is important to the livelihood of large numbers of poor people in various regions (Breman, 1996). In fact, short-term migration for work has evidently increased rapidly in recent times in India, yet our statistical systems are currently not adequate to capture such labour exodus (Chandrasekhar et al., 2007).

Notwithstanding that the *Population Census of India, 2001* showed that 307.2 million or 30 per cent of India's total population of 1028.6 million were migrants according to *Place of Birth* (POB), 42.3 million were inter-state migrants. In line with *Place of Last Residence* (POLR), 314.5 million or 30.5 per cent of India's total population were migrants of which 41.1 million were inter-state migrants. It also demonstrated that the states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan were major pockets of net out-migration. On the other hand, Punjab, Haryana, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Goa are the major net in-migration states (Census 2001). Moreover, seasonal migration takes place intensively and widely from the most backward regions of the country such as Bihar, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh (Korra, 2011). According to NSSO 2007-08, in India, nearly 29 per cent of the persons were migrants with significant rural-urban and male-female differentials. The migration rate in the urban areas (35%) was far higher than the migration rate in the rural areas (26%). The male migration rate was far lower than the female migration rate both in the rural and urban areas.

## 1.2. Concepts and Definitions

Though, there is no universally accepted definition of migration, yet the term has been defined in the New Webster's Dictionary as "the act or an instance of moving from one country, region or place to settle". The United Nations Multilingual Demographic Dictionary defined migration "as a form of spatial mobility between one geographical areas to another involving a permanent change of residence". However, these definitions are more general rather than specific and miss the duration and economic aspect of migration. On the contrary, the Census contains

two broader definitions of migrants. Firstly, based on the criteria of *Place of Birth* (POB), a person is defined as a migrant if the place of birth of the person who is enumerated at a village/town at the time of the census is different from his/her place of birth. Secondly, based on the criteria of *Place of Last Residence* (POLR) a person is defined as a migrant, if the place in which he/she is enumerated during the census is other than his/her place of immediate last residence (Census, 2001). The POLR definition is more consistent than that of the POB and gives more accurate and recent information on the labour exodus in the country.

The National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO, 2007-08) defined a migrant as a household member whose last usual place of residence (UPR), anytime in the past, was different from the present place of enumeration. Here, the 'usual place of residence' (UPR) of a person was defined as a place (village/town) where the person had stayed continuously for a period of six months or more. A short-term migrant is defined as a person who had stayed away from the village/ town for a period of one month or more but less than six months during the last 365 days for employment or in search of employment. Significantly, NSS has considered short-term migration as seasonal labour migration (NSS, 2007-08).

As regards seasonal migration, Konseiga (2002), in his study states that in seasonal economic migration, the migrant member of the household stays less than a year in the destination or region or country. Seasonal labour migration includes a wide variety of movements - usually short-term, repetitive or cyclical in nature, but lacking in any declared intention of permanent or long-lasting change in residence (Hugo, 2005). In seasonal migration, people travel to other regions to work during a particular agricultural season and come back to the village of origin at the end of the season (Abril et al., 2001). Seasonal migrants are migrants who migrate in the lean season to urban areas to get employment, do not settle permanently in the destination and continue to maintain close links with the areas of origin, where they return regularly and remit a substantial part of income from their earnings (Rani et al., 2001).

### 1.3. Review of Literature

#### 1.3.1. Theoretical Literature

There are several migration theories which talk about the migration process and its economic implications. The Lewis (1954) theory of migration talks about the concept of a dual economy comprising the subsistence agricultural sector characterized by surplus labour and unemployment/under employment and the modern industrial sector characterized by full employment. In the subsistence sector, marginal productivity of the labourer is zero or very low and workers are paid wages which are equal to the marginal production or their cost of subsistence. On the other hand, in the modern sector, wages are maintained at levels much higher than the average wage in agriculture and as a consequence, wage rates of labour exceed marginal productivity. Migration from the subsistence sector to the industrial sector increases industrial production as well as capitalist profit, since this profit is fully reinvested in the industrial sector. It further increases the demand for labour from the subsistence sector. Migration improves income distribution and encourages technical changes in the agricultural sector. Lewis viewed migration primarily as an economic phenomenon and a reflection of the wage differences of the rural-urban area and the probability of finding employment in the urban area. The labour migration process in developing/underdeveloped countries is a two-stage phenomenon. In the first stage, an unskilled worker migrates to urban areas and spends some time in the urban traditional sector before getting into the modern industrial sector jobs. The second stage is reached with the eventual attainment of skill and entry into the more permanent modern sector employment.

Another important rural-urban migration theory put forward by Harris and Todaro (1970) is that migration is primarily stimulated by economic factors. The theory explains that the decision to migrate would depend upon expected higher wages (real wage differentials) and the probability of successfully obtaining an urban job. The prospect of obtaining an urban job is inversely related to the urban unemployment rate. High rates of urban unemployment are the result of the serious

imbalances of economic opportunities. Even if unemployment increases in the urban areas, migration still takes place. According to Lee (1975) theory of migration there are two factors which induce people to move out of their homes and villages - these are pull and push factors. The pull factors refer to attractive employment opportunities, higher wages, better living conditions, health, and education opportunities, while push factors constitute lack of employment, landlessness, crop failure, debts, low wages, dependence on rain-fed cultivation, occurrence of drought and other natural calamities.

The growing body of literature on migration provides some interesting insights into the strategies adopted by individuals, households or communities to enhance their livelihoods. The theoretical literature and empirical evidence relating to migration decisions are grouped into two approaches: (i) individual decision-making approach and (ii) the neo-structuralist or Marxist approach. The individual decision-making approach is further grouped into two streams: individual utility maximization behaviour (Todaro, 1969; Harris and Todaro, 1976). In the case of individual utility maximization, the decision to migrate to cities would be determined by wage differentials, plus the expected probability of obtaining employment at the destination. In these models, rural wages are equal to marginal productivity of labour (Lewis, 1954). High rural-urban migration can continue even when high urban unemployment rates exist and are known to the potential migrants. If the migrant anticipates a relatively low probability of finding regular wage employment in the initial period but expects this probability to increase over time, it would be reasonable for him to migrate (Harris-Todaro, 1970).

The neo-classical model of migration, on the other hand, assumes that the rural migrants are a homogeneous category of poor and as a result ignores the fact that the migration is not always based on the strategy of maximization. Rather, it is a survival strategy which is also greatly influenced by many non-economic factors such as pressure of population, inequalities in distribution of land, institutional mechanisms that discriminate in favour of owners of wealth, and technological

change biased against labour. The fundamental premise of these alternative models based on household utility maximization is that the decision to migrate is not taken by an individual, but that the household members also have a role to play (Stark, 1991). These models of household decision-making permit us to understand how individuals and households participate in different streams of migration under widely different circumstances and thus emphasises that circulation of labour is a form of risk reduction by spreading the risk spatially and occupationally while maximizing consumption.

The Marxian or Structuralist theories argue that historical, social and political forces are important in determining migration. Marx views pauperization as one of the conditions for migration of labour from rural areas. Authors like Standing Guy (1985) challenge the individualistic approach emphasized in the analysis of Todaro and others. They see labour migration as inevitable in the transition of capitalism and give emphasis to the advantages of migration for capitalist production. Migration is not a choice for poor people, but the only option for survival after alienation from land (Oberai et al., 1984). Myrdal (1968), Lipton (1977), and Connel (1976) argue that the departure of comparatively more resourceful, skilled and educated people from rural areas deprives them of scarce entrepreneurial and innovative talent, and hence such movement might affect agricultural production and income. Therefore migration from rural to urban areas further increases rural inequalities.

### **1.3.2. Empirical Literature**

The UNDP report (1998; 2009) revealed that without migration, a majority of the poor would not be able to spend on health, consumption and other basic needs, and would face the risk of sliding deep into poverty. In fact, a lower incidence of migration is seen in better-off agricultural areas, while a higher incidence of migration prevails in the opposite environment. Where agriculture is relatively prosperous, out-migration is much lower than in-migration (Maddulettey, 1989;

James, 2000; Sivaramakrishna, et al., 2005). Due to pull factors, people tend to migrate for better employment and other opportunities into urban areas, rather than migrate because of fewer opportunities in local villages (Rao et al., 1981). This indicates that some towns and cities attract migrants because of good employment opportunities. This kind of migration would occur in economically developed families or households because they want to improve their economic positions and social status in the society (Sridhar et al., 2010; Sah et al., 2003).

Further, most migration studies, particularly in the context of seasonal labour migration in India, found that the migration of people has been motivated by economic considerations and is closely related to economic and social factors (Rani et al., 2001; Mamgain, 2003). Short-term and seasonal migration is often repeated, although destinations may change (Chandrasekhar et al., 2007). Seasonal migration from backward regions is mainly due to lack of work/employment, dry and rain-fed agriculture, drought, poor assets/resources and poverty in rural areas (Breman, 1978, 1985; Reddy, 2003; Bisht et al., 1997). The absence of alternate employment and lack of industrial and infrastructure development are also causing an exodus from these backward regions. More specifically, seasonal migration for some people is supposed to be a source of income while for others, it may be livelihood strategy (de Haan, 2007).

A study by Prasad et al., (2006) states that migration is one of the factors responsible for the transformation of rural and urban economies. They also found that those who migrated predominantly to cities and towns were mainly landless wage-earners from traditional occupations that significantly came from the Scheduled Caste and tribal communities. In their case, economic crisis, compulsions and distress have been reported to be the chief reasons for migration in search of means of survival or livelihood. In fact, it was found that the poorer sections of society migrate owing to lack of resources to support their establishments. They migrate along with their families to better places, rural or urban, in search of employment (Rogaly et al., 2004).



Rani et al. (2001) established in their study that landless labourers and small and marginal farmers migrate during the agricultural slack season to urban areas to get employment. The rural migrants do not settle permanently at the destinations, but continue to maintain close links with their places of origin, to which they return regularly and remit a substantial part of the income from their earnings. In fact, seasonal migration could be distress nature migration because there are no employment opportunities at the place of origin basically due to the absence of or a poor resource base as the agricultural area is small, less fertile, drought-ridden and dependent largely on rainfall (Korra, 2011). Migration, which is a part of active livelihood strategy, is also determined by social context, norms and structures, household composition/size, gendered ideologies, caste structure and social contracts and networks which determine who migrates and who can profit from opportunities arising elsewhere (Montgomery, 1991).

Apart from that, deforestation and the lack of adequate farm and non-farm employment opportunities within the village compel most of the people to migrate during the lean agricultural season to supplement their farm income. Migration from the rural to urban areas is not a voluntary process, and is primarily a response to economic necessity for the purpose of survival (Smita, 2007). Increasing vulnerability, associated with lack of access to land, irrigation water, finance, supportive networks, contacts and qualifications are also responsible for exodus migration from rural areas (Deshingkar, 2009). At this juncture, labour households do not have any choice regarding work and/or destination, and have to undertake whatever work is available, wherever it is available. This in turn results in increased vulnerability in terms of uncertainty in getting employment and good working conditions (Mosse et al., 2005, Mora et al., 2005; Frank, 2003). Temporary migrants are more vulnerable in terms of work and living conditions at the destination as compared to permanent migrants (Thelma et al., 2002). Migration has become an integral part of the life of the poor in rural India. Thus it is not just a means to cope

with below subsistence agriculture or debt, but may have become the only means by which a valued agrarian lifestyle can be reproduced (Waddington, 2003).

Nevertheless, on account of globalisation and liberalisation, the macro contour economy of the country alters constantly, which in turn, affects the composition of labour market in several ways. As a result, the whole spectrum of the labour migration process is changing persistently over time. Accordingly, the nature, magnitude, patterns and trends of migrations have been evolving eventually. This is very true and has a greater relevance in distress prone districts like Mahabubnagar of Andhra Pradesh where agriculture is becoming increasingly uncertain, unprofitable and a trivial source of employment and livelihood. Consequently, large scale labour migration takes place from the district every year, in particular during the post-harvest agricultural season. Migrants from the district include medium to small and marginal farmers along with landless poor labourers. These migrants travel in search of employment from short distance places to far off places across the country (Sainath, 2011; Korra, 2010).

#### **1.4. Objectives**

Drawing from the discussion thus far made, the thesis frames the following specific objectives to accomplish a comprehensive study on seasonal labour migration in Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh.

- ❖ To examine the magnitude and characteristics of seasonal short-term migration in India based on NSSO, 2007-08 survey
- ❖ To study the linkages between household resources, rural markets and seasonal labour migration
- ❖ To evaluate the determinants, magnitude, characteristics and patterns of seasonal labour migration

- ❖ To analyse the impact of MGNREGA(S) on seasonal labour migration in the study region.

### 1.5. Analytical Framework

Lewis (1954) talk about the concept of a dual economy, which comprises subsistence agricultural sector, characterised by surplus labour and unemployment or underemployment, and the modern industrial sector characterised by full employment. In the subsistence sector, the marginal productivity of the labourer is zero/low and the workers are paid wages that are equal to marginal production or their cost of subsistence, whereas modern sector wages are maintained at higher levels than the average agricultural wage. Harris and Todaro (1970), in their theory of migration state that labour migration is stimulated primarily by economic factors and their implications. The decision to migrate would depend upon expected higher wages rather than actual urban-rural real wage differentials and the probability of successfully obtaining an urban job. In contrast, Lee's (1975) migration theory states that migration occurs mainly due to push and pull factors. It takes place more often than not when the positive pull factors at the place of destination are outnumbered by negative push factors at the place of origin. The pull factor refers to the attractions in cities and towns along with personal willingness of people to migrate, whereas the push factor refers to conditional migration where people migrate due to economic compulsions.

Labour migration is a complex and heterogeneous process which varies between people and households on the one hand and between countries, states and regions on the other. Hence, it becomes difficult and sometimes inappropriate to explain the whole migration process under any specific theory. This is particularly true in the case of seasonal and/or circular labour migration. The reason for this is that most of the existing migration theories explain migration phenomena based on a particular issue and do not cover other aspects of the migration process. Indeed, most of the migration theories cover either one to two major aspect of migration and ignore the

other associated characteristics that might be playing a key role in people's decision to migrate.

// Gap the item

Thus, every theory has its own limitations and does not address the migration process comprehensively and in a holistic manner. Therefore, applying a particular theory to explain the phenomenon of seasonal labour migration, particularly in the context of Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, may be inadequate and inappropriate. This is precisely because migration from the district is a complex occurrence where different sections of people migrate in diverse ways to different places for a variety of reasons. They differ from each other in terms of purpose of migration, nature of employment, destination, duration of stay, migrant members, earnings, working, living, remittances, return and patterns of spending the income. As a result, analyzing seasonal labour migration may require more than one theoretical approach or framework. Thus, this study adopts a combined analytical framework which includes Lewis, Todaro and Lee's migration theories for analyzing the current study on seasonal labour migration. Given the lack of an appropriate theory to explain the seasonal migration process, this combined analytical and/or theoretical framework may be considered reasonable and most fitting.

#### **1.6. Data and Methodology**

The study utilises both secondary and primary data sources. In order to understand the aggregate scenario of migration flow in the country, it is imperative to explore the available macro level data. The study employs secondary data on short-term labour migration in India from NSSO, 2007-08 survey. The study focuses on examining the determinant, magnitude, characteristics and patterns of seasonal short-term migration in India. Firstly, it analyses the migrants' characteristics by taking available indicators such as reasons for migration, destination, streams, MPCE class, education status, principal economic activity, season for migration, and industrial work category. Further analysis was carried out according to rural and urban and sex compositions. The analysis is carried out based on simple percentages

through tabulation and cross tabulation. Secondly, at a macro level the study employs data on MGNREGS in order to examine the job card holdings, employment patterns and work done under MGNREGA(S) in Andhra Pradesh, the study collected information on the same from the MGNREGA website. It collected information on various aspects such as registration and issue of the job cards, working days, worked days, wage payments, SHG and disabled persons employment patterns, estimated person days and assets created under the scheme.

On the other hand, on account of inadequacy and unavailability of data on seasonal labour migration, a field survey was conducted in order to address more specific issues that are involved in seasonal migration. In the changing economic scenario in the country the whole process of seasonal migration becomes a vital issue for study, particularly in a migration prone district like Mahabubnagar in Andhra Pradesh state. Afterwards, the study conducted a comprehensive survey in three villages of Mahabubnagar district during the months of December, 2009 and January, 2010. //

In order to collect the data, the present study specifically selected Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh state. Later, with the purpose of selecting survey villages, the current study adopted a multi-stage random sample selection method. In doing so, the study first randomly selected three divisions from the district, viz., Nagarkurnool, Wanaparthy and Narayanapet (Taluks). Here, geographical location, climatic and agrarian conditions of the divisions have been taken into consideration so as to bring in the diverse facets of the district (see Picture 1.1). Subsequently, from each division, one Mandal/Block was randomly selected. The selected Mandals are: Achampet, Wanaparthy and Kodangal. At the third stage, one village was selected randomly from each Mandal/Block. They were: Akkaram, Chityala and Pata Kodangal. Nevertheless, to employ the survey in these villages, this study selected 80 households from each village by applying the random sampling method. This was essentially done in order to maintain an even number of sample households from each village. In fact, this was also partly done bearing in mind the time and

Resky  
Survey?

8/8  
200

240  
200

financial constraints of the researcher. The study selected a sample household by applying the following formula:

Total Sample Households ÷ Total Households in the Village = a Sample Household in the Village. //

Overall, the study collected both quantitative and qualitative information on two major issues. These are: (i) seasonal labour out-migration and (ii) MGNREGA. The study prepared a comprehensive and structured questionnaire with five parts (see Annexure 1). The first part concerns general information regarding the village and Mandal. The second part pertains to household details. The third part is on basic assets/amenities of sample households. The fourth part deals with the particulars of migration, and the final section is on the role of MGNREGA programmed in the study villages. Before executing the final survey, a pilot survey was conducted in the study villages. Following the feedback from the pilot survey, the study re-checked and revised the questionnaire to meet its objectives. Finally, the main survey was carried out during the months of December, 2009 to January, 2010 in the randomly selected villages. The whole study was carried out based on basic tabulations and cross tabulations. Nevertheless, the study also applied some basic statistics, calculations and tools wherever required in the analysis. It applied a logistic regression model to determine the likelihood of being migrant households by examining their basic amenities, fixed resources, participation in labour and credit market, possession of agricultural implements and livestock (Chapter IV). Similar test has been carried out by taking land ownership, occupation, caste and MGNREGA status of households to determine the migration status and their likelihood of migration (Chapter VI). Lastly, the study also conducted focused group discussions and detailed interviews with sample households for further understanding of the seasonal labour migration process and problems involved in it.

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## **1.7. Profile of the Study Villages**

### **1.7.1. Akkaram Village Profile**

The study village Akkaram is located in Achampet Mandal of Mahabubnagar district in Andhra Pradesh. It is a revenue panchayat village (Village Council) situated far from its Mandal headquarters. Though the village has accessibility to a primary school and post office, it lacks basic infrastructure such as proper transportation, communications and health facilities. The village consists of 220 households with a total population of 1,015 of which 536 are males and 479, females. It has nearly 650 voters of which males outnumber than females. There are seven castes (social groups) out of which ST and SC households outnumber other communities. The village economy mainly depends on agriculture, sheep and goat herding and livestock rearing. The agricultural land is mostly red sandy soil. The farmers depend on rainfall for cultivation and the average rainfall in the village is dismal. The village has one small tank which is completely dependent on rainfall. There are limited agricultural wells and bore wells. Though farmers grow traditional crops such as bajra, red gram and jowar, cotton cultivation dominates. The other occupations are livestock rearing, artisans, petty trading (kirana) and tailoring. There is only time cultivation which is khariff season. Cultivation in rabi is very marginal and it is done by those who own tube wells and wells. The khariff season starts from June and ends in December/January and rabi starts from December/January and end by April/May. The agricultural wage rate varies between Rs. 70 and Rs.90, the women getting lower wages than the men. Most of the farmers sell their agricultural produce within the village to the middlemen and traders. The village lacks access to markets and transportation facilities.

Most of the families own kuccha dwellings with no basic sanitation facility. The average land holding varies from 1.5 to 2.5 acres in the village where STs own the most land followed by the OBCs and then the SCs. Tractors, threshers or other machines are not used by them in their agricultural activities. The labour market is

Small  
farmers  
seasonal

It is most a typical  
village

active during the agricultural season when landless labourers and also small and marginal farmers work in the fields of other farmers as daily wage labourers. It is very rarely that people work in nearby villages for daily wages. The main credit supply sources are commercial banks and co-operative banks. Informal credit sources are widespread which include moneylenders, traders, relatives and friends. The other major employment source is MGNREGA(S) in which program the villagers work mainly during the post harvest season. One of the prime features of the village is that wage employment is available during the khariff season which lasts for hardly six months (June to December). As a result, during the post harvest periods, most of the families those that own land and the landless migrate to other regions for employment during the rest of the period. In fact, the village is known in the region, for its seasonal exodus.

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### 1.7.2. Chityala Village Profile

Chityala is a semi-arid village located in Wanaparthi Mandal of Mahabubnagar in Andhra Pradesh. It is 3 kilometers away from its Mandal headquarters. The village consist of about 350 households with a population of approximately 6, 000 living in the village. It has nearly 4200 voters, the male voters out-numbering the female. There are nine castes (social groups) in which SC and OBC households outnumbered the others. The village economy is dependent mainly on agriculture which is predominantly rain-fed cultivation and partially wet cultivation. The other occupations are livestock rearing, caste-based occupations, agricultural trading, petty trading (kirana) and tailoring. The agricultural soil is red and sandy brown, and contains pebbles.

The major crops grown are maize, cotton, red gram, ground nut, paddy, pulses, jowar, bajra and sun flowers. The agricultural activities largely depend on rain. There is a moderate amount of wet cultivation. The major irrigation sources are tanks and private owned tube wells. There are two tanks and approximately 600 bore wells. Some of the farmers own two, three and sometimes even four tube wells.



The village recorded a number of tube well failures (found no water) in the last few years. The main cultivation (twice a year) is during the khariff season. Cultivation in the rabi season depends solely on private irrigation using mainly tube wells and so the area of cultivation is very limited. The khariff season starts in June and ends by December/January and the rabi season starts in December/January and ends by April/May.

The agricultural wage rate is around Rs. 100 for males and Rs. 80 for females, but sometimes wage rates go up for both males and females. Farmers from the village sell their produce in Wanaparthy market, and very few sell within the village to middlemen and traders who still exist in spite of having good market accessibility. The village is relatively better in accessing resources such as land, drinking water, roads and transportation. Most of the families own pucca dwellings with sanitary facilities. The average land holding in the village varies from 3 to 4 acres. The most land is held by the upper castes followed by OBCs, STs and SCs. Tractor, thresher and other machines are used in their agricultural activities. The labour market is active during the agricultural season when not only the landless labourers but also small and marginal farmers work in the fields of other farmers for daily wages. Most of the people work in Wanaparthy for higher wages when they don't get work in the village. They commute daily thus avoiding migration to distant places. The main credit supply sources are commercial banks and co-operative banks. Informal credit sources are widespread. They include moneylenders, traders, relatives and friends. The other major employment source is the MGNREGA(S) program in which the villagers work especially during post-harvest season.

### **1.7.3. Pata Kodangal Village Profile**

Pata Kodangal is also a semi-arid village which is located in Kodangal Mandal of Mahabubnagar in Andhra Pradesh. It is 6 kilometers away from its Mandal headquarters. The village consists of 180 households with a population about 800 in which the males outnumber the females. There are around 500-600 voters. There are

six castes (social groups) in the village. The OBCs and STs were the predominant social groups. The village economy predominantly depends on agriculture. Cultivation is mainly dependent on rainfall, but a moderate amount of wet cultivation is also prevalent. The other major occupations are sheep herding, livestock rearing, milk trade and petty trade. The soil in the arable land is red and brown and is semi-fertile. Land with sand mixed with pebbles can also be found.

The major crops grown in the village are red gram, paddy, ground nut and pulses. The agricultural activities greatly depend on rain. However reasonable amount of wet cultivation is seen across the village. The major irrigation source in the village is private owned tube wells. There is one tank which is in fact not used for irrigation purposes due to lack of storage capacity. Strikingly, there are more than 150 tube wells. Some of the farmers own two or three tube wells. The village also witnessed quite a number of tube well failures. Khariff farming is the dominant cultivation (twice a year). Rabi cultivation is done by farmers who own tube wells. The khariff season is from June to December/January and rabi is from December to April/May. The agricultural wages are around Rs. 70 for males and Rs. 60 for females but the former get higher wages than latter when there is a labour scarcity in the village. Sometimes wages would go up to Rs. 90-100. There are very few labourers who work for daily wages in the fields of the farmers in the nearby village. Farmers sell their agricultural produce in Kodangal market. Since the market is very close to the village, most of the farmers sell their produce in Kodangal market. The village is relatively better off in resources such as land, dwellings (pucca house), drinking water, roads transportation, etc. The average land holding varies from 4 to 5 acres in the village where OBCs own more land than STs. There is little use of tractor, thresher and other machines in their agricultural activities. Manual labour is widespread. Most of the people migrate to a nearby town called Tandur whenever they want to work for a short time, in order to avoid long-duration migration to distant places. The main credit supplying sources are commercial banks and co-operative banks. Informal credit sources are widespread. They include

moneylenders, traders, relatives and friends. The other major employment source is MGNREGS where labourers and farmers work during post harvest season.

### **1.8. Thesis Outline**

This thesis makes a modest attempt to understand the dynamics of seasonal labour migration in the backdrop of Mahabubnagar district in Andhra Pradesh. The rest of the thesis is organised as follows: Chapter 2 tried to assess the magnitude and characteristics of short-term migrants in India. The chapter is based on NSSO, 2007-08 survey on migration in India. The analysis in this chapter reveals that Bihar, Gujarat, Jharkhand, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh are major pockets of short-term migration which is primarily for employment, particularly by male migrants. These migrants are mainly from low MPCE groups, casual workers and illiterates that who migrated into same state but another district and then to other states. Females predominantly engaged in agriculture and other services sector, whereas males were occupied in the manufacturing, construction and transport sectors.

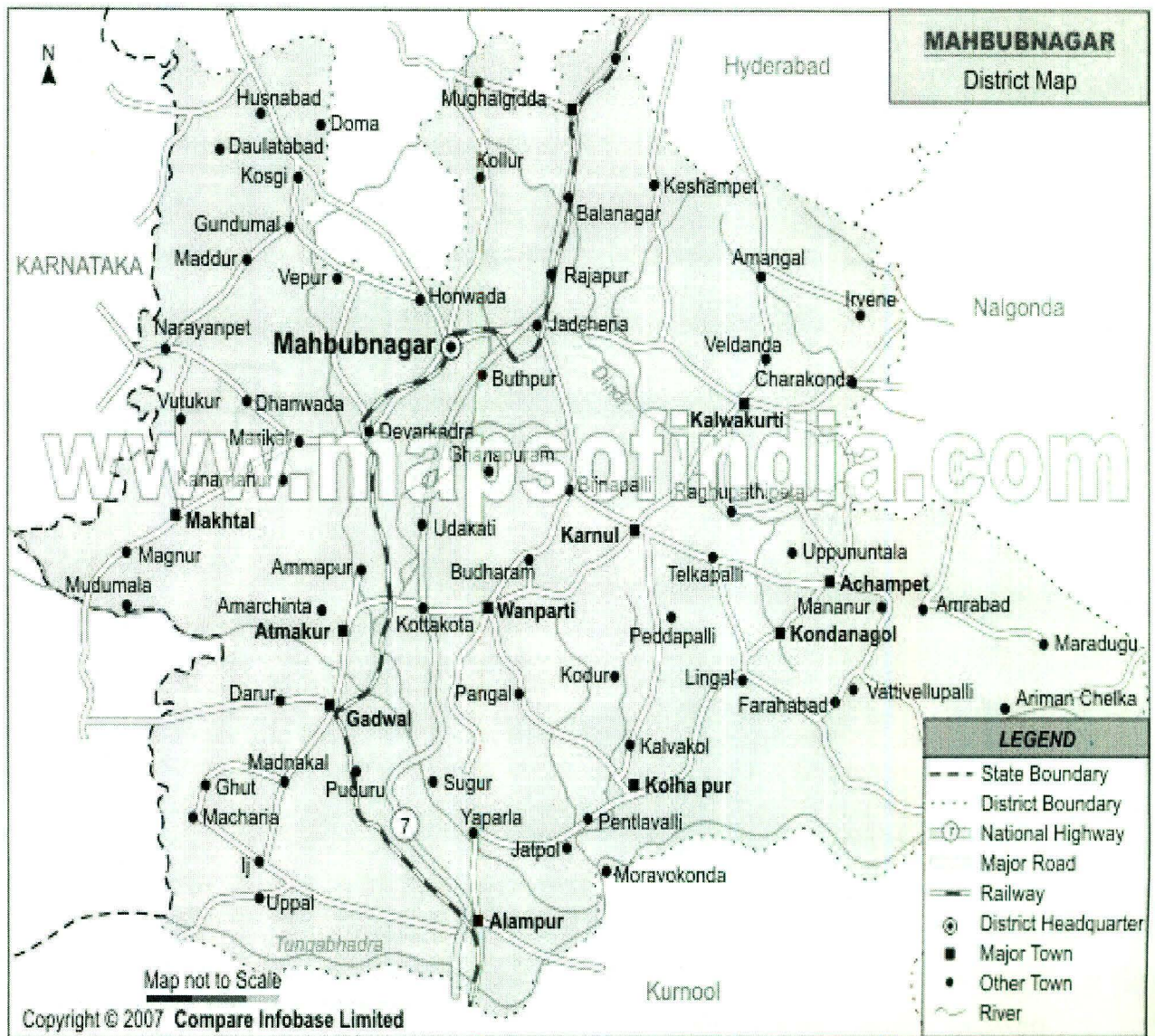
Chapter 3 is based on field survey information on seasonal labour migration in Mahabubnagar district. The chapter examines the determinants, characteristics, magnitude and patterns of seasonal labour migration. The analysis of this chapter divulged that 22 per cent of the total sample population in the study villages were migrants, and that males outnumbered their female counterparts. Migration has taken place from the economically downtrodden social communities, especially Lambadas (ST) followed by the OBCs and SC communities. Most of them are illiterate and chiefly in the age group of 31-40 years. They primarily migrated for wage earnings, survival and employment purposes. Chapter 4 deals with the linkages between household resources, rural markets and seasonal labour migration. The chapter showed that households with inadequate amenities and resources are more inclined to migrate and thus their likelihood of migration is greater than that of the better-off households. Households with less participation in village labour

market, lack of livestock and implements are also more prone to migrate out of the village for employment.

The fifth chapter is the evaluation of MGNREGS in Andhra Pradesh: an inter-district analysis. The analysis revealed that OBC, SC and STs are the main beneficiary households wherein only half of the households engaged in the scheme during 2009-10 financial year. Male participation is greater than female workers, though the workers got only 50 days of work. The demand for work is mostly from male workers. Chapter 6 looks into the role of MGNREGA(S) in seasonal labour migration in the study region. The analysis in this chapter suggests that most households possess MGNREGS job cards, got 30-60 days of work and were paid Rs. 60-70 per day. Male workers not only outnumbered female workers but were also paid better wages. Despite of being MGNREGS beneficiaries, 28 per cent of households reported migration. Chapter 7 has the summary, conclusions and policy suggestions.

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Picture 1.1: Map of Mahabubnagar



## CHAPTER II

### THE MAGNITUDE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF SHORT-TERM LABOUR MIGRATION IN INDIA: EVIDENCE FROM NSS 2007-08 SURVEY

#### 2. 1. Introduction

In India, the labour exodus is for employment or in search of employment opportunities which is more often than not stimulated by distress factors in the rural agricultural sector. Although development activities pull certain sections of the labour force towards urban areas, all kinds of distress situations in the rural areas also act as push factors and induce them to leave their villages. Thus economic necessity remains the major driving force behind the migration decision. In fact, the rising migration flow is internal in general and seasonal in particular. The poor, landless labourers, small and marginal farmers and tenants' form a large proportion of the seasonal labour migration force (Margery, 1998). Even so, unprofitable and unsuccessful farming and depressed conditions in the rural non-farm sector also impelled many medium to large farming classes to join the migration labour force. Low yields, lack of minimum price for agriculture produces and abrupt crop losses either due to untimely rains or inadequate rainfall actually compelled farmers to take up out-migration. In fact, this state of affairs is not just confined to any particular region, but rather prevails across the country, which is indeed a worrisome development (Vaidyanathan, 2006).

The globalization initiatives seem to be unfavourable for the rural economy rather contributing towards enriching it. Consequently, the Indian agricultural sector is burdened with high cost of cultivation and low output which ultimately results in shortage of food, and unprofitable and unreliable cultivation. In order to sustain their livelihood, people have resorted to a diversification from agriculture-based work to migration for other jobs as the ideal option for employment, wage earnings, accumulation of income and survival during distress periods (Christian, 1999;

Deshingkar et al., 2009). On the other hand, apparently chronic poor and weak resource households are always tending to migrate regardless the factors above mentioned (de Haan, 2007). Further, it is said that the social context is such that backward communities and the economically excluded sections of our society are most susceptible to migration and they too form a major part of the labour migration force (Rafique et al., 2003). Moreover, some households are sitting on the verge of economic vulnerability in the sense that if they face any sudden shocks, such households could fall into a deep economic crisis (Vyas, 2001). The shocks could be health related, social conflicts, a daughter's marriage, crop losses, floods, droughts and natural calamities. In order to overcome such shocks they may sell off their assets such as land, livestock, and agricultural implements etc., and subsequently move out of their villages (Smita, 2007).

At the same time, tenants, the other group that survives with minimal income and low living standards, are persistently looking forward to earn more income, and acquire land and other assets by working in urban areas. In their case, migration soars when they lose their tenant contracts (Vanwey, 2003). Besides, non-farm artisan communities get regular work/employment during certain seasons, more so during the agricultural season. However, during post-harvest season, job opportunities plummet and the employment outlook becomes grimmer, and it is then they resort to migration (Lucas, 2003; Galab et al., 2007). Therefore it is obvious that rural areas are serious trouble during the lean agricultural season due to the lack of employment opportunities for rural folk. This holds true since in many regions as most of the rural areas in the country largely depend on agricultural activities for employment, income generation, earnings and livelihood purposes (Kothari, 2002). On the other side, rural artisans seem to be giving up their profession due to the loss of markets for their products and lack of support from governments (Galab, 2007). Additionally, rural areas lack industrial development which is one of the main causes for rural exodus (Breman, 1985). Thus different rural

households are affected in different ways at different extents, all adding to the short-term and seasonal migration in the country (Reddy, 2003).

Members of inadequate land holding households are forced to work in other farmers' fields as daily wage labourers during the farming periods to supplement their household income (Bisht et al., 1997). This induces them further to take up short-term or seasonal trips for employment in other destinations. In fact, it has become a routine livelihood strategy for most of the households in rural India, not just during the lean season but also during the peak season (Prasad et al., 2006). Indeed, this coping strategy adopted by rural poor would work as a solace in times of distress like shortage of food grain and semi-starvation. For others, it could work very well as an earning source for higher wages, income accumulation, and improving living standards (Connel, 1976). In migration literature, it is established that, though social aspects persuade people to migrate, the fact remains that economic aspects seem to play major role in the migration decision than non-economic factors (Kuhn, 2000; Karan, 2003).

However, temporary migrations particularly seasonal and circular movements from rural neighbourhoods to urban and other rural prosperous regions were not documented or under reported by our major macro data agencies/sources such as the Population Census of India and the National Sample Survey Organisation [NSSO] (Srivastava et al., 1998). In fact, the Census is the only single largest organization to collect information on migration throughout the country as part of population census which is usually be carried out on a decadal basis. The Census defines migrants based on two concepts: *Place of Birth* and *Place of Last Residence* which largely captures lifetime migrants and semi-permanent or permanent migrants. It thus ignores and inadvertently excludes all sort of temporary migration including seasonal and circular migration. This is mainly due to the constraint in Census concepts and its definition of migration. Hence, there is a need to broaden the concepts and definitions which should comprise all kind of temporary movements and economic aspects in data collection. It is should be noted that the



concepts and definitions of migration by the Census and the NSS are two different. The NSSO is the second largest agency only after Census for collecting data on migration in the country every five years. It collects migration details along with employment and unemployment survey. It garners data based on randomly selected sample households across the country. It recently accomplished its latest survey which was carried out from July 2007 to June 2008 on employment-unemployment and migration all over India. However, the data pertaining to migration was released separately from that of employment and unemployment data.

Further, with reference to migration, the NSS collects information on household migration, out-migrants, migrants and seasonal short-term migrants. Overall, it defines a migrant as a household member whose last *Usual Place of Residence (UPR)*, anytime in the past, was different from the present place of enumeration. In the current survey, the UPR of a person is defined as a place (village/town) where the person had stayed continuously for a period of six months or more. It may be noted that migration necessarily involves changes in the usual place of residence (UPR). However, there are another category of persons who do not change their UPR but undertake short-term movements (NSS, 2007-08). Thus, the NSS defined short-term migrants as a person(s) who had stayed away from the village/ town for a period of 1 month or more but less than 6 months during the last 365 days for employment or in search of employment. Significantly, NSS has considered short-term migration as seasonal labour migration.

It should be noted that, most of the studies on seasonal labour migration are region or area specific and thus lack an aggregate analysis of the short-term or seasonal labour migration in the country. In countries like India labour movements are very complex and vary from one section of population or group to another. In this respect there are very few studies which address issues related to seasonal short-term migrants such as magnitude and their characteristics at the macro level, viz., at the all-India level. This examination is essential and imperative for assessing the magnitude and characteristics of seasonal migration for all-India and the major

Indian States. This would expose the current nature, extent, patterns and other associated characteristics of seasonal labour migration in India (Chand, 2005).

In this backdrop, the present chapter's interest lies in examining the magnitude and characteristics of seasonal short-term migrants for all-India. Here the study raises some vital questions such as: what is the extent of seasonal short-term migrants in India. What are their characteristics? Are they from economically poor background? What is their educational as well as occupational background? When and where do they migrate? What is their work/industry status at destinations? And, what is the State level pattern? This enquiry is relevant and significant in understanding the seasonal migration flow in the country. The study addresses these questions by considering the various characteristics of seasonal short-term migrants, such as economic status, usual principal activity status, general education level, destination, seasonality and broad industrial activity status.

The chapter is divided into eight sections including the present introduction section. The second section assesses the magnitude of seasonal short-term migration. The third section deals with the migrant's usual activity status and education level. The fourth section pertains to usual activity status and destinations. The fifth section talks about seasonality and industry division of work. The sixth section is regarding broad industry division of work and Monthly Per capita Consumer Expenditure (MPCE) class. The seventh section is about the magnitude of short-term migrants at the State level. The final section has the conclusions and policy suggestions.

## **2.2. Magnitude of Short-term Migration and MPCE Decile Class**

People migrate to different places for different purposes. However, among all types of mobility, seasonal short-term migration is particularly for employment or in search of employment. Since it is employment and short duration related migration, the extent of seasonal short-term migrants differs from that of other kind of migrants. The NSS 64<sup>th</sup> Round considered short-term migration as seasonal in

nature, in which people from rural areas particularly those who belong to the landless labourer class, small and marginal farmers and medium-size farmers take up migration towards other prosperous regions for less than six months. Seasonal labour migration would be greater during the post-harvest season or lean agricultural periods when there is no work available for them locally. In this backdrop, this section examines the magnitude of seasonal short-term migration rates for all India. This assessment gives the proportion of seasonal short-term migrants out of the total migrants in the country. Further, it examines seasonal short-term migrants by their monthly per capita consumer expenditure (MPCE) and usual principal activity status.

In this respect, recent NSS data on seasonal short-term migrants reveals that 1.7 per cent of rural migrants are seasonal short-term migrants, while it is only 0.4 per cent in urban areas. The gender aspect reveals interesting figures wherein the proportion of rural migrants (from rural areas) is close to 3 per cent for male migrants whereas it is less than one per cent for females. The share of urban migration is much less than one per cent in which the share of male migrants is greater than that of their female counterpart. This implies that seasonal short-term migration is mostly from rural areas rather than from the urban areas of the country. On the other side, the MPCE class gives further interesting patterns of seasonal short-term migrants. Firstly, when we look into rural areas, it is seen that a greater extent of seasonal short-term migrants are basically from the lower MPCE class. It means poorer households are more inclined to travel towards other regions for employment or in search of employment. Significantly, seasonal short-term migration decreases when their economic status increases and vice versa. These outcomes suggests that if a household is at an economically higher position or better off, then such households are less likely to move out of their villages.

The gender aspect of seasonal migration indicates relatively similar patterns for rural areas where the share of male migrants is far greater than that of females. On the other hand, the urban area also shows comparable patterns. However,

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fluctuations could be observed across the MPCE class (Table 2.1). These outcomes clearly indicate that economic vulnerability and necessity seems to be compelling poor people to migrate in the direction of developed regions for work or in search of work/employment. Further, if a household is economically at an advantage then members of such households are less inclined to migrate-out; this is more so in the case of female migrants.

**Table 2.1: Proportion of Short-term Migrants according to MPCE Deciles for All India**

All India MPCE Deciles Class	Category of Persons					
	Rural			Urban		
	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
0-10	4.5	1.0	2.7	1.0	0.1	0.5
10--20	3.9	0.9	2.4	1.1	0.1	0.6
20--30	3.7	0.7	2.2	0.9	0.2	0.5
30-40	3.2	0.5	1.8	0.6	0.1	0.4
40-50	3.2	0.6	1.9	0.5	0.1	0.3
50-60	2.6	0.4	1.6	0.4	0.1	0.3
60-70	2.1	0.3	1.2	0.6	0.2	0.4
70-80	2.2	0.3	1.3	0.6	0.1	0.4
80-90	1.6	0.3	0.9	0.5	0.1	0.3
90-100	1.4	0.2	0.8	0.3	0.1	0.2
All Classes	2.8	0.5	1.7	0.6	0.1	0.4

Source: NSS Report No. 533: Migration in India: 2007-2008. Note: Persons who stayed away from home for 30 days or more but less than 6 months for employment or in search of employment during the year of 2007-2008.

The usual principal activity of seasonal short-term migrants according to rural and urban areas is another important characteristic that needs to be examined. It provides information about the migrant's occupational background at origin. When we look into migration from rural areas, it is found that a large proportion of seasonal short-term migrants belong to the workers category (91%) and remaining are either unemployed or not in the active labour force or the labour market. In the working group, 57 per cent of migrants are casual labourers followed by 30 per cent who are self employed. Interestingly, there are only 5 per cent of regular wage/salaried migrant workers out of total employed labour force. The gender aspect exposes almost similar patterns for both male and female migrants. Nonetheless, the prime difference is that female migrants were predominantly

casual workers, and self employed workers greatly by male migrants. But it is noticed that almost 25 per cent of female migrants are not in active labour force while it is just 6 per cent for male migrants. This means female migrants mostly belongs to either the casual labourer or the unemployed/ not in active labour market categories. This huge difference between male and female workers could be due to social factors such as family responsibilities, customs, traditions and other social taboos which work as a major constraint for female members to engage in the labour force or economic activities (Deshingkar, 2003; Shah, 2008).

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On the other hand, the urban area reveals rather different results from that of rural areas. Here, 80 per cent of migrant force are workers and the rest are either unemployed or not in the active labour force. In contrast to rural area, 31 per cent of urban migrants are casual labourers, 26 per cent are self employed and 23 per cent are regular employees (Table 2.2). This shows that the share of urban migrants in all working categories is much greater than rural areas. Ironically, migrants who are not employed or not in the active labour market are in fact placed significantly in the urban areas than in the rural areas. The gender aspect divulges that the females' share is large in the category of regular employees while in remaining categories, males are predominant. Further, females were engaged minimally as self employed workers. This shows that urban female migrant workers appear to prefer more regular jobs/work than other type of employment. It seems that if they do not get work of a regular nature, then they prefer staying back at home as unemployed or not joining the active labour market. Hence, we could find that a majority of the female workers were not in the active labour force. More scrupulous investigation is necessary to find out why female workers are not engaged as self employed and casual labour category in our country.

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**Table 2.2: Proportion of Short-term Migrants according to Usual Principal Activity Status for All India (at Origin)**

Usual Principal Activity Status	Rural			Urban		
	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
Self-employed	32.3	14.4	29.6	29.4	9.0	26.3
Regular employees	5.2	1.7	4.7	22.5	23.1	22.6
Casual labour	56.4	58.5	56.7	33.5	18.0	31.1
Worker	93.9	74.6	91.0	85.4	50.2	80.0
Unemployed	3.1	1.0	2.8	8.0	5.4	7.6
Not in labour force	3.0	23.5	6.1	5.7	37.7	10.6
All	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source & \*Note: Same as for Table 2.1. \*Short-term migration is only for employment purposes.

The information on seasonal short-term migrants MPCE class/group and usual principal activity is another important variable that needs to be explored further. First of all, in the self employed category (usual activity), the proportion of self employed migrants increases from 0-10 to 40-50 in the MPCE decile groups and declines afterwards when income level goes up gradually. Here, a greater proportion of the migrants are from agriculture and their share increases from the bottom MPCE group to the middle MPCE class. On the contrary, the non-agriculture migrants are in less in number in the low income groups and the number increases when they climb to the higher income group. It should be noted that when such households ascend to the higher MPCE level then again the likelihood of their migration comes down. Moreover, with regular salaried workers, the likelihood of migration increases when their MPCE level soars. Similarly, the migrants' industry division of work wherein agriculture category divulges that when the migrants are placed at the bottom MPCE group, then he/she is more inclined to move out. Ironically, people migrate in great extent when their income level is extremely high, and the reason behind this could be the prospects of better jobs/employment, higher wages, earnings and regular salaried jobs. In the non-agriculture category, if MPCE level rises then their chances of being regular wage/salaried labourers goes up.

Significantly, the share of migrants is greater in the agriculture sector particularly at lower MPCE/income groups. In the non-agriculture sector, though the share of migrants at the bottom income groups is greater however it continues even in the

middle MPCE/income groups. This signifies that bottom MPCE/income groups of our society are more affected by uncertainty as they are solely dependent on agriculture. The casual labour category picture suggests that if a household is economically weak/worse-off then the inclination of the members to migrate out increases and vice versa. On the whole, the information on the total working class/groups implies that regardless their industrial status, the proportion of migrants declines when their income goes up. However, in middle income groups, a slight increase could be observed, while we could also see similar patterns in unemployed category, though with minor changes (Table 2.3). This means that poor labourers who need work largely remain unemployed. Another explanation for this could be the presence of non-working family members such as children and elderly family members. In the category of not in active labour force or labour market, student migration increases at higher MPCE/income ladder and vice versa. On the other side, average number of spells staying outside the village/block by a migrant reveals that most of the non-agriculture migrants 'number of spell was greater than agriculture which is 3 and 2 times respectively.

**Table 2.3: Distribution of Rural Short-term Migrants by MPCE Deciles and Present Usual Activity Status for All India**

Usual status	Industry	No. of persons	Average no. spell	MPCE Decile groups											All group
				0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	70-80	80-90	90-100		
Self-employed	Agri	2.2	2	11.2	12.2	12.6	11.6	12.7	9.6	8.8	8.3	7.2	5.9	100	
	N-agri	3.1	3	11.0	11.2	10.4	12.6	14.5	11.3	9.7	8.7	6.5	4.0	100	
	All	2.4	2	11.2	11.9	11.9	11.9	13.2	10.1	9.1	8.4	7.0	5.3	100	
Regular wage/salarial	Agri	2.7	2	15.2	3.9	16.4	2.0	18.8	8.4	2.6	3.6	5.6	23.6	100	
	N-agri	2.6	3	5.0	7.5	8.5	9.2	8.0	9.6	11.4	11.1	11.0	18.7	100	
	All	2.6	3	5.9	7.2	9.2	8.6	8.9	9.5	10.6	10.5	10.6	19.1	100	
Casual labour	Agri	5.0	2	20.9	14.8	14.1	11.4	11.4	8.5	6.1	6.8	3.7	2.3	100	
	N-agri	11.7	2	18.6	18.1	13.3	9.5	10.2	9.5	5.5	8.1	4.8	2.4	100	
	All	6.6	2	19.9	16.2	13.8	10.6	10.9	8.9	5.8	7.3	4.2	2.4	100	
Total employed	Agri	3.4	2	17.2	13.7	13.5	11.4	12.0	8.9	7.1	7.3	5.1	3.9	100	
	N-agri	5.6	3	15.1	15.2	12.0	10.2	11.0	10.0	7.2	8.6	5.9	4.7	100	
	All	4.1	2	16.3	14.3	12.9	10.9	11.6	9.4	7.1	7.8	5.4	4.2	100	
Unemployed		5.4	2	12.0	9.7	9.8	8.2	8.2	10.1	10.9	9.0	8.8	13.3	100	
Not in Labor force	Stdnt	1	2	7.4	4.4	13.4	14.8	2.8	6.7	11.1	8.2	7.5	23.8	100	
	Othr	2	2	13.8	17.9	19.8	9.0	8.3	6.6	6.6	4.7	5.7	7.5	100	
	all	2	2	12.1	14.3	18.1	10.5	6.8	6.6	7.8	5.6	6.2	11.8	100	
All		17	2	15.9	14.2	13.2	10.8	11.2	9.2	7.3	7.7	5.6	4.9	100	

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1.

When we look into the urban seasonal short-term migrants' current usual activity status, it is seen that a large proportion of migrants from the agriculture sector could be found in lower MPCE class. As income level rises, the migration by such labour force comes down. At the same time, migrants from a non-agriculture background initially placed in great extent in lower MPCE/income groups however as their MPCE increases then the probability of migration continues up to middle MPCE groups, and subsequently comes down. Regular wage/salaried workers from agriculture are predominantly placed in the 30-40 MPCE income group followed by the 80-90 MPCE group. The share of migrants from non-agricultural background is less when income is low and it mounts when income level increases. In fact, this increase is more in the middle and higher MPCE groups than lower MPCE groups. The lower MPCE groups account for a large proportion of casual labourers from both agriculture and non-agriculture. Yet, the share is much greater in the agricultural sector than non-agricultural sector. In fact, the total employed workers category also by and large witnessed very similar patterns of MPCE groups with



reference to industrial background. This means even in urban areas a moderate proportion of migrants are greatly spread across the low MPCE groups (Table 2.4).

This implies that migrants from the low MPCE class were mainly stimulated by employment or search of employment reasons. In contrast, unemployed migrants from both agriculture and non-agriculture were greatly spread over the lower income groups. In the case of student migration, the proportion is low when MPCE is low and vice versa. This suggests that higher MPCE encourages children to go in for education. Therefore, the economic aspect plays a major role in overall human development. It should be noted that the basic intention of the migrant labour force is economic - either to get work or earn higher wages. Hence equal economic opportunities for all is essential for any country's development and growth as well as to achieve social justice in society (Shah, 2008).

**Table 2.4: Distribution of Urban Short-term Migrants by MPCE Groups and their Present Usual Activity Status for All India**

Usual status	Industry	No. of persons	Average no. spell	MPCE Decile groups										All group
				0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	70-80	80-90	90-100	
Self-employed	Agri	11	2	15.4	45.8	6.2	8.4	2.6	3.6	5.1	11.7	0.8	0.3	100
	N-agri	7	2	18.5	5.4	19.4	9.6	10.0	8.0	10.6	6.7	6.4	5.4	100
	All	7	2	18.1	10.9	17.6	9.4	9.0	7.4	9.8	7.4	5.7	4.7	100
Regular wage/salary	Agri	7.9	3	1.7	0.0	0.0	59.7	10.4	0.8	0.0	0.0	27.4	0.0	100
	N-agri	6	2	3.9	5.9	4.1	7.7	5.2	13.3	19.6	13.3	14.8	12.3	100
	All	6	2	3.7	5.4	3.7	12.4	5.7	12.2	17.8	12.1	15.9	11.2	100
Casual labour	Agri	1.5	2	33.7	33.6	13.1	7.5	8.7	3.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	100
	N-agri	2.4	2	20.2	25.6	14.7	10.6	7.8	5.2	3.4	10.7	1.6	0.2	100
	All	2.2	2	21.8	26.5	14.5	10.2	7.9	5.0	3.0	9.4	1.4	0.1	100
Total employed	Agri	1.6	2	19.7	30.7	7.6	19.4	6.8	2.8	2.0	4.4	6.4	0.1	100
	N-agri	9	2	14.8	13.4	13.1	9.4	7.7	8.5	10.4	10.2	7.0	5.4	100
	All	9	2	15.4	15.4	12.4	10.6	7.6	7.8	9.4	9.5	7.0	4.8	100
Unemployed		1.8	2	8.3	12.4	9.8	5.8	11.1	10.1	5.2	19.3	9.5	8.5	100
Not in Labor force	Stdnt	1	2	3.7	33.0	6.4	3.8	4.5	2.3	21.6	3.4	8.1	13.2	100
	Othr	1	2	7.7	6.5	39.0	9.0	10.7	4.4	3.6	2.4	13.0	3.6	100
	all	1	2	6.0	17.5	25.4	6.8	8.1	3.6	11.1	2.8	11.0	7.6	100
All		4	2	13.9	15.4	13.6	9.8	7.9	7.6	9.3	9.6	7.6	5.4	100

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1.

### 2.3. Usual Principal Activity Status and Education Level

In this section, we discuss the usual principal activity of seasonal short-term migrants by their general educational level for all India. Education is an important human development indicator which gives people the power to acquire knowledge and skill and to upgrade existing skills, which consequently enhances employment opportunities and living standards. On account of the low literacy level, the majority of the Indian labour force is engaged in manual labour activities to earn a livelihood. In this respect, we examine the educational levels of seasonal short-term migrants by their usual principal activity for rural areas for all India. In the category of self employed migrants who are working in agriculture it is found that most of them basically have primary or middle schooling. The rest are in the categories of not literate/illiterate, and secondary and higher secondary educational qualification.

Further, migrants from a non-agriculture background are predominantly not literate or in the category of studied up to primary or middle schooling. It is a paradox to notice that there are more not literate/illiterates among the non-agriculture migrants than their counterparts in the agricultural sector. However, the educational level of the majority of regular salaried workers is primary or middle schooling and secondary and higher secondary schooling. The same could be observed for workers from a non-agricultural background. Casual labourers from both the agriculture and non-agriculture sector is dominated by illiterates followed by those with primary or middle school education and literates with below primary education. It is important to note that the proportion of casual labourers in higher education is seems to be lower than that of self employed and regular salaried workers. Overall, the working classes in both the agriculture and non-agriculture sector are predominantly illiterate and if educated, with only primary or middle-level schooling (Table 2.5).

In contrast, unemployed migrant workers are better placed in terms of educational qualifications than employed workers. Here, the majority have an educational level of either primary/middle or secondary/higher secondary schooling, yet they are

unemployed. This could be due to other factors associated with household compositions, age, health condition, awareness about work, readiness to work and family decisions. Interestingly, the educational level of most of the student migrants was secondary/higher secondary followed by primary/middle and literate but below primary. Thus, there is a positive association between education and present activity status as well by industrial status. It could be said that income decides education and thus education influences their occupation and industrial work status (Kundu et al., 1996).

**Table 2.5: Distribution of Rural Short-term Migrants according to General Education Level and Present Usual Activity Status for All India**

Usual status	Industry	General Education Level						
		Not literate	Literate but below primary	Primary /Middle	Secondary &H.secondary	Diploma/certificate	Graduate & above	All group
Self-employed	Agri	29.7	12.9	40.4	13.9	0.6	2.6	100
	N-agri	36.7	15.8	34.9	11.3	0.2	1.1	100
	All	31.8	13.8	38.7	13.1	0.5	2.1	100
Regular wag/salaried	Agri	15.5	20.0	39.8	24.3	0.0	0.4	100
	N-agri	10.9	10.9	36.0	27.7	3.1	11.5	100
	All	11.3	11.7	36.3	27.4	2.8	10.5	100
Casual labour	Agri	49.2	17.3	29.3	4.0	0.1	0.2	100
	N-agri	41.0	16.5	36.8	5.3	0.2	0.3	100
	All	45.7	16.9	32.4	4.5	0.1	0.3	100
Total employed	Agri	41.4	15.6	33.6	7.9	0.3	1.2	100
	N-agri	36.4	15.7	36.2	9.4	0.6	1.8	100
	All	39.4	15.6	34.7	8.5	0.4	1.4	100
Unemployed		8.1	7.0	37.6	25.9	6.0	15.5	100
Not in Labor force	Stdnt	9.4	28.7	29.1	30.3	0.7	1.1	100
	Othr	70.3	11.2	12.4	5.4	0.0	0.6	100
	all	54.2	15.8	16.8	12.0	0.2	0.8	100
All		39.4	15.4	33.7	9.2	0.5	1.8	100

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1.

If we look into urban seasonal short-term migrants usual principal activity by their educational level, firstly, self employed workers from agriculture sector are predominantly not literates/illiterates, literates but with below primary, primary/middle schooling, and so on. However, migrants from the non-agricultural sector mostly have primary/middle schooling followed by those who are illiterate and those with secondary/higher secondary. The regular salaried labourers have

primary/middle schooling and secondary/higher secondary level education. Here, casual migrant workers also predominantly had primary/middle schooling, not literates/illiterates and literate but below primary level education. This is same for both agriculture and non-agricultural labourers. In fact, overall, employed labourers are largely those who have studied either up to primary/middle schooling or with no education at all (illiterates). On the other side, most of the unemployed labourers studied up to primary/middle schooling or had secondary/higher secondary education. In addition, similar patterns could be seen in the case of student migrants.

It is important to note that self employed migrants were largely not literates/illiterates, followed by regular wage/salaried migrant labourers with primary/middle level schooling and casual workers mostly up to primary/middle schooling and secondary/higher secondary education. This indicates that if a worker's educational qualification is high, then the chances of his/her getting irregular employment is also high. Ironically, it is the case is the same for casual migrant workers. On the other hand, the chances of illiterate migrant labourer being self employed also very high. It must be noted that most of them are self employed in agriculture sector as farmers or tenants than in the non-agricultural sector (Table 2.6). It is obvious that insufficient education is the reason why people do not get regular wage/salaried employment. Also, urban areas cannot provide sufficient employment opportunities for all those who migrated there for employment (Mosse et al., 2005).

**Table 2.6: Distribution of Urban Short-term Migrants according to General Education Level and Present Usual Activity Status for All India**

Usual status	Industry	General Education Level						
		Not literate	Liter but below primary	Primary/Middle	Secondary & H.se condary	Diploma /certificate	Graduate & above	All group
Self - employed	Agri	49.4	4.2	27.8	14.3	0.3	4.0	100
	N-agri	24.6	10.6	34.1	22.3	1.5	6.9	100
	All	28.0	9.7	33.2	21.2	1.3	6.5	100
Regular wag/salaried	Agri	12.2	0.9	60.7	25.7	0.0	0.5	100
	N-agri	16.4	6.1	26.3	21.7	6.8	22.6	100
	All	16.0	5.6	29.4	22.1	6.2	20.6	100
Casual labour	Agri	31.2	18.6	44.1	5.7	0.0	0.4	100
	N-agri	27.7	10.5	48.4	12.9	0.2	0.2	100
	All	28.1	11.5	47.9	12.0	0.2	0.2	100
Total employed	Agri	33.8	9.2	41.7	13.4	0.1	1.8	100
	N-agri	23.4	9.2	37.4	18.5	2.6	9.0	100
	All	24.6	9.2	37.9	17.9	2.3	8.1	100
Unemployed		6.5	5.6	13.5	23.2	10.3	40.7	100
Not in Labor force	Stdnt	0.5	3.7	35.9	34.7	2.3	22.9	100
	Othr	45.8	16.3	13.0	14.2	0.3	10.3	100
	all	27.0	11.1	22.5	22.7	1.1	15.5	100
All		23.5	9.1	34.4	18.8	2.8	11.4	100

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1.

On the whole, the present usual activity of migrants by educational level shows that self employed migrants from agriculture were mainly those who studied up to primary/middle school and illiterates while non-agricultural workers were illiterate and those with primary/middle schooling education. Further, the educational qualification of most of the regular workers from agricultural sector was primary/middle-level and secondary/higher secondary schooling, while workers of non-agricultural status also reported the same patterns. Casual labourers from the agricultural sector were essentially illiterates followed by those with primary/middle level schooling, literate but with below primary education and so on, while non-agricultural workers also show educational qualifications similar to their agricultural counterparts. Thus, it is true that, all the working class, by and large, show similar educational patterns.

On the other hand, unemployed labourers had primary/middle schooling, secondary/higher secondary and literate but below primary education. In the case of

student migration, it is found that if educational qualification increases, then the likelihood of their migration also increases correspondingly (Table 2.7). This means more students migrate to other regions in order to pursue their higher education. The self employed are mostly illiterates and most of them are either engaged in agriculture or allied activities, and the case is almost the same for casual labourers. Regular labourers seem to have moderately high educational qualifications compared to their counterparts. Having higher education thus helps them get more regular jobs as compared to casual labourers. Thus it follows that good and better employment opportunities go hand in hand with higher educational qualifications, the absence of which makes the chances of getting regular wage/salaried jobs grim/dismal (Sah et al., 2003).

**Table 2.7: Distribution of Total Short-term Migrants according to General Education Level and Present Usual Activity Status for All India**

Usual status	Indust ry	General Education Level						
		Not literate	Liter but belw primary	Primary/ Middle	Seconda ry&H.se condary	Diploma /certific ate	Graduat e & above	All gro up
Self - employed	Agri	29.9	12.8	40.2	13.9	0.5	2.6	100
	N-agri	34.7	14.9	34.7	13.1	0.5	2.1	100
	All	31.6	13.5	38.3	13.6	0.5	2.4	100
Regular wag/salaried	Agri	14.5	14.3	46.0	24.7	0.0	0.4	100
	N-agri	12.5	9.5	33.2	26.0	4.1	14.7	100
	All	12.6	9.9	34.3	25.9	3.8	13.4	100
Casual labour	Agri	49.0	17.3	29.4	4.0	0.1	0.2	100
	N-agri	39.8	16.0	37.8	6.0	0.2	0.3	100
	All	44.9	16.7	33.1	4.9	0.1	0.3	100
Total employed	Agri	41.3	15.5	33.7	8.0	0.3	1.2	100
	N-agri	34.6	14.8	36.4	10.6	0.8	2.8	100
	All	38.4	15.2	34.9	9.2	0.5	1.9	100
Unemployed		7.8	6.7	33.1	25.4	6.8	20.1	100
Not in Labor force	Stdnt	7.8	24.1	30.4	31.1	1.0	5.1	100
	Othr	67.8	11.7	12.5	6.3	0.0	1.6	100
	all	50.8	15.2	17.5	13.4	0.3	2.6	100
All		38.2	14.9	33.7	9.9	0.7	2.5	100

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1.

#### 2.4. Usual Activity Status and Destinations

In this section, we deal with the seasonal migrants' usual principal activity and their destination of migration. It is found that 10 per cent of rural migrants and 9 per cent of urban migrants migrated within the same district. Here, female migrants outnumbered male migrants in the rural areas, while the number of males was greater than the female migrants in the urban areas. It should be noted that similar patterns could be seen in both rural and urban destinations. This suggests there is not much difference between the rural and urban areas regarding migration within the district (intra-district). Nevertheless, there is a difference between males and females across the rural and urban areas. This implies that seasonal short-term migration is greater from rural areas than urban areas, with rural areas largely dominated by females and urban areas by male migrants. The higher proportion of female migration is indicative of two basic facts: first, they favoured rural areas maybe due to the familiarity with agricultural work, and secondly, their economic needs compel them to migrate for shorter distances or within same district. When we look into migration within the same State but to another district, it is seen that 13 per cent of the migrants migrated to other rural areas and 22 per cent to urban areas. It is interesting to note that rural migrants were less inclined to migrate to other districts compared to their urban counterparts. Here also, females outnumbered male migrants in rural areas whilst males outnumbered females in urban areas. Indeed, the difference between males and female migrants was huge in the rural areas whereas this was not the case for urban areas.

On the other hand, 9 per cent of migrants migrated towards rural areas and 36 per cent migrated into urban areas for employment or in search of work. Thus urban migrants are more prone to migrate longer distances than their rural counterparts. In the rural areas, there are a greater proportion of female migrants than male migrants while males outnumbered their female counterparts in urban areas. There is vast difference between rural and urban areas in terms of migrant proportions who migrated to other States for employment (Table 2.8). In a nutshell, a large proportion

of rural migrants moved to another district of same State while urban migrants went to another district of the same State and to another State. This means that rural migrants are more inclined to migrate to less distant places while urban migrants were ready to migrate longer distances. This preference of the rural migrants to move short distances could be due to the presence of job opportunities in agriculture and associated activities at origin village. In such situations, migrants engage in agricultural activities during the monsoon which may not allow them to migrate to long distances and for long duration of stay at destinations. The case is the opposite for urban migrants (Krishnaiah, 1998).

**Table 2.8: Distribution of Short-term Migrants according to Destinations and Sex**

Destination during longest spell	Rural			Urban			Total		
	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
Same District									
Rural	8.3	18.9	9.9	11.1	25.4	13.3	8.5	19.4	10.2
Urban	9.2	5.1	8.6	14.8	8.1	13.8	9.6	5.4	9.0
Same State but another District									
Rural	11.4	25.6	13.5	6.0	8.9	6.4	11.0	24.4	13.0
Urban	22.1	19.5	21.7	29.3	34.1	30.1	22.6	20.6	22.3
Another State									
Rural	8.0	13.3	8.8	7.8	3.2	7.1	8	12.6	8.7
Urban	40.3	17.1	36.8	26.2	20.0	25.2	39.2	17.3	35.9
All	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1. \*International migrants were excluded from the short-term migration.

Further, seasonal short-term migrants from rural areas who were self employed in the agriculture sector primarily migrated to same State but another district (inter-district), followed by migration to other States (inter-state), while migrants from non-agricultural occupations also following the same path as their agriculture counterparts. On the other hand, migrants from urban areas mainly travelled to other States, and other districts of the same state and within same district. Here, migrants from a non-agriculture background outnumbered their counterparts in agricultural occupations, whereas regular wage/salaried labourers from rural areas and of agriculture background migrated within same ditrict, folowed by within same State and to other States. In the non-agriculture sector most of the migrants moved towrds other States, followed by other districts of same State and within



same district. Migrants with an agricultural background migrated mostly to rural areas of same district while migrants from non-agricultural background mostly towards urban areas. The picture is similar for both agriculture and non-agriculture sector workers. In terms of total employed workers, it is seen that migrants largely moved towards another State, another district of the same State and within same district. Of this, except for migrants who migrate within same district, all others prefer to migrate to urban areas of another State and another district of same State, while the unemployed are largely located in urban areas of another State, other district and same district. The case is similar in the case of student migration (Table 2.9).

The results imply that migrants, in spite of their usual activity status and industrial status, are more inclined to migrate to other States, within the same State but to another district and also the same district for employment. In fact, most of the migrants seems to be favouring migration to the urban areas of such destinations. The reason for this trend or pattern could be availability of work/employment, higher wages and getting work throughout the year. The migration destination is decided by migrants knowledge, awareness and skills. However, it could also depend on other factors like social network, contacts and the risk taking approach involved in migration. For an illiterate, the distance of destination increases risk and vulnerability due to lack of awareness. Moreover, seasonal short-term migration is largely associated to the agriculture season and most of the migrants could be farmers who used to cultivate during monsoon and have to prepare for next season. Hence they may not prefer to migrate longer distances. This is not the case with urban migrants and hence their proportion is greater than that of their rural counterparts. Besides, there is the case of non-agriculture activities/occupations such as blacksmith, carpenters and other community based professions associated to the agriculture sector. When there is no work available in the agriculture sector then these sections of people also face shortage of work in the rural areas. Thus during post harvest season, migration from rural India increases.

**Table 2.9: Distribution of Rural Short-term Migrants according to Destination and their Usual Activity Status and Industry Status for All India**

Usual status	Industry	Destination for Longest Spell						
		Same District		Same State but another District		Another State		All
	R/U	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	All
Self - employed	Agri	5.9	10.7	11.4	24.8	7.2	39.6	100
	N-agri	8.0	11.9	3.6	24.9	7.2	43.2	100
	All	6.5	11.1	9.0	24.9	7.2	40.7	100
Regular wage/salaried	Agri	23.3	20.4	16.7	19.5	2.9	18.1	100
	N-agri	7.7	11.9	4.7	30.0	5.9	37.8	100
	All	8.9	12.6	5.7	29.1	5.6	36.1	100
Casual labour	Agri	14.3	5.6	24.2	13.5	10.7	31.4	100
	N-agri	5.4	8.6	6.2	30.0	8.1	41.2	100
	All	10.6	6.8	16.6	20.5	9.6	35.5	100
Total employed	Agri	11.2	7.6	19.2	17.9	9.3	34.4	100
	N-agri	6.3	9.8	5.4	28.8	7.6	41.3	100
	All	9.2	8.5	13.6	22.4	8.6	37.2	100
Unemployed		2.6	13.7	1.9	22.9	4.6	49.8	100
Not in Labor force	Stdnt	20.0	13.0	25.9	11.7	5.6	23.7	100
	Othr	26.1	5.3	16.0	11.0	16.5	23.9	100
	all	24.5	7.3	18.6	11.2	13.6	23.8	100
All		9.9	8.6	13.5	21.7	8.8	36.8	100

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1.

When we look into urban areas (destinations), most of the self employed migrants from the agriculture sector migrated to rural areas of same district and then moved to urban areas of another State (Inter-State). In this case, migrants who travelled to another district of same State were marginal. While non-agriculture workers predominantly migrated to urban areas of another State, followed by urban areas of same State but another district, regular wage/salaried workers from agriculture predominantly moved towards rural areas of same State but another district, rural areas of another State and the same district. At this point, agricultural workers seem to be inclined to move towards another district of the same State, whereas non-agriculture workers migrated to urban areas of the same State but to another district, and another State. Casual labourers travelled to another State and another district of the same State, more so to urban areas, while non-agriculture workers toured urban areas of another State and same district. On the whole total, the employment patterns shows that migrant workers were more prone to migrate towards urban areas of other States and other districts of same States. It is to be noted that workers

from agriculture preferred to travel to rural areas of same district. On the other side, unemployed migrants were mostly located in urban areas of another State and the same State, but in other districts. Interestingly, a large proportion of student migrants took place within the same districts, another State and the same State but in another district, particularly in urban areas rather than rural areas (Table 2.10). It is evident that all these categories of workers seem to first opt to migrate within State, but other districts and another State for employment or in search of employment. This could be owing to greater employment and earning opportunities in such destinations. This, in some way, suggests that seasonal short-term migrants are either economically poor or from economically backward districts/regions/States of our country (Kothari, 2002).

**Table 2.10: Distribution of Urban Short-term Migrants according to Destination and their Usual Activity Status and Industry Status for All India**

Usual status	Industry	Destination for Longest Spell						
		Same District		Same State but another District		Another State		All
	R/U	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	All
Self - employed	Agri	47.5	8.1	2.1	7.5	2.6	30.5	100
	N-agri	12.5	9.5	4.1	29.9	4.2	32.3	100
	All	17.3	9.3	3.8	26.8	4.0	32.1	100
Reg wage/salaried	Agri	1.1	20.6	50.9	0.0	27.4	0.0	100
	N-agri	7.3	10.4	8.6	38.7	4.5	21.5	100
	All	6.7	11.3	12.4	35.2	6.5	19.6	100
Casual labour	Agri	10.9	14.3	14.2	12.9	21.6	26.1	100
	N-agri	13.3	17.5	3.1	13.9	2.1	21.8	100
	All	13.0	17.1	4.4	29.6	13.2	22.3	100
Total employed	Agri	22.5	13.4	17.8	8.0	15.8	21.9	100
	N-agri	11.3	12.9	5.0	33.3	7.4	25.0	100
	All	12.6	13.0	6.5	30.3	8.3	24.7	100
Unemployed		2.8	12.9	6.4	34.5	0.6	39.3	100
Not in Labor force	Stdnt	11.9	39.5	0.9	20.1	0.0	26.4	100
	Othr	36.9	7.3	9.3	28.7	3.4	14.0	100
	All	26.5	20.7	5.8	25.1	2.0	19.2	100
All		13.3	13.8	6.4	30.1	7.1	25.2	100

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1.

The total number of seasonal migrants and their destinations exposes that all employed workers migrated to urban areas of another State, followed by other districts of same the State and within their districts. It is same for both agriculture

and non-agriculture workers. Self employed workers from both agriculture and non-agriculture migrated to urban areas of another State and other districts of the same State. Further, the same patterns can be seen in the category of regular wage/salaried workers and casual workers, for both the agriculture and non-agriculture sectors. Ironically, similar kind of patterns are also observed for unemployed migrants. Paradoxically, those urban developed areas which attracted large number of migrants also witnessed a greater number of unemployed migrant workers. This means even if they migrate, there is no guarantee that they will get work or employment and being unemployed cannot be ruled out (Table 2.11). Further, these patterns suggest that people migrate from a region to another for employment or in search of work when they do not find opportunities in their villages. Of all the destinations, intra-district or same district migration seems less attractive. This could be because of limited employment opportunities and lower wage rates. Hence the migrants choose to migrate to other districts of same State and another State to find better employment/work and higher wage rates. In fact, the expectations of getting employment in urban areas encourages them to migrate. It is argued that most of the inter-State migrations are towards the bordering States' developed urban areas (Korra, 2011).

**Table 2.11: Distribution of Total Short-term Migrants according to Destination and their Usual Activity Status and Industry Status for All India**

Usual status	Industry	Destination for Longest Spell						All
		Same District		Same State but another District		Another State		
	R/U	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	
Self - employed	Agri	6.5	10.6	11.2	24.6	7.2	39.6	100
	N-agri	8.7	11.5	3.7	25.8	6.7	41.3	100
	All	7.3	10.9	8.6	25.0	7.0	40.1	100
Reg wage/salaried	Agri	16.0	20.4	26.9	13.7	10.1	12.7	100
	N-agri	7.6	11.4	5.8	32.5	5.5	33.1	100
	All	8.3	12.2	7.6	30.8	5.9	31.3	100
Casual labour	Agri	1.3	5.6	24.1	13.5	10.8	31.3	100
	N-agri	6.1	9.4	5.9	30.2	8.5	39.5	100
	All	10.7	7.3	16.1	20.9	9.8	34.9	100
Total employed	Agri	11.3	7.7	19.2	17.7	9.4	34.2	100
	N-agri	7.0	10.2	5.3	29.4	7.6	39.0	100
	All	9.4	8.8	13.1	22.9	8.6	36.4	100
Unemployed		2.6	13.5	2.7	25.1	3.9	47.8	100
Not in Labor force	Stdnt	18.5	17.9	21.3	13.3	4.6	24.2	100
	Other	27.2	5.5	15.3	12.8	15.2	22.9	100
	all	24.8	9.0	17.0	12.9	12.2	23.2	100
All		10.2	9.0	13.0	22.3	8.7	35.9	100

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1.

## 2.5. Seasonality and Industry Division of Work

This section discusses the seasonal nature of short-term migrants according to total, rural and urban areas for all India. This is analysed particularly by taking information on NSS sub-rounds on short-term migrants. In this respect, it is revealed 1.4 per cent each migrated during the July-September round and the April-June round on the whole. After that, 1.3 per cent each migrated during the October-December round and during the January-March round. In all the four sub-rounds mentioned above, male migrants outnumbered female migrants, and there is not much difference in their proportion across the rounds. Likewise, in all the four rounds, female migration was far below one per cent. In the rural areas, total short-term migrants were 1.7 per cent, and 1.8 per cent each migrated in the first round (July-September) and in the last round (April-June) of the survey. In the remaining two rounds, it was around 1.5 per cent. Herein, 2.8 per cent of migrants were males and 0.5 per cent was females on the whole. If we look across the rounds, the majority

of the male migrants travelled during the July-September and April-June rounds. In the case of female migrants, there is not much difference across the rounds. On the other hand, urban areas reported only 0.4 per cent of total migrants and most of them migrated equally in all the sub-rounds. Here also, male migrants outnumbered their female counterparts (Table 2.12).

These results reveal that though there is no significant difference across the four sub-rounds, migration seems to be greater during the July-September and April-June rounds. The major revelation is that most of the seasonal short-term migrants were from rural areas and the same is very insignificant from urban areas of the country. This implies rural migration is temporary, short-term and seasonal in nature while the trend in urban migration seems quite opposite of rural migration. Seasonal migration is by and large dominated by male migrants both in the rural and urban areas. Further, it clearly seen that male migration is mainly for employment or in search of employment.

**Table 2.12: Classification of Short-term Migrants as per Sub-Rounds during 2007-08 Year for All India**

All India	Seasonality of short-term migrant in India				
	Rural	Jul 07-Sep 07	Oct 07-Dec 07	Jan 08-Mar 08	Apr-08-Jun 08
Male	2.9	2.7	2.6	3.0	2.8
Female	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Persons	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.8	1.7
<b>Urban</b>					
Male	0.8	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.6
Female	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Persons	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4
<b>Total</b>					
Male	2.3	2.1	2.1	2.4	2.2
Female	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
Persons	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.3

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1.

On the other hand, number of persons and their distribution (per one thousand) according to industrial work division and sub-round reveals that majority of the migrants are engaged in the building construction sector followed by the agriculture sector and manufacturing sector. If we look at the agriculture sector, a greater

number of persons are reported in fourth sub-round (April-June) and in the first sub-round (July-September). In contrast, construction workers predominantly migrated during the third sub-round, followed by the fourth sub-round, second sub-round and first round. In the case of the manufacturing sector, the majority of migrants migrated during the third sub-round, followed by the fourth sub-round, first sub-round and second sub-round. However, the all employed category shows that a greater proportion of the labour force migrated during the fourth sub-round, followed by the third, second and first sub-rounds. Looking at the rest of the industrial division of work, it is found that marginal numbers of migrants were spread all across the sub-rounds (Table 2.13).

These outcomes signify that agriculture workers predominantly migrated during the beginning of the agriculture season and the post harvest agriculture season or in other words, during sowing and rabi harvesting season, whereas migrants from the manufacturing sector migrated from January to June, also the post harvest or lean agriculture season. Construction migrants moved out during October-December and January-March, which means that these migrants migrated just before the harvest season. Though there is a difference in the trends between the sub-rounds, it seems that a large proportion of migrants migrated after January to June (six months). This period in rural India is considered as the dry agriculture season where employment opportunities become marginal and sometimes vanish. This could be the factor that compels the rural poor to leave their homes and travel to other developed regions for employment or in search of work, more so towards urban centers (Konseiga, 2002).

**Table 2.13: Proportion of Rural Short-term Migrants by Industry Division of Work and Sub-Rounds (per 1000)**

Broad Industry division of work for longest duration	Sub-round 1 (Jul-07-Sep-07)		Sub-round 2 (Oct-07-Dec-07)		Sub-round 3 (Jan-07-Mar-07)		Sub-round 4 (Apr-07-Jun-07)		Combined	
	No. of person	% of mig	No. of person	% of mig	No. of person	% of mig	No. of person	% of mig	No. of P*	% of mig
Agri etc	4	24.0	3	19.9	3	16.6	5	25.1	4	21.6
Mining & quarry	0	1.7	0	1.3	0	1.0	0	0.6	0	1.2
Manufacturing	3	14.7	2	14.2	3	17.2	3	15.4	3	15.3
Elect, watar, gas	0	0.2	0	0.1	0	0.2	0	0.1	0	0.1
Construction	6	33.3	6	38.1	7	42.4	7	38.8	6	38.0
*Trade,hotl, rstn	1	7.1	1	6.6	1	6.4	1	6.4	1	6.6
Transport	1	5.3	1	6.1	1	4.4	1	4.9	1	5.2
Othr services	1	3.4	1	4.8	0	2.9	0	2.5	1	3.4
All employed	16	89.7	15	91.2	14	91.2	17	93.7	15	91.5
Not employed	2	10.3	1	8.8	1	8.8	1	6.3	1	8.5
All	18	100	16	100	15	100	18	100	17	100

Source Note: Same as for Table 2.1. Note: (i) \*Trade, hotel & restaurant, (ii) P\*-Persons.

However, the urban areas show a different picture compared to the rural areas. On the whole, the migrant workers migrated in the fourth sub-round and second round in significant proportion. Further, most of the migrant workers were those working in the manufacturing sector, followed by the construction sector, trade, hotel and restaurant and other services. Here, manufacturing workers mainly migrated in the third sub-round and first sub-rounds, while construction workers migrated in the fourth and second sub-rounds. Migrants from trade, hotel and restaurant migrated in the first, second, third and fourth sub-rounds respectively. Migrants from other services predominantly moved during first and fourth sub-rounds. In contrast, unemployed primarily migrated during the first and third rounds (Table 2.14).

These results indicate that manufacturing workers migration took place after harvest season and during early stage of agriculture season. While construction workers moved out in the beginning of the harvest season and after the harvest season, trade, hotel and restaurant workers migrated from October to March. This pattern of migration related to the sub-rounds or time of migration depicts a positive association between the lean agriculture season and peak employment periods at destinations. This is particularly true in the case of construction and allied activities



which function without any interruption during winter and summer seasons and lessen during the rainy or monsoon season. It is significant to note here that the number of migrants is far lower than rural areas. This suggests that migration from urban areas is marginal. It could be because most of the urban people may get work within their own urban locality and such local movements may not be considered as migration. This may be one of the reasons for low migration rates in the urban areas. On the contrary, the rural areas of this country are backward and not self reliant in terms employment, and hence finding work in the same village/locality becomes difficult, particularly during post harvest agriculture season (Korra, 2011).

**Table 2.14: Propotion of Urban Short-term Migrants by Industry Division of Work and Sub-Rounds (per 1000)**

Broad Industry division of work for longest duration	Sub-round 1 (Jul-07-Sep-07)		Sub-round 2 (Oct-07-Dec-07)		Sub-round 3 (Jan-07-Mar-07)		Sub-round 4 (Apr-07-Jun-07)		Combined	
	No. of person	Distributi on	No. of person	Distrib utio	No. of person	Distrib ution	No. of person	Distrib ution	No. of *P	Distr ibuti on
Agri etc	0	6.3	0	14.1	0	11.2	0	12.0	0	10.3
Mining & quarry	0	0.3	0	0.5	0	0.4	0	1.1	0	0.5
Manufacturing	1	22.2	1	16.9	1	28.2	0	13.7	1	21.2
Elect, watar, gas	0	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.6	0	0.0	0	0.3
Construction	1	14.5	1	22.7	1	18.0	1	33.1	1	20.6
*Trade,hotl, rstn	1	16.2	1	17.8	1	14.0	0	10.1	1	14.8
Transport	0	1.7	0	5.0	0	4.7	0	6.0	0	4.0
Othr services	1	13.2	0	7.8	0	5.3	0	13.2	0	10.0
All employed	4	74.8	3	84.8	3	82.4	3	89.1	3	81.6
Not employed	1	25.2	0	15.2	1	17.6	0	10.9	1	18.4
All	5	100	3	100	4	100	3	100	4	100

Source: Same as for Table 2.1. Note: (i) \*Trade, hotel & restaurant, (ii) P\*-Persons.

On the other side, the total number of persons and their distribution shows that the majority of migrants are engaged in construction sector, followed by the agriculture sector and manufacturing sectors. However, trade, hotel and restaurant business and other service sector occupations also attracted a moderate number of migrants. If we examine the trends in the agriculture sector, it is found that most of the migrants migrated in the fourth sub-round, followed by the first, second and third sub-rounds. Manufacturing workers largely migrated in the third sub-round, followed by the first, fourth and second sub-rounds. Further, construction workers moved in the third sub-round, followed by the fourth, second and first sub-rounds. This suggests

that a greater proportion of migrants migrated from October onwards when agriculture approaches the harvest season. In fact, they start migrating to other regions for employment by presuming that they would be unemployed after harvest season. On the whole, all the employed migrants migrated in the fourth sub-round, followed by the second, third and first sub-rounds. In the case of unemployed migrants, migration took place mostly from first sub-rounds to last round (Table 2.15).

These results signify that agriculture workers largely migrated during the post harvest season, construction workers during the harvest and post harvest season, and manufacturing workers predominantly migrated from January to June. This means each industrial division category shows different patterns. In other words, people migrate at different points of time which will depend on their household needs, economic condition, and the agricultural position. In addition, resource ownership, family size, health condition of members and family decisions are the other key factors that play a major role in deciding the timing of migration. Interestingly, migrants from trade, hotel and restaurant business and other services were by and large migrating throughout the year. Ironically, it is the same for unemployed migrants too. It is possible that if a village is located close to a town/city, then from such villages are inclined to migrate at any point of time in a year. This may occur either due to lack of employment or for earning higher wages. Here, what matters most for them is utilising their time and earning more income to supplement the total household income. If they wait for work in the village and do not find employment, then they might face shortage of foodgrain and semi-starvation (Ellis, 2003; McKenzie, 2005).

**Table 2.15: Propotion of Total Short-term Migrants by Industry Division of Work and Sub-Rounds (per 1000)**

Broad Industry division of work for longest duration	Sub-round 1 (Jul-07-Sep-07)		Sub-round 2 (Oct-07-Dec-07)		Sub-round 3 (Jan-07-Mar-07)		Sub-round 4 (Apr-07-Jun-07)		Combined	
	No. of person	Distrib ution	No. of person	Distrib ution	No. of person	Distrib ution	No. of person	Distrib ution	No. of *P	Distrib ution
Agri etc	3	22.3	2	19.5	2	16.1	3	24.4	3	20.8
Mining & quarry	0	1.6	0	1.3	0	0.9	0	0.6	0	1.1
Manufacturing	2	15.4	2	14.4	2	18.2	2	15.3	2	15.8
Elect, watar, gas	0	0.2	0	0.1	0	0.3	0	0.1	0	0.2
Construction	5	31.5	5	37.1	5	40.2	5	38.4	5	36.7
*Trade,hotl, rstn	1	7.9	1	7.3	1	7.1	1	6.6	1	7.3
Transport	1	5.0	1	6.1	1	4.5	1	4.9	1	5.1
Othr services	1	4.4	1	5.0	0	3.1	0	3.0	1	3.9
All employed	13	88.3	12	90.8	11	90.4	13	93.4	12	90.7
Not employed	2	11.7	1	9.2	1	9.6	1	6.6	1	9.3
All	14	100	13	100	13	100	14	100	13	100

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1. Note: (i) \*Trade, hotel & restaurant, (ii) P\*-Persons.

## 2.6. Industry Division of Work and MPCE Class

This section deals with the migrant workers' industry division of work and their MPCE class. Examining this aspect is vital and could give insights about seasonal migrant's current industrial status at destinations and their economic background. In other words, it provides information about the migrant's selection of industry for work. In this respect, the gender facet also assumes significance. Looking at the industrial division of work of rural migrants, it is seen that the majority of the migrants work in the construction sector, followed by the agriculture sector, manufacturing sector and trade, and hotels and restaurants. Up to, 76 per cent of the seasonal short-term migrants were engaged in the non-agriculture sector/activities while 24 per cent of them were employed in the agricultural sector. This implies that the non-agriculture sector is the prime source of employment and wage income earnings. Here the construction sector is one of the largest sources of employment for a greater proportion of the manual labour force. The gender aspect reveals that female migrants were predominantly employed in agriculture, followed by construction and the manufacturing sector. However, except in the agriculture sector, in all other sectors, males outnumbered female migrants. It seems that most

often, males opted to work in non-agriculture activities while females traditionally preferred to engage in agriculture activities.

In the urban areas, the majority of the migrant workers are employed in the manufacturing sector, followed by the construction sector, trade, hotels and restaurants, and agriculture and other services. Overall, 87 per cent of the urban migrants were engaged in non-agriculture activities and only 13 per cent were employed in agriculture and allied activities for employment or seeking employment for wage earnings. This pattern differs from that of the rural areas, and the difference is that a large proportion of workers were employed in the manufacturing sector, followed by trade, hotels and restaurants, and other services. If we explore the gender aspect, it is seen that females get more employment in agriculture and other services, and in the remaining sectors, male migrants outnumbered them (Table 2.16). It is argued in literature that a higher proportion of male migrants working in heavy, hard and risk manual work is quite normal and expected. Females largely work in other services which may include diverse activities such as receptionist, housemaid, house keeper, cook, washer woman, etc. The other reason for this could be the wage difference between agriculture and non-agriculture activities. Besides, the main objective of male migrants target seems to be higher wage earnings. It is to be noted that despite their short-duration of stay at destinations, male migrants preferred to work in the non-agriculture sector.

**Table 2.16: Distribution of Short-term Migrants according to Industry Division of Work and Rural and Urban Areas in India**

Broad industrial division of work	Rural			Urban		
	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
Agriculture. etc	20.0	45.3	23.6	11.2	20.6	12.6
Mining & quarrying	1.3	0.8	1.3	0.7	0.3	0.6
Manufacturing	17.2	13.9	16.8	26.1	25.5	26.0
Electricity, Water & Gas	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.4
Construction	42.9	33.6	41.6	27.8	10.8	25.2
Trade, Hotel & restaurant	8.3	1.0	7.3	20.0	7.6	18.1
Transport	6.6	0.5	5.7	5.8	0.3	4.9
Other services	3.5	4.6	3.7	8.2	34.4	12.2
Non-agriculture	80.0	54.7	76.4	88.8	79.4	87.4
All	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1.

On the other hand, data on rural seasonal short-term migrants' industrial occupations and their MPCE reveals that a greater proportion migrant workers were in the construction sector followed by the agriculture sector, manufacturing sector, trade, hotel and restaurant and transport sector. It appears that the construction sectors is the major employment source for poor rural labour. In spite of limited employment opportunities and lower wage rates in the agriculture sector, it attracted large numbers of labourers and remains one of the major employment and earning sources. Trade, hotel, restaurant and transport sector seems to be providing employment to a moderate proportion of the migrant population in our country.

If we examine data across the MPCE class and construction sector, it is found that a greater proportion of migrants are placed in the bottom MPCE class. This proportion declines if their MPCE goes up. In the agriculture sectors, it is quite opposite, in the sense that migration is more at the bottom MPCE group and in top MPCE group. This means that construction workers may be migrating from desperate conditions to get work and earn their livelihood, while agriculture workers may do so perhaps for employment as well as for earning additional income to supplement their household income. In the case of the manufacturing sector, a majority of the workers are found at bottom MPCE group; in fact, high MPCE people do not choose to work in the manufacturing sector. In other sectors, a larger amount of migrants are positioned in the high MPCE groups, and the low MPCE class seems to be less occupied in other sectors. This suggests that if a migrant climbs to higher a MPCE class then his/her likelihood of migrating out increases. In contrast, migrants who engage in the non-agriculture sectors were also from low MPCE groups. However, if they ascend to a higher MPCE class then their likelihood of migrating out becomes less likely or comes down (Table 2.17).

In short, workers from the bottom MPCE class intend to work in agriculture, and their migration rate increases gradually when their MPCE soars. In contrast, in the construction and manufacturing sectors, the proportion of migrant workers is high at the bottom MPCE groups and, later inclined to descend when they enter a higher

MPCE class. Finally, for migrants who were working in trade, hotels and restaurants and other services, the migration rate tends to be low at the bottom MPCE class while it soars at the top MPCE class. This clearly suggests that the income level or expenditure condition of a migrant has a major role in deciding the nature of work they engage in and also on decision on whether to migrate out or not. Note that more the vulnerable income groups are forced to take up hard, heavy and risk-involved work. On the contrary, better income groups seems to be selective and prefer to engage in activities that involve less physical strain (Nayak, 2005).

**Table 2.17: Distribution Rural Short-term Migrants according to Industry Division of Work and MPCE Decile for All India**

Industry Division	No. of pers	MPCE Decile groups										All group
		0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	70-80-	80-90	90-100	
Agriculture etc.	21.6	26.1	23.6	20.1	21.9	23.1	23.9	21.8	23.8	27.1	28.2	23.6
Mining & quarry	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.9	1.1	0.3	1.1	1.0	1.0	3.0	0.5	1.3
Manufacturing	15.3	18.4	17.3	18.0	18.7	14.4	12.7	16.1	19.5	13.2	15.8	16.8
Elect, watar, gas	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.2
Construction	38.0	45.7	45.1	45.8	44.5	43.9	42.8	38.4	35.3	26.2	22.3	41.6
*Trade,hotl, rstn	6.6	3.2	4.9	6.4	4.6	8.0	7.9	11.2	11.0	16.2	11.1	7.3
Transport	5.2	3.2	5.1	4.5	6.7	6.5	7.0	7.3	5.6	6.9	8.6	5.7
Othr services	3.4	1.9	2.6	3.2	2.4	2.9	4.4	4.2	3.5	7.3	13.4	3.7
Non-agriculture	69.8	73.9	76.4	79.9	78.1	76.9	76.1	78.2	76.2	72.9	71.8	76.4
All	91.5	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1. \*Trade, hotel & restaurant.

Further, when we look into the urban migrants industrial status and the MPCE class it is seen that non-agriculture sector/activities are the major employment source for seasonal short-term migrants. Here 87 per cent of them were engaged in non-agriculture sectors and just 13 per cent engaged in agriculture and allied activities. If we look into agriculture sector, the migration rate is very high for the bottom MPCE groups (10-20) and continues up to the 30-40 decile class, after which it seems to be declining considerably. This implies that the urban areas are in fact less agriculture-oriented, and urban people are better off in terms of income than rural people. Hence, the urban labour force seems unwilling to work in the agriculture sector. In manufacturing sector, the migration rate increases when their income level increases and vice versa. It should be noted that urban migrants are better educated and

equipped with moderate skills compared to their rural counterparts and hence their share in manufacturing sector is high. Likewise, in the construction sector, the migration rate is very high at the bottom MPCE class and declines among the higher MPCE groups. This implies that construction workers seem to stop migrating once they improve their MPCE or income level. However, they might diversify from construction sector to other better employment sectors. Significantly in trade, hotel and restaurant and other services, the share of the bottom MPCE groups is very low and the migration rate is high among the top MPCE class. In other words if their income level improves, then such migrants may prefer to seek or work in better jobs (Table 2.18).

It should be noted that the urban sector is the entire opposite of the rural sector in terms of nature of work, occupations, industry and employment opportunities. Hence, most of the occupations and employment opportunities varies according to the industrial sector, education level and skills of the workers. Since people from the urban areas were at an advantage in the above-mentioned aspects, they opt for better paid and regular salaried jobs or employment. Further, acquiring and upgrading skills would be high and common in the urban areas thus migrants may oftenly upgrade their employment. This analysis shows that urban migrants ascend or shift to better employments or jobs when they upgrade skills or when the MPCE level or income increases (Sridhar et al., 2010).

**Table 2.18: Distribution Urban Short-term Migrants according to Industry Division of Work and MPCE Decile for All India**

Industry Division	No. of *P	MPCE Decile groups										All
		0-10	10-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	70-80-	80-90	90-100	
Agri etc.	10.3	7.0	24.9	8.9	17.2	11.9	8.9	5.8	29.5	0.5	7.4	12.6
Mining & quarry	0.5	1.0	0.9	0.0	0.3	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.3	2.8	1.3	0.6
Manufacturing	21.2	34.3	23.0	41.3	16.6	16.9	18.7	9.2	18.4	43.5	32.0	26.0
Elect, watar, gas	0.3	0.9	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.4
Construction	20.6	39.3	32.6	21.6	26.0	37.2	21.3	21.5	18.7	7.0	5.0	25.2
*Trade,hotl, rstn	14.8	10.8	10.3	20.0	10.2	18.6	22.1	41.7	12.5	23.2	20.7	18.1
Transport	4.0	3.5	4.0	5.0	11.5	7.3	4.0	4.7	2.8	2.4	1.6	4.9
Othr services	10.0	3.2	4.3	2.2	18.2	6.9	24.9	17.1	17.5	20.3	32.1	12.2
Non-agriculture	71.3	93.0	75.1	91.1	82.8	88.1	91.1	94.2	70.5	99.5	92.6	87.4
All	81.6	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Same as for Table 2.1. Note: (i) \*Trade, hotel & restaurant, (ii) \*P-Person.

## 2.7. Magnitude of Short-term Migrants at the State Level

This section discusses the magnitude and patterns of seasonal migrants at the State level. This examination was carried out for total, rural and urban areas. This analysis provides the rate of seasonal short-term migrants across the States. This ultimately indicates the current situation of labour movements in Indian States. Thus could suggest the advantages and disadvantages of Indian States in terms of seasonal labour movements. It is argued that economically backward States and regions mostly witness not just seasonal movements but all types of migration for employment or in search of employment. In this context, the State level analysis reveals that Bihar, Gujarat, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal and Rajasthan are major pockets of seasonal short-term migrants. On the contrary, Kerala, Uttarakhand, Punjab, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu documented marginal rates of seasonal migrants. In these States, the share of seasonal migrants was lower than one per cent. The gender facet shows that male migrants outnumbered their female counterparts in almost all the states. All the major seasonal migrant States witnessed predominantly male migration, with Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat being the leading States in this category. In contrast, female migration from Bihar, Assam, Kerala and Jammu and Kashmir is very negligible. Ironically, Gujarat recorded a greater proportion of female seasonal



migration, while all the other States accounted for less than one per cent female migration (Table 2.19).

The patterns of seasonal labour migration imply that economically backward States reported a greater extent of short-term migrants. Ironically, industrially developed States such as Gujarat witnessed large scale of seasonal movements from its territory. On the other hand, States rich in agriculture, forest resources and tourism, in fact, witnessed a much lower proportion of seasonal labour movements from their respective territories. It is obvious that employment opportunities are much better in agriculturally-rich and tourism-rich States where people can get work not only in agriculture but also can seek work in non-agriculture sectors like tourism. Thus diversifying their human capital they can grab new employment opportunities and can get work throughout the year. In contrast, in the underdeveloped States, getting work in lean agriculture period becomes difficult and they have to search for employment in other prosperous rural and urban regions of the country. This vindicates the present economic, agriculture and migration situation in our country.

**Table 2.19: Proportion of Total Short-term Migrants according to Major Indian States**

States	Total		
	Male	Female	Persons
Andhra Pradesh	1.5	0.6	1.0
Assam	2.0	0.2	1.2
Bihar	5.3	0.1	2.8
Gujarat	3.0	1.6	2.3
Jammu & Kashmir	2.3	0.1	1.2
Jharkhand	3.8	0.5	2.2
Karnataka	1.4	0.4	0.9
Kerala	0.8	0.1	0.4
Madhya Pradesh	3.2	0.9	2.1
Maharashtra	1.0	0.5	0.8
Punjab	0.5	0.5	0.5
Rajasthan	2.1	0.4	1.3
Tamil Nadu	1.5	0.4	0.9
Uttarakhand	0.7	0.0	0.4
Uttar Pradesh	2.1	0.1	1.2
West Bengal	3.5	0.4	2.0
All India	2.2	0.4	1.3

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1.

The information on the magnitude of seasonal migration for rural areas disclosed that Gujarat, followed by Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal are the major pockets of seasonal migrants. Paradoxically, Gujarat which is one of the most developed States in the country recorded greater seasonal labour migrant rates. This means that Gujarat might have a wide range of inequalities among its regions. The gender aspect divulges that male migrants outnumbered their female counterparts in most of the major seasonal migrant States, while female migrants were greatly accounted for in the most developed as well as the backward States, for instance, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. In contrast, Jharkhand, followed by Uttar Pradesh, Kerala, Bihar and Jammu and Kashmir witnessed very negligible female seasonal migration rates (Table 2.20). Here also, most of the rural backward States were predominant pockets of seasonal migrant, although Gujarat is an exception. Since seasonal migration is short-term, it may take place largely not only within their respective States but also to adjacent States. Economic need and lack of employment in the rural localities compel the labour force to take up migration towards other developed regions/States. This implies that in rural India, if people get employment and alternative earning opportunities, then they would not prefer to move out and chose to work in their own villages. However, this may not be case for all the rural households, although a majority of the households may prefer to work in the place of origin where they have many economic and social attachments (Rajan et al., 2011).

**Table 2.20: Proportion of Rural Short-term Migrants according to Major Indian States**

Major States	Rural		
	Male	Female	Persons
Andhra Pradesh	2.0	0.8	1.4
Assam	2.0	0.2	1.2
Bihar	5.7	0.1	3.0
Gujarat	4.3	2.4	3.4
Jammu & Kashmir	2.6	0.1	1.3
Jharkhand	4.6	0.6	2.6
Karnataka	1.7	0.6	1.1
Kerala	0.9	0.1	0.5
Madhya Pradesh	3.9	1.1	2.6
Maharashtra	1.6	0.8	1.2
Punjab	0.7	0.8	0.7
Rajasthan	2.5	0.5	1.5
Tamil Nadu	1.8	0.5	1.1
Uttarakhand	0.8	0	0.4
Uttar Pradesh	2.5	0.1	1.4
West Bengal	4.4	0.4	2.4
All India	2.8	0.5	1.7

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1.

When we look into the urban areas, 0.4 per cent of urban labour force migrated out, in which 0.6 % were males and 0.1 were female migrants. Herein, Assam recorded a higher rate of seasonal migration. In the remaining States, the rate of seasonal migration in the urban areas was far below one per cent. Then again, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir and Tamil Nadu were the other States which witnessed high seasonal migration, after Assam. The gender aspect reveals that in the above-mentioned States, the rates of male migrants was high while female migration rate was very dismal, in fact, not only above-mentioned States but in almost all the States. Interestingly, the urban areas of Bihar also witnessed a large proportion of seasonal migrants like its rural areas. This clearly indicates Bihar's economic backwardness even in the urban areas (Table 2.21). In fact, the nature of urban employment/work is essentially characterised by long duration of stay where employment maybe found throughout the year. It could be because of this that the urban areas recorded a lower proportion of seasonal migration in our country. It could also be because some labourers migrate to adjacent urban areas/cities on a daily basis by commuting every day, and these daily commuters may not be actually considered migrants as per the present definitions and concepts of the NSS.

**Table 2.21: Proportion of Urban Short-term Migrants according to Major Indian States**

States	Urban		
	Male	Female	Persons
Andhra Pradesh	0.3	0	0.2
Assam	2.3	0.2	1.4
Bihar	1.4	0.1	0.7
Gujarat	0.7	0.2	0.5
Jammu & Kashmir	1.3	0.1	0.7
Jharkhand	0.2	0	0.1
Karnataka	0.8	0.1	0.4
Kerala	0.5	0.1	0.3
Madhya Pradesh	0.9	0.1	0.5
Maharashtra	0.3	0.1	0.2
Punjab	0.3	0.1	0.2
Rajasthan	0.6	0.2	0.4
Tamil Nadu	1.1	0.3	0.7
Uttarakhand	0.3	0	0.1
Uttar Pradesh	0.6	0	0.3
West Bengal	0.9	0.2	0.6
All India	0.6	0.1	0.4

Source & Note: Same as for Table 2.1.

## 2.8. Conclusions and Policy Suggestions

The main objective of this chapter was to examine the magnitude and characteristics of seasonal short-term migration for all India. It explored seasonal migration by MPCE class, general education level, usual principal activity, industrial division of work and also the seasonality of short-term migrants. The analysis was carried out for total, rural and urban areas for all India. Further, it also explored gender aspects.

The major revelations of the chapter are follows: overall, the proportion of seasonal short-term migrants in rural India was just below two per cent and less than one per cent for urban. In both the rural and urban areas, males outnumbered their female counterparts. The majority of the seasonal short-term migrants from low MPCE groups, and migration drop as their MPCE soars. Further, the study exposes that the majority of the seasonal migrants are casual labourers and self-employed and almost similar patterns are observed for both rural and urban areas. In fact, casual workers from rural areas are dominated by females and males outnumbered them in the urban areas. Besides, the total employed working class (90%) was found in the rural areas, whereas the proportion was eighty per cent for the urban areas. The

proportion of the total unemployed was higher in the urban areas than in the rural areas.

Further, self employed migrants from rural areas belong to the bottom MPCE groups, both in the agriculture and non-agriculture sector. Regular wage/salaried migrants were also high in low MPCE class/groups although their proportion fluctuates as per MPCE level. Casual labourers were found in the bottom MPCE and their share declines when the MPCE goes up. Ironically, unemployed migrant labourers also placed in the low MPCE groups. In the same way, the urban areas divulged similar patterns as the rural areas with changes in proportions (decrease or increase). In terms of education, self employed workers predominantly had primary/middle schooling and illiterates. Regular salaried labourers had primary/middle and secondary/higher secondary education. Casual labourers were mostly illiterates and had primary/middle schooling. But the unemployed were, to a great extent, educated up to the primary/middle and secondary/higher secondary school level. Interestingly, student migration was high in the same category. In the urban areas, self employed and casual workers mostly had primary schooling and some were illiterate. Regular salaried workers had primary/middle and secondary/higher secondary schooling. Unemployed migrants were more among the graduates/above and secondary/higher secondary school education categories.

The majority of the rural migrants migrated within same State but to another district and within the same district. Then, urban migrants migrated towards other States and within same State but to another district. On the other hand, migrants from rural areas travelled within same State but to another district (rural-rural), and it was same for urban areas (urban-urban). Rural self employed, regular wage/salaried and casual workers largely migrated towards urban areas of other States, and within the State but to another districts. Ironically, rural migrants experienced greater unemployment in the urban areas than in the rural areas. In the case of urban areas, similar patterns were observed in all employed categories except

in the case of regular salaried workers. In short, all categories of workers preferred to migrate to other States and then other districts of the same State.

As regards seasonality (time of migration) there was not much difference between all the four sub-rounds of the NSS survey. Nevertheless, on the whole, in rural areas, the July-September and April-June sub rounds seem to be the predominant season for migration. In this, male migrants outnumbered female migrants. In the same period, migrants from agriculture and manufacturing sector migrated in a large extent. Construction workers migrated during January-March, followed by the April-June and October-December sub-rounds. But the unemployed migrated in great extent during first two sub-rounds. In the urban areas migration was more during October-December and April-June for agriculture workers. For manufacturing workers, the rate was high during July-September and January-March. Construction workers mostly migrated in April-June and October which is lean agriculture period. Unemployed migrants predominantly migrated in first and third sub-rounds.

The gender aspect of rural area reveals that in the agriculture sector and other services, females outnumbered males and it was same for both rural and urban areas. The manufacturing, construction and transport sector was dominated by male migrants. Interestingly, in the urban areas there was not much variation between male and female migrant rates, particularly in the non-agriculture sector. On the other hand, rural agriculture workers were migrated from extreme bottom MPCE groups and extreme top income groups. In the non-agriculture sector, migration was great from the bottom MPCE groups, and it decreased when income rose. This applies to manufacturing sector workers too. However, construction workers were predominantly from the lower MPCE as well as from middle MPCE groups. In the urban areas, the pattern of agriculture worker migration replicates that of the rural areas. Manufacturing and construction workers were mainly from the bottom MPCE groups and the proportion decreases when income rises. In the transport and other

service sector, migration was low among low MPCE groups and high among high MPCE groups.

At segregate level (State level), Bihar, Gujarat, Jharkhand, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh are reported to be major pockets of seasonal labour migrants. On the contrary, Kerala, Uttarakhand, Punjab and Maharashtra recorded a lower proportion of seasonal migrants. In all the States, male migrants outnumbered their female counterparts. In fact, the female migration rate in seasonal migration is far below one per cent. The rural areas also witnessed very similar patterns and Gujarat has emerged as a major State for seasonal labour migrants. Here also, female migration is very marginal. In the case of the urban areas, Assam emerged as a major seasonal labour migrant State. Interestingly, Bihar witnessed a modest rate of urban seasonal migration. The other major urban seasonal migrant States are Jammu and Kashmir, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Karnataka. In fact, except Assam, in all other States migration rate is far below than one per cent. This indicates that urban centers are less likely to contain seasonal migrants. Here too, males outnumbered female migrants whose share was marginal. Indeed, backward States are the major pockets of seasonal migrants and migration is mostly by males.

In this context, the study raises some important and pertinent policy implications. First of all, major pockets of seasonal short-term migrant States are primarily backward, both agriculturally and industrially. Thus, a large part of rural India lacks both agriculture and non-farm employment opportunities and faces severe unemployment problems for the most part of the post-harvest agriculture season. Hence, there is a need for government intervention to develop such backward States and regions in the country so that distress situations can be eliminated from rural areas. Further, facilitates must be made to curb distress and depressed seasonal labour movements from rural to urban areas. Secondly, migration *per se* is an indicator of better opportunity both in economic and social terms. Hence, the government should facilitate free and unrestricted movements from one region/State to another. This would give equal opportunities to the people of India

to work, earn and stay anywhere in the country. In fact, this would eliminate conflicts and violent attacks on migrants in the country. The Government's migration policy should be targeted to protecting and safeguarding the migrant population. Further, it should ascertain the migrant's basic rights at work sites and at the destinations. Besides, measures should be taken to guarantee minimum wage rates (statutory wage rates), basic amenities and sanitation and medical provisions for migrants at work sites. In order to eliminate labour exploitation, the policies ought to aim at removing obstacles, for instance, contractor and middlemen practices in labour migrant recruitment. Finally, the migrant population should be covered under the umbrella of social security schemes and labour insurance packages. Most importantly, migrants should be allowed to avail of government benefits and schemes at the destination places too.



## CHAPTER III

### THE DETERMINANTS, CHARACTERISTICS AND PATTERNS OF SEASONAL LABOUR MIGRATION

#### 3.1. Introduction

Having highlighted the magnitude of short-term migration for all India, this chapter intends to examine the more specific issues related to seasonal labour migration. This would be accomplished in the context of Mahabubnagar district which is in fact one of the most migration prone districts in Andhra Pradesh due to its backwardness. It should be noted that at macro level information on seasonal labour migration is limited and scanty (Chandrasekhar, et al., 2007). It is evident that in spite of rapid and high economic growth in recent years, seasonal labour movements in India are on a growing path and continue to widen on a large scale from the economically backward areas to prosperous rural regions as well as to developed cities and towns. Urban centred development, neglect of rural development in planning and uncertainty and frequent distress in the agricultural sector has indeed augmented temporary labour movements in the country (Kundu, 2005).

One of the chief features of seasonal labour migration is that it predominates in the agricultural sector, and it is either cultivators or daily wage agricultural workers who migrate. Further, such migrants move out of their villages during the periods of unemployment and return before the onset of monsoon and/or the next agricultural season (Rani et al., 2001; Wey, 2003). Most of these migrants are landless labourers, and small and marginal land holding farmers, particularly from the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribe (STs) communities who are in fact considered the most marginalised sections of our society (Smita, 2007; Srivastava, 2005). The extent of seasonal labour migration would always depend on household land ownership and income level on the one hand, and the profitability of agriculture and

availability of wage employment in the origin village on the other (Wey, 2003; Hugo, 2005).

On the other hand, issues like unemployment, absence of non-farm employment, prolonged backwardness and lack of alternative livelihood options in the rural areas compel people from various sections to take up migration particularly during the lean agricultural season (Korra, 2011). Moreover, manifold factors pertaining to agriculture such as high input cost, dearth of minimum price for agriculture produce, lack of credit, indebtedness and highly volatile monsoon/natural rainfall cause distress in the rural agriculture sector (Vyas, 2001). Therefore, cultivation has become a less viable option for generating income and employment opportunities. This further not only squeezes livelihood options but also creates unemployment in the rural labour market which in fact forces a large number of farming and wage labourers to resort to migration as a way out of such distress situations (McLeman et al., 2006). Thus, the rural informal labour market is by and large characterised by colossal seasonal labour out-migration. It is evident that, seasonal movements take place more often than not during the post-harvest season not just for one time but year after year for employment, in search of work and for higher wage earnings (Breman, 1985). Thus, seasonal labour movements are essentially circular and cyclical in nature (Collinson et al., 2003; Deshingkar, 2005).

Besides, chronic poverty, landlessness and the paucity of household resources forces most of the rural populace to move out of their villages to other regions for various purposes. Thus, rural labour is forced to resort to seasonal movements under distress conditions in order to avoid semi-starvation and hunger, in particular during summer time (de Haan, 2007; Deshingkar, 2005). For some sections of the rural population, seasonal migration is the final resort when there is no other kind of employment available to them in the local labour market and it then works as a coping strategy (Breman, 1996). On the other hand, seasonal migration works as an income earning and accumulating source (Rogaly, 2004).

A study on the rural exodus divulges that prevalence of acute poverty among the SCs and STs on the one hand, and the absence of alternative employment options throughout the year in their backward remote villages on the other hand, actually left them no choice and forced them to leave their homes (Breman, 1985). In fact, such movements took place in depressive and desperate conditions in which the workers did not even realise what to do and had no alternatives about when to migrate, where to migrate, what work to chose and how long to stay in other places (Mora et al., 2005). Further, the necessity to ease the over burden of debt, particularly that arising as a result of loans availed of from non-institutional sources induce small and marginal land holding farmers to migrate in search of gainful employment (Wey, 2003). In contrast, marginally better-off farmers and medium farmers migrate with the intention of earning higher wage incomes to improve their economic and social status in the village of origin (Karan, 2003; McKenzie, 2005; Konseiga, 2007).

Some studies that dealt with patterns of employment, wage rates, living and working conditions of migrants at the destinations reveal that most of the seasonal migrant workers usually engage in manual labour activities, particularly in urban areas. They stay either at the work site or in slum dwellings without basic amenities and protection. As a result, migrants are exposed to multiple risks and exploitation both at work and at the living site (Smita, 2007). Moreover, they work in harsh conditions where they have to go through long working hours with zero protection and safety. Studies also point out that wage discrimination between male and female migrants are a common phenomenon. Further, they divulge problems associated with female migrant workers and labour exploitation wherein they are more vulnerable than male workers. The common problems female workers face at the work and living sites are harassment, verbal abuse, lack of sanitation, and the burden of additional duties and family responsibilities (Reetika et al., 2009).

The nature, magnitude, pattern, trends and other characteristics of seasonal labour migration is changing gradually, in particular, in the era of globalization (Reddy,

2003; Korra, 2011). In this backdrop, the present chapter poses several important questions, such as: what are the determinants and extent of seasonal labour out-migration. What are the patterns of seasonal labour migration? What are the characteristics of seasonal migrants? What are their employment and wage patterns at the destinations? What are the working and living conditions of migrant workers at the destination? What are their earning and spending patterns? These issues turn out to be essential for the present analysis and would be addressed in the context of the Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. Besides, these issues also become crucial because the whole spectrum of the labour migration process is dominated by the landless poor and marginalised farming communities in the district. Notably, Mahabubnagar district is one of the most backward districts of Andhra Pradesh and known for its excessive labour stock. The district is thus a source of labour supply for other parts of the State as well as other Indian States, and witnesses a large exodus of outward seasonal labour movements during the lean agricultural season every year.

This chapter comprises seven sections, including the introduction. The second section talks about the magnitude (extent) of seasonal labour migration. The third section deals with the determinants, characteristics and pattern of seasonal labour migration. The fourth section is about patterns of employment and wages of seasonal labour migrants. The fifth section is concerned with the working and living conditions of seasonal migrants. The sixth section examines the patterns of remittances and income spending of seasonal migrants. The final section has the summary and conclusions.

### **3.2. Magnitude of Seasonal Labour Migration**

The study region, Mahabubnagar, is one of the most backward districts in the State of Andhra Pradesh. Moreover, it is also one of the major labour supplier districts in the country. Labourers from the district are recognised for their tireless, hard work and known all over the country by the epithet '*Palamur Labours*'. The migratory

process or labour outflow from the district has been mounting over the years and it is also constantly changing in nature. Therefore, there is a call for checking the current labour movements from the district. At present, the district is witnessing high levels of seasonal labour migration in particular during the post-harvest agricultural season. In fact, such seasonal movements of labour occur due to the lack of alternative job options, particularly after the 'khariff' season. Given this backdrop, the present section attempts to study the magnitude and importance of seasonal labour migration in the selected study villages in Mahabubnagar district. This aspect of assessment is vital in understanding the extent of seasonal labour outflow from the district. Thus, it could bring out the ground realities about seasonal movements of the present situation from the district.

When we look into the details, the present study divulged that out of total 240 sample households 1004 total population was recorded from the three surveyed villages in the district. Out of this, 559 (56%) were males and 445 (44%) were females. Out of the total population, 218 individuals or 22 per cent were those who migrated from the study villages. Further, out of total 218 individual migrants 55 per cent of them were males and remaining 45 per cent were female migrants. Besides, among the three villages Akkaram has recorded large number of migrants to other regions, with 53 per cent males and 47 per cent female migrants, followed by Chityala and Pata Kodangal villages with male migrants outnumbering female migrants in both villages (Table 3.1). This result implies that the male members of a household are more likely to migrate than female members. It is noteworthy that most of these migrants in fact moved out after the completion of the agricultural harvest season when employment opportunities shrink and dismal conditions prevail in the rural economy. This aspect will be discussed thoroughly in the subsequent sections of the chapter.

**Table 3.1: Sex-wise Distribution of Individual Migrants in the Study Villages**

Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
48 (53)	42 (47)	40 (60)	27 (40)	32 (53)	29 (47)	120 (55)	98 (45)

Source: Field Survey, conducted during the months of December, 2009 to January, 2010.

Note: Parentheses indicates their respective percentages.

The study results imply that the extent of seasonal labour migration primarily depends on two factors: firstly, the status/condition of their crops and secondly, the time-span of the agricultural season in the villages. For instance, if the status or condition of crops is good with bumper yields (grain), then the number of people migrating out of the village during that particular year would be less, and vice versa. Secondly, if the period of the agricultural season is prolonged for a long time due to the late monsoon, then the time of migration will extend further which would again impact the extent of migration from the villages. It is on account of these two reasons there a normal level of seasonal labour movements from the study villages prevailed during the surveyed year, 2010.

Likewise, the information on migrant's marital status reveals that out of the total number of migrants, 62 per cent were married, 36 per cent were unmarried and only just one per cent were widows or widowers. Except for the widow/widower category, the number of males in remaining categories happened to be greater than the number of female migrants. When we look across the village, one could find more or less similar results in all the three study villages. Nevertheless, the number of unmarried male migrants in Akkaram was outsized as compared to married male migrants. Similarly, married women were greater in number than their male counterparts. Further, in the remaining two villages, married migrants were outnumbered by unmarried migrants. Significantly, in both the categories (married and unmarried) males were more predominant than female migrants (Table 3.2). This signifies that seasonal labour migration is largely male-dominated and possibly stimulated by economic reasons such as lack of employment opportunities in the village and the quest for jobs with higher wages (this facet will be discussed in the successive sections of the chapter). Actually, this could be the reason why female

migrants were less in number than their male counterparts. In fact, the number of studies in the field of migration research show that female migration is by and large associated with non-economic reasons and motivated by factors such as marriage and 'moving with family'. Moreover, female migration is permanent in nature rather than temporary (Srivastava, 2005).

**Table 3.2: Proportion of Migrant's Marital Status according to Sex in the Study Villages**

Marital Status	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Unmarried	25 (61)	16 (39)	15 (71)	6 (29)	10 (59)	7 (41)	50 (63)	29 (37)
Married	23 (49)	24 (51)	25 (54)	21 (46)	22 (51)	21 (49)	70 (52)	66 (48)
Widows	0	2 (100)	0	0	0	1 (100)	0	3 (100)
Total	48 (53)	42 (47)	40 (60)	27 (40)	32 (53)	29 (47)	120 (55)	98 (45)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

Further, when we look at the migrants' caste composition on the whole, it portrays that a large proportion of migrant workers belong to the Lambada community (ST) followed by OBCs and SC communities which accounted for 69%, 16% and 15%, respectively. Akkaram and Pata Kodangal villages accounted for migrants from the ST community, whereas in Chityala, OBCs and SCs outnumbered the STs. When we examined gender facet based on caste or social identity, the data showed that in the ST community, male migrants were outnumbered females. In the same way, in OBC and SC communities, male migrants outnumbered their female counterparts. It must be noted that similar patterns were seen in all the three study villages where a large number of males moved out to other regions, in particular for employment or in search of employment (Table 3.3). This pattern of male domination could be due to the fact that most of them came from a farming background where they engaged in their own cultivation during the agricultural season prior to migration. In fact, such migrants prefer to migrate-out particularly during the post-harvest season. Another possible reason could be that females were mainly left behind to take care of the remaining cultivation, look after livestock and family responsibilities, in particular taking care of their children. In this regard, the study was observed that most of the households were hesitant to allow their female household members to migrate on

*Why villages randomly?*

account of the burdensome and hazardous working conditions at the destinations. Inferior living conditions and unfamiliar lifestyle of urban areas were also responsible for the lower rate of female migration (Smita, 2007).

**Table 3.3: Distribution of Sub-Castes of Migrants according to Sex in the Study Villages**

Name of the Castes	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Boya	0	0	6 (60)	4 (40)	0	0	6 (60)	4 (40)
Golla	0	0	4 (67)	2 (33)	2 (40)	3 (60)	6 (55)	5 (45)
Kammari	0	0	3 (50)	3 (50)	0	0	3 (50)	3 (50)
Kummari	0	0	3 (60)	2 (40)	0	0	3 (60)	2 (40)
Lambadas	41 (53)	36 (47)	13 (62)	8 (38)	28 (54)	24 (46)	82 (55)	68 (45)
Madiga	7 (54)	6 (46)	11 (58)	8 (42)	0	0	18 (56)	14 (44)
Telugollu	0	0	0	0	2 (50)	2 (50)	2 (50)	2 (50)
Total	48 (53)	42 (47)	40 (60)	27 (40)	32 (53)	29 (47)	120 (55)	98 (45)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

Furthermore, an important point to note is that the number of migrants who moved out from the same household could describe the extent and intensity of migration level within a household. In this regard, the study shows that out of the total migrants, 31 per cent moved out with four of their family members followed by 30% and 26% who migrated together with two and three of their family members respectively from the same household. Interestingly, in all the above-mentioned categories male migrants accounted for a larger proportion than females, though this proportion varies across the villages. Further, when we look at the village level, 44% and 27% of the migrants migrated with four and three of their family members respectively from Akkaram, and 27% and 24% of them migrated with two and four of their family members respectively from Chityala. From Pata Kodangal, it was 49% and 30% that migrated together with two and three of their family members respectively (total within the villages). On the other hand, looking at the gender aspect it is seen that from all the villages, male migrants accounted for a greater proportion than females. However, in all the villages, it is seen that in the category of three persons migrating from the same household female migrants marginally



outnumbered male migrants, while in the other categories, the proportion of male migrants were reported to be higher than that of females.

A noteworthy point here is that even in the category of single and four family member migration, the proportion of male migrants is seen to be higher (Table 3.4). The dominance of four and three person movements from the same family indicates the need of employment, intention of income earnings and over-dependency on migration by a household. This, in fact, suggests the economic vulnerability and depressed condition of a particular migrant household. Besides, low output and income from agriculture induces most of the migrants to leave their homes in order to earn an income by working in other regions for short periods or temporarily. This short-term movement in fact takes place predominantly after the agricultural harvest season. Indeed, seasonal labour migration evolves and revolves around the agriculture seasons.

**Table 3.4: Number of Persons that Migrated from a Migrant Household according to Sex in the Study Villages**

Number of Migrants	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1 Person	2 (67)	1 (33)	7 (87)	1 (13)	1 (100)	0	10 (83)	2 (17)
2 Persons	9 (50)	9 (50)	9 (50)	9 (50)	15 (50)	15 (50)	33 (50)	33 (50)
→ 3 Persons	11 (46)	13 (54)	8 (53)	7 (53)	10 (57)	8 (44)	29 (51)	28 (49)
4 Persons	23 (57)	17 (43)	10 (63)	6 (37)	6 (50)	6 (50)	39 (57)	29 (43)
5 Persons	3 (60)	2 (40)	6 (60)	4 (40)	0.0	0	9 (60)	6 (40)
Total	48 (53)	42 (47)	40 (60)	27 (40)	32 (53)	29 (47)	120 (55)	98 (45)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

Another interesting angle is looking at is the number of persons of a particular caste/social group who migrated from the same household. The particulars in this regard reveal that on the whole, the majority of the households belonging to the SC community witnessed three and four person migration which indicates the intensity and significance of migration to them. On the other hand, most of the ST community households reported to have sent out two of their family members (32%). Nonetheless, among the same community, 29% and 26 per cent of households sent out four and three of their family members respectively to other destinations for

employment and earning purposes. In the case of the OBC community, majority of households reported sending out two and four of their family members, with 36% 31 percentages respectively. On the contrary, village level information revealed different results all across the villages. For instance, in Akkaram, a large number of ST households reported four persons as having migrated from the same household. In Chityala, it was SC households that sent out three of their family members. Then in Pata Kodangal it was again predominantly ST households that saw two of their family members migrating out together to other regions (Table 3.5).

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It should be mentioned here that regardless of their caste/ social identity, most of the migrant households sent four and three of their family members to other regions. This implies that migrant households are economically backward and vulnerable, and thus more prone to move out of their homes. Financial necessity and unemployment seem to be other paramount forces playing a significant role in their decision to migrate than caste/ social identity. Further, it can be also noted that most of the communities in fact reported that they sent four and two of their family members to other destinations. In this regard, the present study observes that the migration decision depends not only on economic conditions and financial necessity, but also on household size, the presence of able-bodied persons (age) and gender composition. Indeed, household composition decides the number of family members that migrate from a household in particular and the extent of seasonal migrants from the village in general.

**Table 3.5: Number of Persons that Migrated from a Migrant Household according to Caste in the Study Villages**

No. of Migrants	Akkaram		Chityala			Pata Kodangal		Grand Total		
	SC	ST	SC	ST	OBC	ST	OBC	SC	ST	OBC
1 Person	0	3 (100)	1 (13)	5 (62)	2 (25)	1 (100)	0	1 (8)	9 (75)	2 (17)
2 Persons	2 (11)	16 (89)	2 (11)	4 (22)	12 (67)	28 (93)	2 (7)	4 (6)	48 (73)	14 (21)
3 Persons	3 (13)	21 (87)	9 (60)	3 (20)	3 (20)	15 (83)	3 (17)	12 (21)	39 (68)	6 (11)
4 Persons	8 (20)	32 (80)	4 (25)	4 (25)	8 (50)	8 (67)	4 (33)	12 (18)	44 (65)	12 (18)
5 Persons	0	5 (100)	0	5 (50)	5 (50)	0	0	0	10 (67)	5 (33)
Total	13 (14)	77 (86)	16 (23)	21 (31)	30 (45)	52 (85)	9 (15)	29 (13)	150 (69)	39 (18)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 1.

In this context, it is imperative to examine the age and sex distribution of the migrants, which could provide further details about the category of people that are more inclined to migrate-out of the study villages. Overall, the age and gender facet reveals that a large proportion of migrants constituted those in the age group of 31-40, 11-20 and 21-30 years with 29% and 22% respectively, out of total migrant population. In all the age groups, except for the 11-20 category, males outnumbered female migrants. What is more interesting here is that 0-10 age group migrants were predominant. These under aged children essentially migrated either along with their parents or migrated with family members for employment in other destinations. This study found that there were two elderly migrants in the age group 61-70 years. In this the study observed that the inclination to migrate is mainly on account of unemployment, income necessity, needs of the time, difficulties in finding alternative sources of income and escaping from distress in the village. If we look at the villages by age and gender of the migrants, we can find by and large similar overall patterns showing large scale migration of people in the age groups 31-40, 11-20 and 21-30 in all the three villages (Table 3.6). This implies that migrant population is by and large the young, those at prime age and able-bodied persons who can take risk of leaving their homes and family behind in order to earn and accumulate income by working in other regions. In fact, most of these migrants were males and sometimes accompanied by their spouses and children. The urban labour market demands able-bodied and risk taking labourers to take up heavy and hard manual work. That explains why we can see younger, able-bodied and medium aged migrant labourers working in urban labour markets (James, 2000; Galab, 2006).

**Table 3.6: Distribution of Migrants according to Age Groups and Sex in the Study Villages**

Villages Age Groups	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-10 Years	8 (62)	5 (38)	9 (69)	4 (31)	7 (58)	5 (42)	24 (63)	14 (37)
11-20 Years	16 (57)	12 (43)	6 (46)	7 (54)	2 (25)	6 (75)	24 (49)	25 (51)
21-30 Years	5 (38)	8 (62)	11 (58)	8 (42)	8 (50)	8 (50)	24 (50)	24 (50)
31-40 Years	10 (48)	11 (52)	12 (63)	7 (37)	13 (57)	10 (43)	35 (56)	28 (44)
41-50 Years	7 (58)	5 (42)	2 (67)	1 (33)	2 (100)	0	11 (65)	6 (35)
50-60 Years	0	1 (100)	0	0	0	0	0	1 (100)
61-70 Years	2 (100)	0	0	0	0	0	2 (100)	0
Total	48 (53)	42 (47)	40 (60)	27 (40)	32 (52)	29 (48)	120 (55)	98 (45)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

### 3.3. Characteristics of Seasonal Labour Migrants

In this section, we address the characteristics of seasonal labour migrants by considering some important factors. This study tries to bring out the impact of such characteristics and explain how they influenced migrants' decisions to move out. In doing so, the study tries to examine the various features of the migrant population such as occupation, employment status (at origin), social identity, marital status, education level, and other important associated household factors. In fact, this exploration helps us to understand how these characteristics (attributes) have affected or have influenced their household decisions in particular and livelihood strategies in general. Further, gender and caste compositions could also provide information about the migrants' socio-economic status in the study villages. Looking into the migrants' occupational status reveals that 53 per cent of migrants were cultivators, 18 per cent of them non-farm labourers and 11 per cent, agricultural labourers. Interestingly, 17 per cent of migrants are reported as being below 14 years of age, and a large number of them belong to the non-workers category (Table 3.7). More importantly, in all the occupational categories, males outnumbered their female counterpart as a whole. When we look across the villages it is found that almost similar patterns exist in all the three villages. From this, what we could infer is that most of the migrants are farmers or have an agricultural background in which males outnumber the females. Secondly, occupational diversification in the study villages is very negligible and dismal. In fact, the absence of occupational diversification restricted employment opportunities and thus their earning capacity is confined to only agriculture and daily wage employment. Furthermore, child labour migration is also quite significant in these villages which have implications on such child migrant households (Galab, 2006). This will be discussed in detail in a subsequent section of the chapter.

**Table 3.7: Classification of Migrants' Occupation by Sex in the Study Villages**

Occupation	Akkaram		Chityala		Pat Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Below 14 years	8 (73)	3 (27)	10 (67)	5 (33)	7 (58)	5 (42)	25 (66)	13 (34)
Agricultural labour	3 (50)	3 (50)	10 (57)	8 (44)	0	0	13 (54)	11 (46)
Cultivators	28 (51)	27 (49)	10 (57)	8 (44)	22 (51)	21 (49)	60 (52)	56 (48)
Non-farm labourers	9 (50)	9 (50)	10 (63)	6 (37)	3 (50)	3 (50)	22 (55)	18 (45)
Total	48 (53)	42 (47)	40 (60)	27 (40)	32 (53)	29 (47)	120 (55)	98 (45)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

The migrants' occupations and caste/social identity also divulges results similar to that of occupation and gender. On the whole, 53 per cent of the migrants were cultivators, 18 per cent of them non-farm labourers and 11 per cent, agricultural labourers. Significantly, 17 per cent of the migrants were below 14 years of age. Further, the caste composition reveals that 35 per cent of migrants from the SC community are non-farm labourers, whereas the proportion was 33% for STs and 32% for OBCs. In the cultivator category, 88 per cent of them were STs, and the SCs and OBCs accounted for only 1% and 11%, respectively. In the case of agricultural labourers 25%, 46% and 29% belonged to the SC, ST and OBC communities respectively. Nevertheless, migrants from SC community are mostly cultivators and non-farming labourers in particular in the Akkaram and Chityala villages. In the case of Chityala and Pata Kodangal, STs and OBCs communities were predominantly cultivators (farmers) (Table 3.8). It can be inferred from this that most of the ST and OBC migrants are largely cultivators who supposed to have their own agricultural land and cultivate during the monsoon season, and more importantly that the STs share of land is greater than OBCs. In contrast, the SCs belong to the labourer families. This indicates that the SCs are landless and weak resource households while other communities are marginally better off in terms of land possession and resources. However, these factors do not prevent them from migration which means that they either have inadequate resources or that income from such resources is poor and insufficient (Bisht et al., 1997). Besides, there is very limited occupational diversification and this impacts labour outflow in the study villages.

**Total 3.8: Classification of Migrants' Occupation by Castes in the Study Villages**

Occupation	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal			Grand Total		
	SC	ST	SC	ST	OBC	ST	OBC	SC	ST	OBC
Below 14 years	0	11 (100)	8 (53)	4 (27)	3 (20)	9 (75)	3 (25)	8 (21)	24 (63)	6 (16)
Agri-labour	0	6 (100)	6 (33)	5 (28)	7 (39)	0	0	6 (25)	11 (46)	7 (29)
Cultivators	1 (2)	54 (98)	0	11 (61)	7 (39)	37 (86)	6 (14)	1 (1)	102 (88)	13 (11)
Non-farm labr	12 (67)	6 (33)	2 (13)	1 (6)	13 (81)	6 (100)	0	14 (35)	13 (33)	13 (32)
Total	13 (14)	77 (86)	16 (24)	21 (31)	30 (45)	52 (85)	9 (15)	29 (13)	150 (69)	39 (18)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

The information on employment status at the origin of the migrant workers at the time of migration suggests that 72 per cent of them are self employed either as cultivators or unpaid household worker followed by 9% and 4 per cent were belongs to caste based occupations (artisans) and daily wage earning workers. Here also, 15 per cent of the migrants were below 14 years age and did not engage in any kind of economic activity in the origin village though their status may change at the destinations. In the same way, similar patterns can be seen in all the three villages. When we look into the gender aspect, in almost all the employments, male migrants were actively engaged and predominantly greater in number than female migrants (Table 3.9). Significantly, in the category of unpaid family labour also, males outnumbered female migrants on the whole. In fact, this result reassures that the large proportion of labour migrants belongs to self employed or own account workers as cultivators. Thus, there is an inverse relationship between lack of employment, occupational diversification and migration in the study villages. This is more so in the case of seasonal labour migrants.

**Table 3.9: Distribution of Migrants' Employment Status according to Sex in the Study Villages**

Employment Status	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Below 14 years	9 (69)	4 (31)	6 (75)	2 (25)	6 (55)	5 (45)	21 (66)	11 (34)
Employee	0	0	1 (100)	0	0	1 (100)	1 (50)	1 (50)
Own account worker	33 (49)	35 (51)	25 (57)	19 (43)	24 (53)	21 (47)	82 (52)	75 (48)
Unpaid family work	5 (63)	3 (37)	0	0	0	0	5 (63)	3 (37)
Other workers	1 (100)	0	8 (57)	6 (43)	2 (50)	2 (50)	11 (58)	8 (42)
Total	48 (53)	42 (47)	40 (60)	27 (40)	32 (53)	29 (47)	120 (55)	98 (45)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

The other vital aspect to explore here is the migrants' literacy or educational level. This could provide a detailed account of the relationship between the migration rate and education level which in fact plays a major role in helping migrants find work/employment and choosing occupations at the destinations. In this regard, the study divulged a predominant proportion of illiterate migrants (62%) followed by migrants with primary education (24%) and lower secondary schooling (6%). Children below 5 years of age have been excluded. There was a very negligible number of migrants with educational qualification of secondary school pass and above (Table 3.10). On the other hand, similar outcomes were observed across all the villages. It is interesting that in the category of illiterates female migrants outnumbered their male counterparts as whole. On the contrary, there was a high proportion of males in the literate category. This inference suggests that majority of the seasonal labour migrants were illiterates and that female migrants constituted the greater proportion. Migrants with primary education are low while better qualified migrants or those with higher education were almost negligible in the study region (Dennis et al., 2008). This vindicates the findings of the existing studies and arguments showed that most of the seasonal labour force comprises illiterate and manual workers with low educational qualifications.

**Table 10: Classification of Migrants' Education Level according to Sex in the Study Villages**

Education	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Sex								
Under aged (5 years)	3 (100)	0	0	0	0	2 (100)	3 (60)	2 (40)
Illiterates	20 (39)	31 (61)	19 (44)	24 (56)	21 (50)	21 (50)	60 (44)	76 (56)
Literates without schl	6 (100)	0	0	0	0	1 (100)	6 (86)	1 (14)
Primary	14 (58)	10 (42)	16 (84)	3 (16)	5 (56)	4 (44)	35 (67)	17 (33)
Lower secondary	5 (100)	0	3 (100)	0	4 (80)	1 (20)	12 (92)	1 (8)
Secondary pass	0	1 (100)	2 (100)	0	2 (100)	0	4 (80)	1 (20)
Total	48 (53)	42 (47)	40 (60)	27 (40)	32 (53)	29 (47)	120 (55)	98 (45)

Source: Same as for Table 3.1. Note: Schl-School.

### 3.3.1. Determinants and Patterns of Seasonal Labour Migration

This section deals with determinants and patterns of seasonal labour movements. It is necessary to make out and understand why and how the seasonal labour

migration process takes place in the study regions. In fact, seasonal labour migration is responding to the changes in the economic scenario, and thus the whole spectrum of labour movements altered accordingly over the period of time. In this context, these factors become significant to analyse particularly the migrant dominated Mahabubnagar district. Further, the study addresses issues such as reasons for migration, time of migration, channel of migration, destinations, etc. The particulars on the whole show that 30 per cent of migrants migrated for daily wage earnings, 28 per cent of them for survival purposes, 26 per cent of them for employment, 9 per cent migrated owing to debt burden and 7 per cent moved out as a result of crop failure. Furthermore, the facet of caste (social identity) of migrants divulged that by and large, migrants from the ST community recorded migration in large numbers followed by the OBC and SC communities respectively. However, particulars within the ST category suggest that the majority of the migrants moved out for earnings, employment and survival purposes. In the case of the SCs, migration was for survival and wage earnings, while for the OBCs, it was for employment and wage earnings on the whole (Table 3.11).

In fact, employment as a reason for their migration also includes migrants who moved out in search of employment in other regions. It should be noted here that in all the villages a considerable proportion of migrants migrated for survival purposes. Survival migration takes place when people do not get employment in the place of origin on the one hand, and on the other, face food grain shortage. They are thus left without no option but to leave their homes in search of work in order to survive and overcome the 'distress period' in the village. In this backdrop, the current study defines survival seasonal labour migration as a situation where people move out of their homes or villages when there is no wage employment available for them at the place of origin, and at the same time, face shortage of food grain, subsequently encountering great risk of semi-starvation and hunger. As a result, such persons are left with no other choice but to migrate towards other regions. In general, the study observed that this sort of survival migration is common and



widespread among the economically deprived and indigent families in Mahabubnagar region (Korra, 2011).

**Table 3.11: Classification of Individuals Reasons for Migration according to Castes in the Study Villages**

Reasons	Akkaram		Chityala			Pata Kodangal		Grand Total		
	SC	ST	SC	ST	OBC	ST	OBC	SC	ST	OBC
Survival	5 (17)	24 (83)	8 (30)	12 (44)	7 (26)	5 (100)	0	13 (21)	41 (67)	7 (12)
Employment	3 (9)	32 (91)	0	2 (25)	6 (75)	9 (69)	4 (31)	3 (5)	43 (77)	10 (18)
Earnings	3 (21)	11 (79)	8 (32)	7 (28)	10 (40)	27 (100)	0	11 (17)	45 (68)	10 (15)
Debts	2 (25)	6 (75)	0	0	5 (100)	4 (57)	3 (43)	2 (10)	10 (50)	8 (40)
Crop failure	0	4 (100)	0	0	2 (100)	7 (78)	2 (22)	0	11 (73)	4 (27)
Total	13 (14)	77 (86)	16 (24)	21 (31)	30 (45)	52 (85)	9 (15)	29 (13)	150 (69)	39 (18)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

In addition, when we take a look at migration with reference to occupation, on the whole, it is revealed that a majority of the migrants were cultivators (53%) followed by non-farm labourers and agricultural labourers with 18% and 11% respectively. In contrast, 17% of the migrants were children below the age of 14 who travelled along with their parents or family members. If we look at the reasons for migration, the category of survival migration predominantly comprises cultivators, non-farm labourers, under aged children and agricultural labourers respectively. In the category of employment, it is the cultivators and non-farm labourers that largely migrated for work/employment. The same pattern can be observed in the category of earnings where cultivators outnumbered other occupational migrants. Similarly, migrants who migrated on account of debt burden and crop failure were by and large cultivators and non-farm labourers. Significantly, in the same category, a greater number of child labour migrants were reported (Table 3.12). This implies that the majority of the cultivators migrated on account of employment, earnings and crop failure. In fact, cultivators dominated in all the categories that migrated for employment purposes. However, we could also find a pattern where cultivators largely moved out due to crop failure while non-farm labourers went because they were overburdened by debts. Agricultural labourers mostly travelled in search of

work for survival purposes. In short, earnings, survival and employment seem to be the major reasons for migration in the study village.

**Table 3.12: Classification of Individuals Reasons for Migration by Occupation in the Study Villages**

Reasons	Under aged	Agri-labourers	Cultivators	Non-farm labour	Total	% Total
Survival	15 (25)	11 (18)	19 (31)	16 (26)	61 (100)	28%
Employment	8 (14)	3 (5)	35 (63)	10 (18)	56 (100)	26%
Earnings	10 (15)	8 (12)	41 (62)	7 (11)	66 (100)	30%
Debts	2 (10)	2 (10)	9 (45)	7 (35)	20 (100)	9%
Crop failure	3 (20)	0	12 (80)	0	15 (100)	7%
Total	38 (17)	24 (11)	116 (53)	40 (18)	218 (100)	100%

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

Further information on migration trends at the time of the study demonstrates that 52% of the migrants moved out in the month of December, 2009 followed by 35% migrating in the month of November, 2009. In contrast, a marginal number of labourers had migrated about four to five years previously and still continued to stay at the destinations. However, these migrants visit their villages at least once in a year on a regular basis. They thus maintain their social network not only with family members left behind but also with the villagers. When we examine the time of migration in relation to land ownership one can find that 57 per cent of the migrants who owned land moved out in the months of November and December, 2009 while 30 per cent of landless migrants travelled towards other regions during the same months (December and November, 2009). In contrast, 9 per cent of the migrants moved out since 2005 to 2008 from the study villages. Of this, the landless migrants constituted the major proportion (Table 3.13).

However, most of the longer-duration migrants visited their villages either individually or together, in particular, to attend festivals and other social ceremonies. In that way, they are not different from the seasonal labour migrants (temporary). Further, very similar patterns can be observed in all the three villages. However, the Akkaram and Chityala villages have reported longer history of migration than Pata Kodangal. It is important to note that there is a positive

relationship between the time of migration and the agricultural season. For instance, most of the migrants migrated during the months of November and December which is the harvest time or end of the agricultural season in the villages. A significant portion of the landless migrant workers migrated prior to land-owning migrants. In fact, this occurred mainly on account of end of agricultural season when availability of work would drastically come down and the scene becomes dismal. It is perhaps due to the same reason that landless labourers moved out before than their land owned migrant workers (Deaton, 1997).

**Table 3.13: Classification of Migrants Time of Migration according to Land Ownership in the Study Villages**

Month and year of migration	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Land	Landless	Land	Landless	Land	Landless	Land	Landless
December, 2005	0	0	0	5 (100)	0	0	0	5 (100)
December, 2006	0	4 (100)	0	0	0	0	0	4 (100)
December, 2007	0	0	0	0	2 (100)	0	2 (100)	0
December, 2008	2 (100)	0	0	5 (100)	0	0	2 (29)	5 (71)
December, 2009	29 (74)	10 (26)	15 (100)	15 (50)	45 (100)	0	89 (78)	25 (22)
February, 2009	0	2 (100)	0	0	0	4 (100)	0	6 (100)
July, 2009	0	0	0	0	0	2 (100)	0	2 (100)
November, 2009	21 (51)	20 (49)	9 (33)	18 (67)	5 (62)	3 (38)	35 (46)	41 (54)
November, 2007	0	2 (100)	0	0	0	0	0	2 (100)
Total	52 (58)	38 (42)	24 (36)	43 (64)	52 (85)	9 (15)	128 (59)	90 (41)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

The other important aspect explored here is the migrants' destination. This provides the current patterns of seasonal labour migration from the study regions. Further, the details illustrate that of the total number of migrants, 33% migrated into Hyderabad, 24% to Mumbai, 11% to Pattipadu and 10% towards Ahmadabad city. In other words, out of the total number of migrants, 62% migrated to places within Andhra Pradesh state (Intra-State migration) and 38% migrated to places outside the state territory (Inter-State migration). The major intra-state destination is Hyderabad, while for inter-state migration, the destination is Mumbai. Significantly, 74% of the seasonal labour migrants travelled towards urban towns and cities across the country while remaining 26% went to rural areas for employment purposes.

Here, rural labour outflow is confined only to Andhra Pradesh's boundaries whereas urban migration extended to other States such as Maharashtra's Mumbai and Gujarat's Ahmadabad, Surat and Vadodara.

On the other hand, the gender aspect of the migrants' destination reveals that except for Munugodu, Nakirekal, Surat and Vadodara where females were outnumbered male migrants, males outnumbered their female counterparts in other destinations. If we look across the villages, firstly, Akkaram witnessed both rural and urban out-migration whereas the other two villages accounted only urban migration. Moreover, 62 per cent of migrants from Akkaram moved towards rural destinations but within the state, and the rest of them migrated to Hyderabad and Guntur, with 31% and 7% respectively. In the rural destinations, female migrants outnumbered male migrants, while in urban areas, males accounted for a larger proportion than female migrants. Likewise, in Chityala all the migrants moved towards urban areas within and outside the State. It is important to note here that a large proportion of males migrated to Hyderabad city while females outnumbered their male counterparts in long distance destinations such as Surat and Vadodara. However, migrants from Pata Kodangal predominantly travelled towards Mumbai and Hyderabad city. Here also, a larger number of male migrants went to Hyderabad while a larger number of female migrants went to Mumbai (Table 3.14). This implies that females are forced to take up long distance destinations which in fact show their vulnerability and helplessness that forces them to take up migration regardless of distance. In this regard, the study observed that most of these migrants (from long distance places) were accompanied not only their spouses but also their children, particularly girls. In general, the study observed that selection of the destinations depends on multiple factors, in particular on literacy, education level, social network, awareness about employment opportunities, past experience and knowledge about life style in the destinations. Here, migrants opined that if given moderate wages in nearby places they would always prefer to migrate to such short-distance places. There was a natural tendency among migrants to migrate to nearby

places for employment particularly on account of avoiding risk involved in long distance places (Dennis et al., 2006).

**Table 3.14: Distribution of Migrants' Destinations according to Sex in the Study Villages**

Destinations	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Aakaram	3 (60)	2 (40)	0	0	0	0	3 (60)	2 (40)
Ahmadabad	0	0	13 (62)	8 (38)	0	0	13 (62)	8 (38)
Bhainsa	3 (60)	2 (40)	0	0	0	0	3 (60)	2 (40)
Guntur	3 (50)	3 (50)	0	0	0	0	3 (50)	3 (50)
Hyderabad	18 (64)	10 (36)	23 (64)	13 (36)	4 (44)	5 (56)	45 (62)	28 (38)
Mumbai	0	0	0	0	28 (54)	24 (46)	28 (54)	24 (46)
Munugodu	5 (31)	11 (69)	0	0	0	0	5 (31)	11 (69)
Nakirekal	3 (100)	0	0	0	0	0	3 (100)	0 (0.0)
Pattipadu	12 (48)	13 (52)	0	0	0	0	12 (48)	13 (52)
Puttam Gandhi	1 (50)	1 (50)	0	0	0	0	1 (50)	1 (50)
Surat	0	0	3 (43)	4 (57)	0	0	3 (43)	4 (57)
Vadodara	0	0	1 (33)	2 (67)	0	0	1 (33)	2 (67)
Total	48 (53)	42 (47)	40 (60)	27 (40)	32 (53)	29 (47)	120 (55)	98 (45)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

On the other side, the information on the three and above family members' category migration reveals that 64% of the migrants travelled with at least three of their family members and 36 per cent of them migrated either single/alone or accompanied by another family member (two persons from the same household). Further, if we look within the category of three and above family members' migration (family migration) 69% migrated to urban destinations and remaining went towards rural destinations. In contrast, at the village level it was revealed that Akkaram mostly had rural migrants (62%) who migrated with three and/or above family members and 38 per cent migrated to urban areas in the same category. In Chityala, 61% migrated to urban areas with three and/or more family members, while in Pata Kodangal, 49% migrated with three and/or more family members, and rest of the migrants moved either single/alone or with another family member to urban destinations (Table 3.15). It is necessary to mention here is that in Chityala and Pata Kodangal, migration out-flows pointed only towards urban towns and cities. In this context, the study considered three and above family members migration as

family migration. Here, family migration is defined as a context in which a person migrated along with three and above family members together to the same destination and worked in the same sector. The main features of such family migrants are they migrate out together, work in the same sector, stay together and return home together. The family migration (three and/or more family members) indicates the intensity, severity and over-dependency on seasonal labour migration by such households.

**Table 3.15: Share of Family Migrants' according to Destinations in the Study Villages**

Family Migration	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Rural Destination	43 (77)	13 (23)	0	0	0	0	43 (77)	13 (23)
Urban Destination	26 (76)	8 (24)	41 (61)	26 (38)	30 (49)	31(51)	97 (60)	65 (40)
Total	69 (77)	21 (23)	41 (61)	26 (38)	30 (49)	31 (51)	140 (64)	78 (36)

Source: Same as for Table 3.1. Note: Family migration is defined as persons who migrated together with at least three and above or all the family members from the same households are regarded as family migration.

In addition, the data on the form of migration according to caste or social identity of migrant workers reveals that there are three types of migration channels in the villages. Further, details show that, on the whole, 53% of migrant workers toured with their parents or family members, 28% moved out by forming a group with other fellow villagers, and the remaining 19% travelled individually or alone to the destinations (Table 3.16). These various modes of migration suggest that migrants from the ST community reported dominantly in all the three categories followed by OBCs and SC communities respectively. Nonetheless, we could find very similar patterns in almost all the three villages. When we look within the communities, first, among the ST communities group and family migration is predominant while in SC community it is family and individual forms of migration that mostly prevail. Then, among the OBC community, individual and family migration was predominantly greater than other forms of migration. The extent and forms of migration would depend on the land ownership, household needs and financial conditions. Besides, forms of migration also depend on the household size and willingness of family members to travel to other regions for employment purposes. In fact, household size

among STs is marginally high than other communities and hence such households reported a large extent of family migration from the study villages (Krishnaiah, 1998).

**Table 3.16: Classification of Forms of Migration according to Castes in the Study Villages**

Channel of Mig	Akkaram		Chityala			Pata Kodangal		Grand Total		
	SC	ST	SC	ST	OBC	ST	OBC	SC	ST	OBC
Individual	2 (33)	4 (67)	3 (13)	5 (21)	16 (67)	11 (100)	0	5 (12)	20 (49)	16 (39)
Groups	4 (11)	33 (89)	0	2 (50)	2 (50)	18 (86)	3 (14)	4 (7)	53 (85)	5 (8)
Family	7 (15)	40 (85)	13 (33)	14 (36)	12 (31)	23 (79)	6 (21)	20 (17)	77 (67)	18 (16)
Total	13 (14)	77 (86)	16 (24)	21 (31)	30 (45)	52 (85)	9 (15)	29 (13)	150 (69)	39 (18)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

### 3.4. Employment and Wage Patterns of Seasonal Labour Migration

The present section deals with the aspect of employment and wage patterns of seasonal labour migrants at the destination. Here, it tries to bring out the current nature of employment, patterns and wage rates of seasonal migrants at both rural and urban destination. Further, it also examines the employment and wage pattern with reference to gender, child labour and castes. Through this examination, the study tries to distinguish and establish the patterns of employment, wage and other aspects between the rural and the urban migration destinations.

In this context, if we look into the details on the whole, 33% of migrants engaged in building construction activities, 20% engaged in agricultural activities, 12% worked as cable and drainage digging workers, and 7% worked in hotel and restaurants. More importantly, 15% of the migrant workers did not engage in any kind of economic labour activity. However, this was explained by the under-age migrant population (below 14 years). As mentioned in the previous section, overall, the study villages reported that of the total number of migrants, 53% of the migrants were cultivators, 18% were non-farm labourers, and 11% were agricultural labourers. Out of total employment activities, the majority of migrant workers (33%) were engaged in the building construction sector, 20% in agriculture sector, 12% in cable trench work and 7% in hotel/restaurant activities. In almost all the

employment activities, migrants from the cultivator category outnumbered non-farm labourers and agricultural labourers. Interestingly, the category of workers in shops was predominantly non-farm workers (Table 3.17). This result implies that most of the cultivators engaged in multiple or diversified manual labour activities in order to earn daily wage/salaried payment. In contrast, agricultural labourers were by and large restricted to cultivators who worked in agriculture sector for wage earnings. In short, regardless of the migrants' occupational background at the place of origin, the majority of them engaged in a variety of urban manual labour activities for daily wage earnings.

**Table 3.17: Classification of Migrants' Employment Patterns according to Destinations and Usual Occupation in the Study Villages**

Type of Employment	Non-workers	Agri-labourers	Cultivator	Non-farm labourers	Total
Under aged children	28 (85)	1 (3)	1 (3)	3 (9)	33 (100)
Agricultural labourers	4 (9)	3 (7)	29 (67)	7 (16)	43 (100)
Construction workers	0	11 (15)	46 (64)	15 (21)	72 (100)
Brick kiln workers	3 (27)	2 (18)	4 (36)	2 (18)	11 (100)
Poultry workers	2 (40)	0	3 (60)	0	5 (100)
Cable trench workers	1 (4)	6 (23)	16 (61)	3 (11)	26 (100)
Load & unload	0	1 (20)	2 (40)	2 (40)	5 (100)
Work in hotel/restaurant	0	0	10 (67)	5 (33)	15 (100)
Auto/taxi drivers	0	0	1 (100)	0	1 (100)
Workers in shops	0	0	1 (25)	3 (75)	4 (100)
Housemaids	0	0	3 (100)	0	3 (100)
Total	38 (17)	24 (11)	116 (53)	40 (18)	218 (100)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

Another essential aspect that should be examined is the literacy or educational level of seasonal labour migrants. The particulars reveals that of the total, 62% of the seasonal migrants were illiterate 24% were literate and had primary education, and only 6% had lower secondary education. If we look into the migrants' educational level and economic activity at the destinations regardless of educational qualification, it is found that most of them engaged in almost all kinds of documented economic activities. However, illiterates largely worked in building construction and in the agricultural sector. Similarly, migrants with basic education



(primary) were moderately occupied in the same economic labour activities at the destinations although in less proportion than the former (Table 3.18). Also, it is to be noted that with low level of education, there is less likelihood of obtaining skills and upgrading them to enhance their employment opportunities as in the case of semi-skilled and skilled migrant workers. Thus, in spite of their educational qualifications, there are a large number of migrants still working in building construction, agricultural activities, cable or drainage digging and brick kiln works. It seems that illiteracy, low level of educational attainment and lower skills are the major constraints that prevent seasonal migrants from obtaining better employment/work and enhancing their earning capacity, particularly in the urban destinations (Lucas, 2003).

**Table 3.18: Classification of Migrants' Employment Patterns according to Destinations and Education Level in the Study Villages**

Employment	< 5 years	Illiterate	Informal literates	Primry	Lower secondary	Secondary	Total
Below 5 year	4 (12)	24 (73)	0	5 (15)	0	0	33 (100)
Agri-labours	1 (2)	24 (56)	2 (5)	13 (30)	2 (5)	1 (2)	43 (100)
Construction	0	51 (71)	2 (3)	14 (19)	3 (4)	2 (3)	72 (100)
Brick kiln	0	5 (46)	1 (9)	3 (27)	2 (18)	0	11 (100)
Poultry	0	3 (60)	1 (20)	1 (20)	0	0	5 (100)
Cable trench	0	18 (69)	0	7 (27)	0	1 (4)	26 (100)
Load & unload	0	3 (60)	1 (20)	1 (20)	0	0	5 (100)
Work in hotel	0	4 (27)	0	5 (33)	5 (33)	1 (7)	15 (100)
Auto/taxi	0	1 (100)	0	0	0	0	1 (100)
In shops	0	1 (25)	0	2 (50)	1 (25)	0	4 (100)
Housemaids	0	2 (67)	0	1 (33)	0	0	3 (100)
Total	5 (2)	136 (62)	7 (3)	52 (24)	13 (6)	5 (2)	218 (100)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

On the other hand, when we look at the nature of employment with reference to gender, it is found that 33 per cent of the migrant workers are actively engaged in the urban building construction sector, followed by 20% in rural agricultural activities, 12% in cable and drainage trench work and 7% in hotel/restaurants on the whole. Nevertheless, there were only a very negligible number of migrants working in brick kilns, poultry, load and unloading work, work in shops, and as housemaids

and auto/taxi drivers. On the other hand, the gender aspect reveals that female migrants were mostly engaged in agricultural activities and brick-kilns. In the remaining employments, male migrant workers constituted in greater number than their female counterparts (Table 3.19). When we look at the village level, as stated in the previous section, Akkaram village witnessed both rural and urban migration. In rural agricultural activities, females outnumbered male migrants whereas in the urban migration stream, males outnumbered female migrants. The other two villages witnessed only urban migration and most of the migrants were engaged in construction and cable trench or drainage digging manual labour activities. The result here suggests that the majority of the urban migrants were engaged in diverse manual economic activities. Secondly, economic seasonal labour migration is by and large dominated by male migrant workers, though the situation differs in the rural migration stream. Finally, seasonal migration is considerably characterised by child labour migrants who, in this case, accompanied their parents and were marginally involved in productive wage employment at the destinations. In this regard, it was observed that most of the child migrants did not go to school at the destinations and stayed either at their dwellings or at work sites. Thus they remained out of school, not just at the destination, but also at the origin due to frequent seasonal out-migration by their parents (Martin et al., 2006).

**Table 3.19: Classification of Migrants' Employment Patterns according to Destinations and Sex in the Study Villages**

Employment at destination	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under aged children	7 (70)	3 (30)	8 (67)	4 (33)	7 (64)	4 (36)	22 (67)	11 (33)
Agricultural labourers	19 (44)	24 (56)	0	0	0	0	19 (44)	24 (56)
Construction workers	7 (50)	7 (50)	15 (58)	11 (42)	17 (53)	15 (47)	39 (54)	33 (46)
Brick kiln workers	1 (50)	1 (50)	3 (50)	3 (50)	1 (33)	2 (67)	5 (46)	6 (54)
Poultry workers	2 (67)	1 (33)	1 (50)	1 (50)	0	0	3 (60)	2 (40)
Cable trench workers	4 (57)	3 (43)	7 (54)	6 (46)	3 (50)	3 (50)	14 (54)	12 (46)
Load & unloading workers	2 (100)	0	2 (67)	1 (33)	0	0	4 (80)	1 (20)
Work in hotel/restaurant	3 (75)	1 (25)	3 (75)	1 (25)	4 (57)	3 (43)	10 (67)	5 (33)
Auto/taxi drivers	1 (100)	0	0	0	0	0	1 (100)	0
Workers in shops	2 (100)	0	1 (100)	0	0	1 (100)	3 (75)	1 (25)
Housemaids	0	2 (100)	0	0	0	1 (100)	0	3 (100)
<b>Total</b>	<b>48 (53)</b>	<b>42 (47)</b>	<b>40 (60)</b>	<b>27 (40)</b>	<b>32 (53)</b>	<b>29 (47)</b>	<b>120 (55)</b>	<b>98 (45)</b>

Source: Same as for Table 3.1. Note: Below 14 years old non-working children are regarded as under aged children.

Furthermore, information regarding the migrants' methods or channel for finding work at the destination discloses that 30% of migrants found work through or with the help of co-villagers/migrants followed by 18% that obtained work at the 'Labour Addas' or spot labour markets, and 15% by searching the spot labour market or their surroundings/dwellings. Most interestingly, in all the categories, migrants from the ST community outnumbered the OBCs and SC communities respectively (Table 3.20). Further, very similar patterns could be seen in each of the study village for all the social groups. It appears that majority of the migrant workers found employment/work through their co-migrants from their villages, friends and relatives then at the spot labour markets. Obviously, migrants who were recruited by contractors and employers did not participate in the spot labour market and thus faced no problem in finding work. The migrants who migrated on the basis of agreement and contracts are assured a specific number of working days and wages for daily work. Therefore, obtaining work at the destination depends by and large on contract/agreement and equally on good social contacts and network with fellow migrants, friends and relatives. Besides, the study noticed that awareness about employment opportunities, spot labour market locations, wage rates,

accommodation, lifestyle and other associated information at the destination plays a critical role in obtaining work particularly in urban areas (McEntarfer, 2003).

**Table 3.20: Classification of Migrants' Channel of Finding Works at Destination according to Caste in the Study Villages**

Channel of finding works	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal			Grand Total		
	SC	ST	SC	ST	OBC	ST	OBC	SC	ST	OBC
Under aged	1 (10)	9 (90)	5 (50)	3 (30)	2 (20)	9 (82)	2 (18)	6 (19)	21 (68)	4 (13)
Relatives	0	2 (100)	0	0	2 (100)	2 (100)	0	0	4 (67)	2 (33)
Friends	0	2 (100)	0	2 (50)	2 (50)	0	0	0	4 (67)	2 (33)
Co-villagers	8 (25)	24 (75)	7 (25)	14 (50)	7 (25)	6 (100)	0	15 (23)	44 (67)	7 (11)
Migrants	0	9 (100)	0	2 (50)	2 (50)	0	0	0	11 (85)	2 (15)
Labour adda	4 (36)	7 (64)	4 (50)	0	4 (50)	14 (67)	7 (33)	8 (20)	21 (52)	11 (28)
Self	0	7 (100)	0	0	4 (100)	21 (100)	0	0	28 (87)	4 (13)
Contractor	0	9 (100)	0	0	7 (100)	0	0	0	9 (56)	7 (44)
Employers	0	8 (100)	0	0	0	0	0	0	8 (100)	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>13 (14)</b>	<b>77 (85)</b>	<b>16 (24)</b>	<b>21 (31)</b>	<b>30 (45)</b>	<b>52 (85)</b>	<b>9 (15)</b>	<b>29 (13)</b>	<b>150 (69)</b>	<b>39 (18)</b>

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

### 3.4.1. Wage Rates and Seasonal Labour Migration

Another significant aspect of seasonal labour migrants is wage rates at the destination. In this, the information on the obtained wage rates at the destination of migrants reveals on the whole that 17% of the migrants received Rs.200 wage per day, 16% of them got Rs. 250, and 15% received Rs. 180 as a daily wage. Significantly, 18% of the migrant workers received wages between Rs. 50 and 100 and 12 % of them obtained between Rs. 110 and Rs.150. In contrast, there were few migrant workers who obtained wages up to Rs.300 per day. However, when we take a look at wage rates along with gender it is seen that in almost all the wage categories recorded in the study (between Rs. 50 and Rs.300) male migrants outnumbered their female counterparts on the whole. On the contrary, in some of the wage categories, female migrants outnumbered males. This occurred mainly on account of nature/type of destinations that they migrated to and the kind of work they engaged in. For instance, wage rates in Mumbai and Hyderabad are higher

than other destinations Thus whoever migrated to these cities earned much higher wages than their other counterparts.

At the village level, the lowest wages (between Rs. 50 to 110) were received by migrants from Akkaram while migrants from Chityala obtained medium level wages, i.e., between Rs. 110 to 200 whereas migrants from Pata Kodangal earned much higher wages - between Rs. 200 to 300 (Table 3.21). Another significant point is that in the rural destinations there was no wage difference between male female migrants whereas in the urban destinations, wage discrimination is widespread. In rural areas, migrants got wages based on the weight of cotton or chilli they picked or collected on a particular working day, that is, they received wages between Rs.2.50 and Rs. 3.00 per one kilogram during the peak season and at the end of the season they used to get more, and sometimes up to Rs.3.50 per day. Thus, rural migrant's daily wage earnings would largely depend on their capacity to pluck the cotton/chilli. Besides, on average cotton or chilli picking by a young migrant could vary between 20 to 25 kilograms per day. Thus, they earn less wages than urban migrants. Urban wages not only depends on nature of employment but also on the age, sex and physical fitness of the migrant. Besides, labour demand and supply factors always have a role to play in employment in the spot labour market. Thus demand and supply factors decide the volume of required labour force that would be employed on that particular day (Mitra et al., 2008).

**Table 3.21: Distribution of Migrants' Wage Rates according to Sex in the Study Villages**

Wage rates	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Non-workers	7 (70)	3 (30)	8 (67)	4 (33)	7 (58)	5 (42)	22 (65)	12 (35)
Rs.50	0	2 (100)	0	0	0	0	0	2 (100)
Rs.70	1 (100)	0	0	0	0	0	1 (100)	0
Rs.80	1 (100)	0	0	0	0	0	1 (100)	0
Rs.90	11 (52)	10 (48)	0	0	0	0	11 (52)	10 (48)
Rs.100	6 (43)	8 (57)	0	0	0	0	6 (43)	8 (57)
Rs.110	7 (50)	7 (50)	1 (50)	1 (50)	0	0	8 (50)	8 (50)
Rs.115	0	0	3 (60)	2 (40)	0	0	3 (60)	2 (40)
Rs.120	0	0	1 (50)	1 (50)	0	0	1 (50)	1 (50)
Rs.150	0	0	2 (67)	1 (33)	0	0	2 (67)	1 (33)
Rs.180	7 (54)	6 (46)	6 (33)	12 (67)	0	1 (100)	13 (41)	19 (59)
Rs.190	0	1 (100)	1 (100)	0	0	0	1 (50)	1 (50)
Rs.200	7 (58)	5 (42)	12 (75)	4 (25)	5 (63)	3 (37)	24 (67)	12 (33)
Rs.220	1 (100)	0	5 (83)	1 (17)	1 ((100)	0	7 (88)	1 (12)
Rs.230	0	0	0	1 (100)	1 (100)	0	1 (50)	1 (50)
Rs.250	0	0	1 (100)	0	15 (46)	18 (54)	16 (47)	18 (53)
Rs.300	0	0	0	0	3 (60)	2 (40)	3 (60)	2 (40)
Total	48 (53)	42 (47)	40 (60)	27 (40)	32 (53)	29 (47)	120 (55)	98 (45)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

However, when we take a look at the wage patterns of migrants according rural and urban migration streams (nature of destinations), on the whole, it is seen that wage rates in the rural destinations are less than that in the urban destinations. Further, among the rural migrants, 38 per cent received wages of Rs. 90 followed by 25% and 21% of the migrants obtained Rs. 100 and Rs. 110, and only 4% of them received Rs. 50 which is the lowest wage rate in the rural areas. On the contrary, in the urban destinations, 43% of the migrants received wages between Rs. 180 and 200 and 9% earned wages between Rs. 110 and Rs. 150 per day which are the lowest wage rates in urban destinations. Here, 27% obtained daily wages between Rs. 220 and Rs. 250, while the number of migrants out of total urban migrants who received daily wage up to Rs. 300 (3%) was insignificant. The remaining was belonging to non-worker category. Village level information shows that majority of the premier wage earners were placed in Pata Kodangal and majority of the lowest wage earners in Akkaram village (rural migrants). In contrast, majority of the urban migrants from Chityala

village were earning wages between Rs. 110 and 200 whereas for Pata Kodangal it was between Rs. 200 and 250. In Akkaram, the majority of the urban migrants earned between Rs. 180 and 220 (Table 3.22). Thus, the urban migrants from Pata Kodangal and Akkaram earned higher/better wages than the migrants from Chityala village. This wage pattern implies that rural migrants received much lower wages while urban migrants got higher wages. Secondly, the analysis suggests that urban destinations had diverse and multi-level wage rates, while in rural the differences were limited. In fact, this largely depended on the migrant's education, skill level and familiarity of work.

**Table 3.22: Distribution of Migrants' Wage Rates according to Destinations in the Study Villages**

Wage rates	Akkaram		Chityala	Pata Kodangal	Grand Total	
	Rural	Urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Urban
Non-worker	4 (40)	6 (60)	12 (100)	12 (100)	4 (12)	30 (88)
Rs.50	2 (100)	0	0	0	2 (100)	0
Rs.70	1 (100)	0	0	0	1 (100)	0
Rs.80	1 (100)	0	0	0	1 (100)	0
Rs.90	21 (100)	0	0	0	21 (100)	0
Rs.100	14 (100)	0	0	0	14 (100)	0
Rs.110	12 (86)	2 (14)	2 (100)	0	12 (75)	4 (25)
Rs.115	0	0	5 (100)	0	0	5 (100)
Rs.120	0	0	2 (100)	0	0	2 (100)
Rs.150	0	0	3 (100)	0	0	3 (100)
Rs.180	0	13 (100)	18 (100)	1 (100)	0	32 (100)
Rs.190	0	1 (100)	1 (100)	0	0	2 (100)
Rs.200	1 (8)	11 (92)	16 (100)	8 (100)	1 (3)	35 (97)
Rs.220	0	1 (100)	6 (100)	1 (100)	0	8 (100)
Rs.230	0	0	1 (100)	1 (100)	0	2 (100)
Rs.250	0	0	1 (100)	33 (100)	0	34 (100)
Rs.300	0	0	0	5 (100)	0	5 (100)
<b>Total</b>	<b>56 (62)</b>	<b>34 (38)</b>	<b>67 (100)</b>	<b>61 (100)</b>	<b>56 (26)</b>	<b>162 (74)</b>

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

On the other hand, the mode of wage payments suggests that there were diverse ways of wage payments which differs between the rural and the urban destinations. On the whole, 83% of the migrants received wages in the form of cash and 6% received them in both forms i.e., as cash and kind. Further, 11% of the migrants were

below 14 years old or non-working children. Of the 17% child migrants, 6% were engaged in manual labour activities at the destinations. Among the rural migrants 9% received wages in both cash and kind, while it was 6% for urban migrants. When we look into the villages, in Akkaram 84% of rural migrants received wages in cash and all the urban migrants received wages in the form of cash only. In the case of Chityala, 72% of the migrants received wages in cash and 13% got wages in both in cash and kind. In Pata Kodangal, all the migrant workers obtained their wages only in the form of cash (Table 3.23). Here, the study suggests that though the wage payments in kind exist only marginally, it is still in practice even in this reformed modern era. Besides, one has to bear in mind that this form of payment exists not only in the rural destinations but also in the urban areas. In this regard, the study observed that both rural and urban migrants obtained their wages in kind in the form of daily ration such as rice, pulses, cereals and edible oil. Left over or the remaining food materials is carried along with them when they return to the village. The total food grain cost would be deducted from their total wage earnings at the end of the work or season or at the time of their departure. For instance, apart from rural migrants, urban migrants who involved in clay work also sometimes received daily ration the cost of which was deducted from their total wage earnings.

**Table 3.23: Classification of Migrants' Mode of Wage Payments according to Destinations in the Study Villages**

Mode of payment	Akkaram		Chityala	Pata Kodangal	Grand Total	
	Rural	Urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Urban
Below 14 years	4 (40)	6 (60)	10 (100)	3 (100)	4 (17)	19 (83)
Cash	47 (63)	28 (37)	48 (100)	58 (100)	47 (26)	134 (74)
Kind & Cash	5 (100)	0	9 (100)	0	5 (36)	9 (64)
Total	56 (62)	34 (38)	67 (100)	61 (100)	56 (26)	162 (74)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

The other significant aspect of seasonal migration is the migrant's duration of stay at the destination. In fact, based on migrants' duration of stay, one can tell whether they are seasonal or other type of migrants. In this regard, the study revealed that 28% of the migrants stayed at the various destinations for around four months, 18% stayed about five months and 13% stayed 6 months on the whole. On the other hand,



21% of migrants stayed from 7-12 months and 10% of the migrants were resided from 18-60 months at the destinations. The rest of them stayed less than three months as a whole. In other words, 90% of the migrants resided in the destination up to 12 months or up to one year and 10% of them resided there from last 18 to 60 months or from one and half years to five years. It is noteworthy to mention here that all the rural migrants stayed less than 9 months wherein majority of the migrants stayed less than six months at their respective destinations. In contrast, majority of the urban migrants stayed for less than 12 months. Across the villages, it seen that in Akkaram some of the rural migrants stayed up to 9 months while urban migrants stayed longer as compared to the urban migrants from other two villages. Nevertheless, both Chityala and Pata Kodangal resemble each other with respect to the overall patterns of migrant's duration of stay at the destination (Table 3.24).

Based on these revelations, the study defines a seasonal labour migrant as "a person who stayed less than one year at the destinations either for employment or in search of employment or for earning wage income during the post-harvest agricultural season and indented to return to the origin village prior to the onset of the next agricultural season". It is also observed that the cycle of seasonal labour movements takes place from the study villages every year during the lean agriculture season. Thus seasonal labour migration is also characterised by the circular and cyclical nature of labour out-migration. Besides, seasonal migration predominantly takes place among the farming and agricultural labour communities. The main distinguishing character of seasonal labour migration is that the majority of the rural migrants stay less than six months while the urban migrants reside less than one year at the destination before returning to the village of origin. Hence, on the basis of present definition, this study considers 90% of the migrants from these villages as seasonal labour migrants, perhaps all through the thesis.

**Table 3.24: Distribution of Migrants' Duration of Stay according to Destinations in the Study Villages**

Duration of stay in months	Akkaram		Chityala	Pata Kodangal	Grand Total	
	Rural	Urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Urban
2 months	0	0	1 (100)	0	0	1 (100)
3 months	7 (47)	8 (53)	0	1 (100)	7 (44)	9 (56)
4 months	28 (88)	4 (12)	13 (100)	15 (100)	28 (47)	32 (53)
5 months	16 (89)	2 (11)	11 (100)	11 (100)	16 (40)	24 (60)
6 months	0	6 (100)	3 (100)	20 (100)	0	29 (100)
7 months	0	0	18 (100)	0	0	18 (100)
8 months	0	3 (100)	10 (100)	6 (100)	0	19 (100)
9 months	5 (100)	0	0	2 (100)	5 (71)	2 (29)
12 months	0	3 (100)	2 (100)	2 (100)	0	7 (100)
18 months	0	0	0	2 (100)	0	2 (100)
24 months	0	2 (100)	5 (100)	0	0	7 (100)
36 months	0	2 (100)	0	2 (100)	0	4 (100)
48 months	0	4 (100)	0	0	0	4 (100)
60 months	0	0	4 (100)	0	0	4 (100)
Total	56 (62)	34 (38)	67 (100)	61 (100)	56 (26)	162 (74)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

Further, the information on the number of times they have migrated during the surveyed year reveals on the whole that 79% migrated only once, 12% travelled twice and 8 per cent of them migrated thrice a year. When we examine this with reference to caste, it is seen that majority of the migrants from SC and ST communities movements were by and large confined to one time, while most of the OBC migrant workers migrated twice from the villages. However, in the category of three times migration, STs outnumbered the other communities. On the other hand, by and large similar patterns could be seen in each of the three study villages (Table 3.25). Nonetheless, the proportion of more than one time migration is predominantly accounted for in Akkaram and Pata Kodangal villages. The migrants who moved a higher number of times by and large migrated towards Hyderabad city which is the nearest destination to all the three study villages. In actual fact, Hyderabad is the largest employment and income earning source for most of the migrants. Indeed, migrants who moved to longer distances show a lower number of movements or less number of times, and SCs and STs are the prevalent social groups in this

category. Migrants who belong to small and marginal farming communities make shorter trips for employment purposes, while landless migrants seem to prefer to stay longer periods instead of moving out a greater number of times from their villages to other regions. In reality, the landless poor do not make more frequent trips owing to their meagre economic conditions and the lack of household resources at the origin village, and thus choose to stay for a longer duration at the destination.

**Table 3.25: Classification of Number of Times of Migration by Migrants according to Caste in the Study Villages**

No. of times migrated	Akkaram		Chityala			Pata Kodangal		Grand Total		
	SC	ST	SC	ST	OBC	ST	OBC	SC	ST	OBC
1 Time	12 (16)	62 (84)	16 (31)	20 (39)	16 (31)	44 (94)	3 (6)	28 (16)	126 (73)	19 (11)
2 Times	1 (13)	7 (87)	0	1 (8)	11 (92)	1 (14)	6 (86)	1 (4)	9 (33)	17 (63)
3 Times	0	7 (100)	0	0	3 (100)	7 (100)	0	0	14 (82)	3 (17)
4 Times	0	1 (100)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1 (100)	0
Total	13 (14)	77 (86)	16 (24)	21 (31)	30 (45)	52 (85)	9 (15)	29 (13)	150 (69)	39 (18)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

The information on the 'number of times migrated-out' with reference to gender shows on the whole that males outnumbered their female migrant counterparts in all the categories of number of times migrated out from the village. However, among the male category, 75% migrated one time, 13% migrated two times and 10% migrated three times respectively. In the case of females, 83% migrated one time, 12% twice and 5% migrated thrice during the study year. If we look at the village-wise picture, it is found that people who migrated three times were predominantly higher in Pata Kodangal while two time migrants were largely accounted for in Chityala and one time and four time migrants were widespread in Akkaram (Table 3.26). It is imperative to note that females who migrated twice were leading in Akkaram. The study observed that people who migrated more than once first migrated to the rural areas then returned to the origin village and again took up migration towards urban destinations. The frequency of the number of times of migration in fact resulted from unemployment, indigent conditions, for daily consumption and the excessive dependence on migration for income. Thus it exposed migrant's economic vulnerability and the distress conditions in the village.

**Table 3.26: Classification of Number of Times of Migration by Migrants according to Sex in the Study Villages**

Number of times migrated	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1 time	38 (51)	36 (49)	30 (58)	22 (42)	24 (51)	23 (49)	92 (53)	81(47)
2 times	3 (38)	5 (62)	8 (67)	4 (33)	4 (57)	3 (43)	15 (56)	12 (44)
3 times	6 (86)	1 (14)	2 (67)	1 (33)	4 (57)	3 (43)	12 (71)	5 (29)
4 times	1 (100)	0	0	0	0	0	1 (100)	0
Total	48 (53)	42 (47)	40 (60)	27 (40)	32 (53)	29 (47)	120 (55)	98 (45)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

### 3.5. Working and Living Conditions of Seasonal Labour Migrants

In this section, the study deals with the work and living conditions of the seasonal labour migrants in the destinations. The questions we bring up here are: what are the working and living conditions of seasonal migrants at their respective destinations? Is there any difference between rural and urban destinations? What is the impact on their lives? This examination is vital in understanding their socio-economic conditions at the destinations and the migrants' overall family status. Further, this would also give us to know whether they are working in a better condition or worse. This aspect is crucial precisely because seasonal labour migrants are more vulnerable and prone to labour exploitation due to the nature of migration and stay. Hence, they are insecure, work without any protection, with no labour insurance and live without any social security at the destinations. In addition, this analysis could expose the merits and flaws in Indian labour laws in protecting the country's mobile population.

When we look into the particulars, first, the migrants' working hours per day reveal that on the whole, 35% worked 9 hours per day, 33% worked 10 hours and the remaining 17% worked the statutory 8 hours per day at the destinations (15% of them were non-working children below age 14). A higher number of urban migrants worked longer hours than their rural counterparts in all the above-mentioned working hours categories. Further, among the rural migrants, the large proportion of workers who worked 10 hours were followed by migrants who worked 9 hours;

there was only a very few number who worked 8 hours per day. The striking evidence here is that most of the migrant workers worked beyond the statutory working hours. In the case of urban destinations, a large number of migrants worked around 9 hours followed by 10 and 8 working hours per day. In fact, there were only 17% of workers who worked according to statutory working hours per day as per the Indian labour laws. Further, by and large, the same patterns could be seen in each of the study villages with slight difference in their proportions (Table 3.27). This implies that the bulk of the migrant workers worked more than the allowed or statutory working hours in a day. This in fact is a violation of labour laws and provisions and hence key evidence of labour exploitation at the destination. The situation also points out the lack of monitoring and checks and balance of the labour laws, and thus shows the apathy of our governments towards the rural labour migrants.

**Table 3.27: Proportion of Migrants Working Hours according to Destinations in the Study Villages**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala	Pata Kodangal	Grand Total	
	Rural	Urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Urban
Working hours						
Below 14 years	3 (30)	7 (70)	12 (100)	11 (100)	3 (9)	30 (91)
8 hours	4 (18)	18 (82)	8 (100)	7 (100)	4 (11)	33 (89)
9 hours	21 (81)	5 (19)	22 (100)	28 (100)	21 (28)	55 (72)
10 hours	28 (88)	4 (12)	25 (100)	15 (100)	28 (39)	44 (61)
Total	56 (62)	34 (38)	67 (100)	61 (100)	56 (26)	162 (74)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

With regard to the information on problems encountered by migrants at the destination, it is found that, on the whole, 60% of the migrants did not face any problem, 12% complained about heavy work, 10% reported lack of sanitation and 7% stated long working hours as the major problems they faced at the destination (Table 3.28). In addition, a predominant proportion of migrants who complained of problems were significantly placed in the urban destinations than that in the rural areas. However, there were marginal numbers of migrants in particular from the urban stream who reported that they faced problems related to harassment, low wage payments and lack of rest at the worksite. On the contrary, majority of the

rural migrants stated that they did not face any problems. Besides, all the three villages witnessed almost similar overall patterns in the problems faced by migrant workers at the destinations. The inference here is that urban migrants were more vulnerable and inclined to face multiple risks/problems than their rural counterparts. This is proof that temporary migrants and in particular seasonal labour migrants are the most vulnerable to risk, insecurity and danger both at work site as well as at the living site (Deshingkar, 2009).

**Table 3.28: Classification of Problems Faced by Migrants according to Destinations in the Study Villages**

Problem faced at destination	Akkaram		Chityala	Pata Kodangal	Grand Total	
	Rural	Urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Urban
No	38 (60)	25 (40)	34 (100)	34 (100)	38 (29)	93 (71)
Long work hour	8 (89)	1 (11)	6 (100)	0	8 (53)	7 (47)
Heavy duty	2 (29)	5 (71)	9 (100)	11 (100)	2 (7)	25 (93)
Low payment	2 (67)	1 (33)	4 (100)	0	2 (29)	5 (71)
Lack of rest	1 (100)	0	2 (100)	0	1 (33)	2 (67)
Harassment	1 (33)	2 (67)	2 (100)	4 (100)	1 (11)	8 (89)
Sanitation	4 (100)	0	5 (100)	12 (100)	4 (19)	17 (81)
All of them	0	0	5 (100)	0	0	5 (100)
Total	56 (62)	34 (38)	67 (100)	61 (100)	56 (26)	162 (74)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

The information pertaining to the transportation from the village to the destinations showed that, overall, 60% of the migrants did not get any transportation facilities while 39% got transportation facility either through their employer or contractor. Further, among the rural migrants, a large number got transportation facility (91%). On the contrary, only 22 per cent of the urban migrants got transportation from their villages to the destinations. Similar results could be seen in each of the study villages. Urban migrants who received transportation facility were significantly accounted for in Chityala as compared to other two villages (Table 3.29). This implies that, though the transportation facility still prevails, there is a great difference between the rural and the urban destination streams. Such differences in the seasonal labour migration process could be attributed to the alterations that occurred in economy either on account of globalisation and liberalisation which

resulted in rapid development and high economic growth in the country (Reddy, 2003; Srivastava, 2003).

**Table 3.29: Classification of Migrants Source of Transportation according to Destinations in the Study Villages**

Source of transportation	Akkaram		Chityala	Pata Kodangal	Grand Total	
	Rural	Urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Urban
Employer	46 (96)	2 (4)	0	5 (100)	46 (87)	7 (13)
Contractor	5 (100)	0	24 (100)	4 (100)	5 (15)	28 (85)
Own	5 (14)	32 (86)	42 (100)	52 (100)	5 (4)	126 (96)
Others	0	0	1 (100)	0	0	1 (100)
Total	56 (62)	34 (38)	67 (100)	61 (100)	56 (26)	162 (74)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

In order to understand the living conditions of the migrants, one has to look at the source of accommodation of migrants at the destinations. The particulars reveal that for each of 31% of the migrants, accommodation is self-made makeshift and slum dwellings, 28% got shelter from employers and 7% were accommodated by their contractors (Table 3.30). The greater extent of rural migrants' accommodation is provided by their employers, while the urban migrants' accommodation is self-made makeshift and slum dwellings. Similar patterns could be noticed in each of the study villages. All the rural migrants from Akkaram were provided accommodation either by employers or contractors, while the majority of the urban migrants reported depending on their own efforts to find accommodation during their stay at the destinations. In short, it was observed that migrants who were recruited either by employer or contractors are assured of their accommodation in the destination. The rest of the migrants had to find their own accommodation at the destination (Korra, 2010).

**Table 3.30: Classification of Migrants' Source of Accommodation according to Destination in the Study Villages**

Source of accommodation	Akkaram		Chityala	Pata Kodangal	Grand Total	
	Rural	Urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Urban
Employer	51 (94)	3 (6)	2 (100)	5 (100)	51 (84)	10 (16)
Contractor	5 (100)	0	11 (100)	0	5 (31)	11 (69)
Self-made	0	16 (100)	30 (100)	22 (100)	0	68 (100)
Rented	0	0	4 (100)	0	0	4 (100)
Slum dwellings	0	15 (100)	20 (100)	32 (100)	0	67 (100)
Open places	0	0	0	2 (100)	0	2 (100)
Total	56 (62)	34 (38)	67 (100)	61 (100)	56 (26)	162 (74)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

When we look at the type/nature of migrant's accommodations in which they stayed, it is revealed that, on the whole, 39% of the migrants lived/stayed in thatched sheds, 36% in makeshift tents, 18% lived at the roadside open places and only 5% lived in pucca rented houses at the destinations. Rural migrants resided predominantly in thatched sheds compared to their urban counterparts (Table 3.31). Similar results are noticed in all the three study villages. On the contrary, a large proportion of urban migrants resided in self-made makeshift dwellings in slum areas and had to spend a lot of time to find a proper living place. It should be noted that though these migrants are from different parts of the district they still have commonalities and comparability in their way of living and lifestyle regardless of their destinations. In this regard, this study observed that migrants who resided/stayed at the roadsides are indeed exposed to multiple risks such as lack of shelter, lack of protection climatic changes, and absence of sanitation, safety and harassments. Thus we conclude here that, those migrants who resided in pucca rented houses were better placed, while those who stay in other kinds of makeshift sheds, tents and roadside accommodation have living standards below the basic minimum. In a nutshell, migrants whose employment and earning opportunities are superior to their counterparts in fact live and work in better conditions at the destination.



**Table 3.31: Classification of Migrants' Type of Accommodation according to Destinations in the Study Villages**

Type of accommodation	Akkaram		Chityala	Pata Kodangal	Grand Total	
	Rural	Urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Urban
Shed	48 (77)	14 (23)	15 (100)	9 (100)	48 (56)	38 (44)
Self-made tent	5 (39)	8 (61)	45 (100)	21 (100)	5 (6)	74 (94)
Kuccha	3 (100)	0	0	0	3 (100)	0
Pucca	0	0	3 (100)	7 (100)	0	10 (100)
Open space	0	12 (100)	4 (100)	24 (100)	0	40 (100)
Total	56 (62)	34 (38)	67 (100)	61 (100)	56	162 (74)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

Information pertaining to the migrant's month of return to the origin village from the destination divulges that 46% of the migrants returned in the month of May 2010, 28% returned in June and 19% of them returned in the month of April 2010. Most of the rural migrants returned in the month of April whereas urban migrants returned in the month of May, followed by the month of June 2010. Indeed, a very similar pattern could be observed in each of the study village (Table 3.32). In general, the study found that the return of the rural migrants by and large depends on agricultural season in the destination which would normally come to an end during the months of April and May every year, while the return of the urban migrants would probably depend on the onset of the monsoon or end of contract/agreement with employers and contractors. Additionally, it would also depend on land ownership and the household's decision of whether to cultivate arable land or not in a particular year. In fact, the above factors determine the volume of migration, migrants' duration of stay and return to the village.

**Table 3.32: Distribution of Migrants' Month of Return to the Villages according to Destinations**

Month of return to the villages	Akkaram		Chityala	Pata Kodangal	Grand Total	
	Rural	Urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Urban
March, 2010	8 (80)	2 (20)	0	0	8 (80)	2 (20)
April, 2010	31 (79)	8 (21)	2 (100)	0	31 (76)	10 (24)
May, 2010	12 (46)	14 (54)	50 (100)	24 (100)	12 (12)	88 (88)
June, 2010	0	10 (100)	15 (100)	37 (100)	0	62 (100)
July, 2010	5 (100)	0	0	0	5 (100)	0
Total	56 (62)	34 (38)	67 (100)	61 (100)	56 (26)	162 (74)

Source: Same as for Table 3.1.

On the other side, when we look at the reasons for the migrants' return to the village according to month of return, it is observed that generally, 36% of the migrants returned for cultivating their own arable land, 28% returned for working in the village agriculture labour market during the monsoon season and 25% returned as the work/season had come to an end at the destination. There were very few migrants who reasoned that they returned after the end of contract or agreement, and some said they returned to attend festivals and social ceremonies in the village. If we look at the month of return, migrants who arrived due to lack of work (work being over) at the destination predominantly returned in the month of April and the migrants who came to cultivate their own arable land mostly returned in the month of May and June respectively (Table 3.33). The results suggests that majority of the migrants returned during the months of May and June. It must be noted that during these months not only does work end at the destinations, but it is also time for them to prepare their land for cultivation for the next agricultural season. Thus, regardless of destination, the migrants' return is normally associated with the onset of the monsoon and agricultural activities in the village of origin. Thus migration outflow from these study villages is seasonal and circular in nature.

**Table 3.33: Classification of Migrants' Month of Return according to Reasons for Return in the Study Villages**

Month & year	Work over	Contract over	Cultivation	Work in village	Festivals	Total	% Total
March, 2010	10 (100)	0	0	0	0	10 (100)	5%
April, 2010	31 (76)	0	1 (2)	8 (19)	1 (2)	41 (100)	19%
May, 2010	13 (13)	10 (10)	42 (42)	28 (28)	7 (7)	100 (100)	46%
June, 2010	0	1 (2)	35 (57)	26 (42)	0	62 (100)	28%
July, 2010	0	5 (100)	0	0	0	5 (100)	2%
Total	54 (25)	16 (7)	78 (36)	62 (28)	8 (4)	218 (100)	100%

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

If we look into the reasons for migrants' return to the village by nature of destination it is revealed that on the whole, 36 per cent of the migrants returned for cultivating their own arable land, 28% reasoned that work is available in the village during the monsoon, 25% returned on account of the end of the agricultural season and 7% return after their contract period is over. Conversely, a very negligible proportion of

migrants returned for festivals and other rituals in the village, and basically such migrants belong to the category of long-term or duration migration (Table 3.34). On the other hand, when we look into destination patterns, it is revealed that large numbers of rural migrants returned after the end of agricultural season at the destinations, while the urban migrants returned for their own cultivation. This suggests that the return of most of the migrants is related to agricultural activities, either for own cultivation or working in agricultural activities during the monsoon season (Konseiga, 2002).

**Table 3.34: Classification of Migrants' Month of Return according to Destinations in the Study Villages**

Reason for return to the villages	Akkaram		Chityala	Pata Kodangal	Grand Total	
	Rural	Urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Urban
Season over	51 (96)	2 (4)	1 (100)	0	51 (94)	3 (6)
Contract over	5 (100)	0	11 (100)	0	5 (31)	11 (69)
Own cultivation	0	12 (100)	14 (100)	52 (100)	0	78 (100)
Work available in origin	0	20 (100)	33 (100)	9 (100)	0	62 (100)
Festivals	0	0	8 (100)	0	0	8 (100)
Total	56 (62)	34 (38)	67 (100)	61 (100)	56 (26)	162 (74)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

### 3.6. Remittances and Income Spending of Seasonal Labour Migrants

This section deals with the patterns of migrant's remittances and income earning expenditure. It addresses the extent of remittances and the purpose of such remittances. Secondly, it tries to trace how the migrants spend the income that they have earned from migration and the purpose of their spending, that is, whether their income goes for productive or unproductive purposes in origin village. Besides, this examination becomes essential to understand and assess whether migrants benefitted from seasonal migration or not. Here, the study presumes that migration can take place in two ways: first, to earn wage income to acquire household resources. Secondly, in order to obtain employment in developed regions particularly during the lean agricultural season for survival, repayment of debt and other purposes.

Firstly, information on remittances reveals that on the whole 94% of the migrants did not send any remittances to their families back home, while a marginal number (6%) sent remittances to family members. Further, among the remitters, most belong to the urban migration stream. A higher proportion of urban migrants sent remittances particularly for the purpose of repayment of their old debts followed by for children's education and health check-up for their family members. Importantly, most of these remittances made by migrants from Chityala followed by migrants from Akkaram, and the number of migrants who sent remittances from Pata Kodangal were very negligible (Table 3.35). This implies that seasonal labour migration remittances made by migrants are trivial and the amount that they may remit would be marginal. It seems that the role of remittances in the study villages is trivial, nominal and small in amount. In fact, this insignificant remittance pattern could be attributed to short-stay, nature of work, number of worked days, number of active earning members and family size. As a result most of the seasonal migrants carry their earnings (income) along with them when they return to the villages. Hence, these study villages received only a marginal amount of remittances from seasonal labour migrants (McKenzie, 2005).

**Table 3.35: Distribution of Migrants' Purpose of Remittances according to Destinations in the Study Villages**

Purpose of remittance	Akkaram		Chityala	Pata Kodangal	Grand Total	
	Rural	Urban	Urban	Urban	Rural	Urban
No remittances	56 (66)	29 (34)	60 (100)	59 (100)	56 (28)	148 (72)
Consumption	0	0	1 (100)	0	0	1 (100)
Education	0	1 (100)	2 (100)	0	0	3 (100)
Debts	0	3 (100)	2 (100)	1 (100)	0	6 (100)
Health	0	1 (100)	1 (100)	1 (100)	0	3 (100)
Others	0	0	1 (100)	0	0	1 (100)
Total	56 (62)	34 (38)	67 (100)	61 (100)	56 (26)	162 (74)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

The information about the migrants' total earnings indicates that, in Akkaram, the average earnings of rural migrants is Rs. 8,815 and maximum earnings is Rs. 22,000 (median - Rs. 8,100) whereas for urban migrants it is Rs. 19,269 and Rs. 38,000,

(median earning - Rs. 20,325) respectively. In the case of Chityala, the average earnings of a migrant is Rs. 20,298 and maximum earning is Rs. 48,400 (median - Rs. 19,550), while in Pata Kodangal, the average earning of a migrant is Rs. 24,643 and the maximum earning, Rs. 69,000 [median - Rs. 23,750] (Table 3.36). This outcome implies that urban migrants' earning capacity is far superior to that of rural migrants. However, among the urban migrants, migrants from Akkaram earned less daily wages while migrants from Pata Kodangal earned better wage incomes at the destinations. It is noteworthy that migrants' earning capacity normally depends on two basic factors: first, the nature of work and the type of destination. Secondly, the migrant's educational level and skills which determines their occupation, employment prospects and income earning level at the destinations. For instance, migrants from Pata Kodangal by and large moved towards Mumbai city where they have found higher wages as well as employment opportunities. In contrast, migrants who moved towards rural areas and medium towns/cities earned comparatively lower than those migrants who moved towards metro cities such as Mumbai and Hyderabad. Another significant fact to mention here is that the longer they (migrants) stay at the destinations the longer they work therefore the more income they earn.

**Table 3.36: Classification Patterns of Migrants' Earnings according to Destinations in the Study Villages**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala	Pata Kodangal
Total earnings	Rural	Urban	Urban	Urban
Mean	8815	19269	20298	24643
Median	8100	20325	19550	23750
Maximum	22000	38000	48400	69000

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

On the other hand, more importantly the patterns of migrants income spending earned from working in the destination reveals on the whole 32% of the migrants spent their earnings on daily food consumption, 19 per cent spent it on repayment of old debts, 14 per cent invested in agriculture, 12 per cent spent it on house construction, and the remaining 9 per cent of spent on health, buying livestock or

implements. The majority of the migrants below age 14 in fact belong to the non-worker category (14%). If we look at this with reference to their castes, in all the above categories, it is found that migrants from the ST community predominately spent their earnings on daily food consumption followed by the OBCs and SC communities, respectively. Nevertheless, regardless their caste, most of the migrants spent migration earnings on daily food consumption, repayment of debts, house construction and investment in agricultural activities/sector. On the contrary, similar patterns could be seen in each study village with the difference in the proportion of spending. It is important to note that migrants from Pata Kodangal overwhelmingly invested or spent their earnings on constructing own house or for house repairs/renovation (Table 3.37). Thus migrants from Pata Kodangal who largely happened to be ST community seem to be the most benefited social group through seasonal labour migration. On the contrary, migrants from Akkaram and Chityala spent their earnings mostly on economically unproductive purposes for instance, on daily food consumption and repayment of old debts. Indeed, once their income gets over on their daily needs, then they face shortage of food grain which results in a semi-hunger and starvation situation. In such case, they sometimes they resort to borrowing food grain and other basic materials from their neighbours. This in fact compels such migrant households to resort to seasonal movements repeatedly.

**Table 3.37: Classification of Migrants' Income Spending by their Castes in the Study Villages**

Spending pattern	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal			Grand Total		
	SC	ST	SC	ST	OBC	ST	OBC	SC	ST	OBC
Below 14 years	1 (10)	9 (90)	5 (46)	3 (27)	3 (27)	9 (82)	2 (18)	6 (19)	21 (59)	5 (16)
Consumption	5 (16)	27 (84)	6 (21)	7 (25)	15 (54)	7 (78)	2 (22)	11 (16)	41 (59)	17 (25)
Debts	4 (17)	19 (83)	2 (18)	3 (27)	6 (55)	5 (71)	2 (29)	6 (15)	27 (66)	8 (20)
Agriculture	3 (20)	12 (80)	1 (11)	3 (33)	5 (56)	4 (67)	2 (33)	4 (13)	19 (63)	7 (23)
House built	0	1 (100)	0	2 (100)	0	23 (100)	0	0	26 (100)	0
Health	0	4 (100)	2 (50)	1 (25)	1 (25)	2 (67)	1 (33)	2 (18)	7 (64)	2 (18)
Cattle/implements	0	3 (100)	0	0	0	2 (100)	0	0	5 (100)	0
Most of the above	0	1 (100)	0	1 (100)	0	0	0	0	2 (100)	0
Others	0	1 (100)	0	1 (100)	0	0	0	0	2 (100)	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>13 (14)</b>	<b>77 (86)</b>	<b>16 (24)</b>	<b>21 (31)</b>	<b>30 (45)</b>	<b>52 (85)</b>	<b>9 (15)</b>	<b>29 (13)</b>	<b>150 (69)</b>	<b>39 (18)</b>

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1.

Furthermore, the study also collected information on migrants, perception on preference to migrate out in relation to whether they can get work in the origin villages. In this regard it revealed on the whole 36 per cent of the migrants expressed their willingness to migrate even if they get employment in their villages during the post-harvest agriculture season. The remaining 64 per cent of them expressed that if they got work/employment in their own village, they would prefer not to move out and rather stay at home and work in the local labour market. The overall pattern was the same in all the three villages (Table 3.38). It is significant to mention here that the migrants, who expressed preference to move out despite the availability of work locally, are primarily interested in earning more wage income by working in the urban sector. The key motivation for their migration is to earn income in order to build their own house, repair dwellings, acquire land and livestock, and to invest in agriculture. On the contrary, migrants who stated that they did not want to migrate if they got work locally basically belong to farming households. This is so because during the monsoon they can engage in their own cultivation and afterwards, if work was available in the village labour market, they could take up such irregular employment. In fact, following this strategy makes it possible for them to prepare their arable land for the next agricultural season. Besides, by working in village labour market, they could also avoid risks involved in migration. In this regard, most of the migrants expressed that if they got employment throughout the year in the village, then they would prefer to stay back rather than migrate out.

**Table 3.38: Classification of Preference of Migration according to Caste in the Study Villages**

Prefer to migrate out	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal			Grand Total		
	SC	ST	SC	ST	OBC	ST	OBC	SC	ST	OBC
Yes	3 (14)	19 (86)	8 (30)	6 (22)	13 (48)	26 (87)	4 (13)	11 (14)	51 (65)	17 (22)
No	10 (15)	58 (85)	8 (20)	15 (38)	17 (43)	26 (84)	5 (16)	18 (13)	99 (71)	22 (16)
Total	13 (14)	77 (86)	16 (24)	21 (31)	30 (45)	52 (85)	9 (15)	29 (13)	150 (69)	39 (18)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1. \*If work available in the village.

Finally, it is imperative to know the opinion of the migrants on whether they plan on migrating again or not after returning from the destinations for the next agriculture season. On the whole, 70 per cent of the migrants expressed that they would like to

migrate again, 20 per cent of them opined they would not migrate next season and the remaining 10 per cent of them expressed they do not know whether they will migrate or not for next agriculture season. Similar patterns could be seen in each of the study villages (Table 3.39). Significantly, migrants who expressed 'don't know' said that their migration predominantly depends on the conditions of the monsoon, viz., if there is good monsoon they will not migrate out and if the situation is the reverse, then they would migrate for employment and earnings as part of their livelihood strategy. In fact, this also applies to other migrant and labour households when such situations arise. In addition, the decision to migrate would also depend on household characters such as family size, presence of able-bodied family members, resources/assets, agricultural implements and livestock. Thus, multiple factors influence a household in taking a collective decision on whether to migrate or not in a particular season/year. Thus it is vindicated that seasonal migration is circular and cyclical in nature (Korra, 2010).

**Table 3.39: Classification of Migrants' Intention of Migration Again according to Caste in the Study Villages**

Plan to migrate again	Akkaram		Chityala			Pata Kodangal		Grand Total		
	SC	ST	SC	ST	OBC	ST	OBC	SC	ST	OBC
Yes	10 (16)	52 (84)	9 (20)	14 (31)	22 (49)	41 (91)	4 (9)	19 (13)	107 (70)	26 (17)
No	2 (11)	16 (89)	5 (28)	6 (33)	7 (39)	2 (29)	5 (71)	7 (16)	24 (56)	12 (28)
Don't know	1 (10)	9 (90)	2 (50)	1 (25)	1 (25)	9 (100)	0	3 (13)	19 (83)	1 (4)
Total	13 (14)	77 (86)	16 (24)	21 (31)	30 (45)	52 (85)	9 (15)	29 (13)	150 (69)	39 (18)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 3.1. \*If work available for the next season in the village.

### 3.6.1. An Overview of Labour Migration after the Main Survey

The present study has re-visited the surveyed villages in the month of May, 2011 after the main survey (2009-10). This was done after one and half years later mainly to check if there are any alterations in labour migration process from the villages. To congregate qualitative information, the researcher conducted focused group discussions and informal conversations with different sections of the villages. This study has found a number of interesting observations which follow below. In all the three study villages, most of the people expressed that this year (May, 2011)



migration from the villages had gone up as compared to the main surveyed year (one and half years ago). The main reason for the mounting labour out migration is delay in execution of MGNREGS works in the villages for the current financial year (2011). In fact, work has not started throughout the district owing to changes made in the employment programme. Secondly, majority of the respondents attributed low agriculture output as the reason for more out-migration. Thirdly, usually during post-harvest agriculture season employment opportunities would drastically come down on account of one crop-one year agriculture. However, the main reason cited by majority of the people was the introduction of Shrama Shakthi Sangham (SSS) in MGNREG Scheme.

According to SSS MGNREGS, workers are divided into groups, where each group consists of 20 members. Further, each group will be allotted one project or work site in small and marginal farmers' fields and have to work together throughout the financial year. The problem arises when a farmer is not ready to carry out work in his/her field due to personal reasons, and then whole project fails to take place. The other impediment is that, out of 20 members, some of them were not available for work owing to personal reasons. Hence, the remaining worker lost interest in their work due to fear of over burden of work. Thus, the project allotted to them did not materialise. As a result, people migrated to other regions due to the uncertainty and complexity involved in the scheme. Though migration started a bit late on account of expectation of getting work in MGNREGS, it took place widely from Akkaram followed by Chityala and Pata Kodangal villages, respectively. As seen in the main survey results, most of the migrants said that the majority of them moved out on account of lack employment, wage earnings and survival purposes.

However the patterns of labour migration have not changed. Most of the migrants migrated mainly through three channels of migration: (i) by forming groups led by mastris, (ii) individually migrated, and (iii) migrated with other family members. Group migrations mostly took place from Chityala and Pata Kodangal particularly towards Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat for working in clay works and railway

track repairing works. Individuals migrated from all the three villages mainly into Hyderabad city. Further, family migration predominantly took place towards Hyderabad, Mumbai, Gujarat and Karnataka which is dominated by SCs and STs. Overall, most of the people informed that males had migrated in larger numbers than females. However, longer distance migration is by and large by both male and females particularly with spouses. People who migrated into Karnataka and Gujarat are contract labourers recruited by middlemen through local maistris. Others migrated without any contract or agreement with the employers.

Migrants who did not migrate last year have migrated this year. This in fact varies from year to year and family to family. People voiced the opinion that during the current year, migrants' duration of stay at the destinations may come down due to late migration. It is learned that wages has gone up at the destinations as compared to one and half year ago. In fact, the wage hike is more in metro cities than other towns and rural areas. It was again evident that long distance migrants moved out after Deepavali festival and stayed until the monsoon started. However, migrants from Akkaram and Chityala stayed, on average, for less than six months while migrants from Chityala stayed longer periods. These are the major changes that took place during current year and other things (for instance, employment patterns, destination and working and living conditions) remain the same as the previous year, i.e., during the year of main survey. In short, the magnitude of migration depends on the execution of MGNREGS works, crop output, household needs, family compositions and availability of employment in the villages during the lean agriculture season. In fact, these factors are highly uncertain in Mahabubnagar district and hence the volume of migration differs every year based on the factors mentioned above. Greater dependence on rain-fed agriculture and lack industrial development are the major reasons for the prolonged economic backwardness of the district.

### 3.7. Summary and Conclusions

The main focus of the chapter was to find the determinants, characteristics and patterns of seasonal labour migration from the study region. In doing so, the study revealed that 22 per cent migration population out of total surveyed households from the study villages. Of this, males were predominant and the majority were married. Most of the migrants belong to Lambada community (ST) followed by OBCs and SCs. In fact, majority of the migrants moved out together with at least three or more persons from the same household to the destinations. Most of the migrants are in the age group of 31-40 years, in which male migrants are more than females. Besides, most of the migrants belong to farming communities followed by non-farm labourers and agricultural labourers. A large number of migrants was 'own account' workers (self-employed) and labourers, in particular illiterates, followed by those with primary education who mainly migrated for employment, survival and higher wage earnings. Of this, the Lambadas formed a larger group than the other communities. Most the migrants left their home in the month of December and November during the survey year. Moreover, most of them own arable land and prefer to migrate after completion of agricultural activities, though landless labourers moved out before them.

The major urban destinations are Hyderabad and Mumbai while Nalgonda and Guntur districts are the predominant rural destinations. But majority of the seasonal labour migrants travelled towards urban cities/towns for employment. A great number travelled with their family members followed by in-group and individual migration. Most of the migrants were actively engaged in the urban construction building sector followed by rural agricultural sector, cable trench work and as workers in hotel/restaurants. In addition, many found work through co-villagers/migrants and others at *Labour Addas* or the labour market. There is a wage differential between rural and urban destinations. In rural destinations, there is no wage discrimination between male and females whereas it prevails in urban destinations. The mode of payment differs for both rural and urban migrants,

though most of them received wages in cash form. Migrants who paid wages in kind were predominantly rural migrants. The major revelation of the study is that a large number of migrants (90%) stayed less than one year at the destinations before their return to the villages. Furthermore, a predominant number of migrants migrated only once during the survey period and a few were travelled more than one time. In this, male migrants were outnumbered females.

Overall, most of the workers worked around 9 hours, followed by 10 hours and 8 hours per day. Urban migrants worked longer hours than their rural counterparts. Most of the migrants did not face any problems at the destinations. However, a moderate number of migrants reported problems such as heavy duty, long working hours and lack of sanitation and shelter. Majority of the migrants stayed in slum dwellings (makeshift sheds), tents and at open roadside places. More rural migrants resided in sheds than urban migrants. Further, more urban migrants returned in the months of May and June, and rural migrants in the month of April. However, majority of them returned for own cultivation, and for working in the village labour market during the monsoon season after the completion of work at the destinations.

With reference to remittances, majority of the migrants (94%) did not send any remittances and brought their earnings along with them when they returned to the villages. However, a small proportion of the migrants sent remittances, particularly urban migrants. Migrants who worked in urban areas earned more than rural migrants. Further, a significant number of migrants spent their earnings on daily food consumption, repayment of old debts, agricultural investment, house construction and on health. Finally, majority of the migrants expressed that if they got work in the village, they prefer not to move out for employment and would rather stay in the village and seek work in local labour markets. A moderate proportion of them expressed the desire to migrate next year or season. In a nutshell, the study concludes that labour movements from these villages are basically seasonal, circular and cyclical labour out-migration.

A large section of the people in Mahabubnagar district depends on rain-fed agriculture for livelihood and employment purposes. The district is characterised by dry cultivation, low rainfall, traditional methods of farming, lack of irrigation, crop failure, and frequent droughts resulting even in a single crop in one year. Thus, people from the district face problems like shortage of food grain and unemployment particularly during the post-harvest season. Besides, lack of industrial and service sector development further augments the unemployment problem in the region. In fact, these distress conditions compel a large number of people to leave their homes for other regions in search of employment and for livelihood during the post monsoon season. Thus, the majority of them depend equally on own cultivation as well as on migration. It has become a common practice and part of their livelihood and coping strategy. In this context, there is a call for government intervention to develop the most backward regions like Mahabubnagar through industrialisation, development projects and making agriculture viable and profitable. This would enhance the employment and livelihood opportunities of the economically backward population. Therefore, it is important to develop backward regions to maintain a regional balance in the country. More importantly, pervasive poverty, increasing regional imbalance and prolonging economic backwardness are not good signs for a country like ours.

On the other hand, governments should allow its citizens to move freely anywhere in the country and safeguard their movements and stay at the destinations. Internal migrant workers are more exposed to multiple problems at the destinations such as labour exploitation, lack of shelter, absence of sanitation, and lack of protection and safety both at work and living site. Current migrant labour laws do not, in fact, address the problems faced by the seasonal labour migrants. Hence, there is a need for new laws or to amend the existing labour laws. It should cover all sorts of temporary internal migrant labour categories in the country. Besides, it is very important to implement and monitor the labour laws and regulations in order to safeguard the migrant workers. In addition, there is a need for providing social

security provisions for migrant population which can ensure free and safe movement within the country. Further, migrants have to be allowed to claim the benefits from the government schemes at the destinations. Unrestricted and secure labour movements are essential for the development of our country.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE LINKAGES BETWEEN HOUSEHOLD RESOURCES, RURAL MARKETS AND SEASONAL LABOUR MIGRATION

#### 4.1. Introduction

Having explored the factors that influence migrant's decision to migrate out and other characteristics of seasonal migrant workers in previous chapter, this chapter intends to examine the linkages between seasonal labour migration, household amenities, resources and various rural markets in the study villages. Through this examination the chapter would expose not only household's economic and living conditions but also how household amenities, resources and rural markets influence household's decision-making and thus decision to migrate. Thus, the whole purpose of this chapter is to find a possible linkage either direct or indirect between factors mentioned above and seasonal migration.

Labour migration is a vital issue not just in India, but also in other developing countries. Here, the concern is internal labour exodus in particular from the underdeveloped regions to the developed regions/states. Movements of the poor and marginalised sections of the society have become common phenomenon and thus more important in the present globalised world where development activities are predominantly concentrated in the urban centers (Bilsborrow et.al, 1987). The rural areas on the other hand are neglected and therefore remain underdeveloped. Yet, more than sixty per cent of India's population still depends on the agricultural sector for livelihood and employment (Vyas, 2001). Traditional methods of cultivation and the predominance of rain-fed farming has in fact affected agricultural production and augmented uncertainty and crop failure/losses. Indeed, the agricultural sector has been not only affected by climatic factors, but also by the entry of modern technology into the agricultural sector, i.e., excessive use of

machines. While climatic factors have affected the extent of arable land and output, mechanisation has brought down the employment opportunities in the rural agricultural sector (Reddy, 2003; Singh et al., 1998).

The subsequent alterations in rural economy, more importantly in the labour market, drastically reduced employment opportunities and the scenario became dismal. Thus, the movements of poor labourers and farmers have increased towards urban centers for work and in search of employment (Reddy, 2003). However, this rising trend of mass labour out-migration is primarily temporary and for short stay, and takes place mostly during the lean agricultural season. It is the result of not only the rapid urban development process but also due to distress in the rural agricultural sector/economy (Sainath, 2011; SETU, 1997). On the other hand, lack of alternative earning opportunities in certain seasons in the Indian countryside is in fact forcing landless labourers and marginal farmers to take up migration into other developed regions and states. Thus, seasonal labour migration is associated with agriculture and mostly by agriculture labourers, small and marginal, and medium-size land owning farmers (Vanwey, 2003).

The factors which play a major role in a seasonal migrant labourer life are ownership of land, land size, accessibility of irrigation, size of family, employment opportunities in the labour market in the place of origin, accessibility of credit, and the possession of livestock and agricultural implements. Each of these factors has its importance not only on the household's economic well-being but also in the household decision-making process. Nevertheless, such resources affect different households in diverse ways depending upon the ownership and extent of the resources by a household (Basok, 2003; Deshingkar, 2005; Fuwa, 2009). The inadequacy or lack of resources compels farmers to find alternative ways to earn income, get employment and enhance their livelihood options (Rao et al., 2006). The aim of such households is to supplement the household income with their earnings from jobs in other regions. Additionally, migration helps them make productive use



of the unproductive time which they more often than not face during the post-harvest season in the villages (Rogaly et al., 2003; Nayak, 2005).

In this regard a study by Rogaly (2004) states that the lack of investment, specifically at the onset of the agricultural season, has an impact on their movements. Likewise, farmers who are affected by crop failure would prefer to lease-out their arable land and opt to migrate out into urban cities/towns for employment and earning purposes (Smita, 2007; de Haan et al., 2007). Turner (1998) in his study stated that the absence of a labour market or an inefficient labour and credit market in rural areas stimulates a large proportion of landless and small and marginal farmers to take up seasonal migration as part of their livelihood and coping strategy (Konseiga, 2002). Here tenants are more inclined to migrate on account of the factors mentioned above (Deaton, 1997). Thus migration helps poor people overcome shortage of food grain and semi-starvation/hunger in their villages (Kothari, 2002; Deshingkar, 2005; Smita, 2007). In fact, such labourers migrate out of their village mostly during the lean agriculture season and usually stay less than six months at the destinations and return to their place of origin before the onset of the monsoon season (Breman, 1996; Ellis, 2003). Their movements could be both towards rural and urban destinations which would depend on their economic and resource background, household size, preferences, education status, social network and past experiences (de Haan et al., 2002; Mosse et al., 2005).

Nevertheless, studies on migration research have not completely attempted to address the issues involved in seasonal labour migration with reference to their household amenities which play a major role in the decision to migrate in search of work as part of their livelihood or coping strategy (Abril et al., 2001; Lucas, 2003; Fuwa, 2007). In this backdrop, the current chapter addresses the issues related to seasonal labour migration with reference to household amenities, resources and various rural markets. It raises questions as to who the seasonal migrants are, why they prefer to migrate on a seasonal basis, what their household resource compositions and characteristics are, and whether they are they migrating due to

weak/poor economic resources. These questions indeed become vital for the present analysis. In this connection, this chapter tries to examine the linkages between seasonal labour migration, household amenities and the land market, lease market, labour market, credit markets, livestock market, etc. This is precisely required for the simple reason that there are very few studies which address the relationship between migrant household resources and seasonal labour migration, in particular, in the Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. In fact, the inspiration behind these questions basically comes from the fact that the study region is one of the most backward districts and contains a large labour stock, supplying workers to other regions/states for employment/work and earnings especially during the post-agricultural season. In fact, such labour movements take place every year during the lean agricultural periods.

In order to achieve the study objectives, the chapter employs information related to household resources such as access to basic amenities and resources such as land, irrigation, lease market, labour market, credit market, agricultural implement and livestock. The analysis is largely descriptive and done based on tabulations and cross tabulations. In addition, a household resource index is also constructed for the various aspects of migrant and non-migrant households. Finally, it also tests the significance (Pearson chi-square test) level for different aspects by migration status and computed the likelihood odd ratio for migrant households with reference to non-migrant households. The chapter is organised into seven sections including the current introduction section. The second section talks about the household's accessibility to basic amenities. The third section deals with household resources such as land and lease markets. The fourth section pertains to labour and credit markets. The fifth section is about agricultural implements and livestock possession by different households. The sixth section presents the results of the logistic regression model. The final section is the summary and concluding remarks.

## 4.2. Household Basic Profile, Amenities and Migration Status

In this section, we begin by addressing the issues concerning the basic amenities of different sample households in the study villages. We examine the status of the basic amenities of migrant and non-migrant households and their role in their decision to migrate out. In other words, it looks at whether better amenities restrain households from migration or poor/weak amenities compel them to take up migration. This aspect becomes imperative in order to answer to questions as to who these seasonal migrants are and why they prefer to migrate out on a seasonal basis, and as to what the relation is between migration and household basic amenities, specifically in connection with seasonal labour out-migration. Here, we address these issues by taking the essential household profiles for instance caste, occupations, and literacy on the one hand, and accessibility to basic amenities such as ration card, dwellings, source of drinking water, fuel for cooking, electricity connection, etc. on the other.

In this connection, the study reveals that three of the study villages consist of more than two social groups, while Akkaram village had only Scheduled Tribe (STs) and Scheduled Caste (SCs) in both the migrant and non-migrant household categories. Overall, it is seen that 35 per cent of the households (84 households) reported as migrant households and 65 per cent of them (156 households) as non-migrant households out of total sample of 240 households in the study villages. When we look at the migrant and non-migrant households across the social groups, it found that out of the total SC households, 48 per cent migrated-out of the villages, while this proportion was 43 per cent for STs and 14 per cent in the case of OBCs. There were two households from the general social category that reported as non-migrant households in the study villages.

The proportion of migrant households is lower than that of non-migrant households. However, this proportion depends on the agricultural harvest in the villages. For instance, if the harvest season comes to an end early, then the rate of migration would be greater and vice versa. Yet, the difference in the proportion of SC and ST

migrant households is great while the difference between migrant and non-migrant households is marginal within the same categories. Among the SC category, most migrated from Akkaram and Chityala villages, whereas the ST migrants are mostly from Akkaram and Pata Kodangal villages (Table 4.1). However, the proportion of OBC migrant households was largely accounted in Chityala. In the case of the general category, there were two households in Chityala which reported as non-migrant households. On the whole, the study shows there is significance between social groups and migration at .001 levels in the study villages (Pearson chi-square test).

In this regard, this study also constructed an index for different variable (aspects) of household resources for total sample households in which the summarised observed value for 'Household Infrastructure Index is 1.78 units. Wherein base value is 1.0 unit and worst value is 2.36 units and the unit distance differential value is 0.574. Likewise, the summarised observed value of 'Household Infrastructure Index for migrants is 1.84 units and for non-migrants, 1.74 units. Here, the best/bound index value remains constant while, the worst index value for both migrant and non-migrants are 2.36 units (Graph 1 & 2). The unit distance differential index value for migrants is 0.618 units and for non-migrants it is 0.544 units, which confirms that migrant households are worse than non-migrant households in terms of household infrastructure. The study also calculated the likelihood odds of migration between the social groups and migration, where the SCs are 1.71 times more likely to migrate than their non-migrant counterparts. The odds are 1.40 times for STs, 0.41 times for OBCs and zero times for the general category. The likelihood odd value is calculated by following the formula:  $\text{Observed value - Best value} / \text{Worst value - Best value} = \text{Odd Unit value}$ .

The results from Table 1 imply that migration predominantly takes place among the socially and economically backward and deprived communities, and the incidence is seen to be lower in the case of other backward and general communities. This indicates that the SC and ST communities are historically economically backward

and largely located in India's rural hinterland. It is perhaps due to this reason that they are more inclined to leave their homes in the times of unemployment and economic difficulties or distress in their villages. On the other hand, the economically better off communities such as the OBCs and general category are less likely to move out of their villages even if they face unemployment and economic difficulties in the villages. This could be mainly due to their better resource holding position or being better off in terms of owning fixed capital such as land, implements, livestock and other durable assets which will help them to overcome such economic difficulties. This result, in fact, revalidates the fact that SCs and ST communities are economically vulnerable and thus more prone to succumb to distress which led to their migration, and the reverse would hold true for the other social groups in the Indian countryside (Deshingkar, 2009).

**Table 4.1: Distribution of Households by Caste and Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Castes	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
SC	5 (50)	5 (50)	7 (47)	8 (53)	(0.0)	(0.0)	12 (48)	13 (52)
ST	26 (37)	44 (63)	10 (35)	19 (66)	22 (63)	13 (37)	58 (43)	76 (57)
OBC	(0.0)	(0.0)	11 (32)	23 (68)	3 (7)	42 (93)	14 (18)	65 (82)
General	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	2 (100)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	2 (100)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source: Field survey, conducted during the months of December, 2009 and January, 2010. Note: (i) Parentheses indicates their respective proportions, (ii) Mig and Non-Mig indicates Migrants and Non-migrants. Pearson value for caste and migration is significant at .001 levels.

On the other hand, most of the households, regardless their social groups, predominantly depend on agriculture for their livelihood and employment. Out of the 240 total sample households, 230 households reported their main occupation as agriculture and allied activities. Here, the proportion of the ST and OBC households is much greater in proportion (57% and 32% respectively), while the STs dominate in Akkaram and the OBCs in the Pata Kodangal. There are seven households (3%) whose occupations are agricultural labour and artisanal semi-skilled work such as masonry, tailoring and blacksmith, etc. In these categories also, the number of STs are the highest, particularly in the Akkaram and Pata Kodangal villages. On the

contrary, 'clerk in government office' is the main occupation for two households (1%), one each from the SC and OBC communities, and that too, only from Chityala village (Table 4.2 & Appendix Table 1). In this regard it is observed that there is an insignificant association between occupation and migration at .594 values (Pearson chi-square test).

Further, the occupation patterns across the social groups indicate that around 96 per cent of the households in the villages are entirely dependent on agriculture for their income, livelihood and employment. This further suggests that not much occupational diversification exists in the villages and that a high proportion of the rural households depend on the agricultural sector. Thus, the rural households' main income and employment source is agriculture which is rain-fed cultivation characterised by high volatility in terms of crop grown area and output/produce. Indeed, agriculture in the study villages is often hit by low and volatile rainfall and frequent droughts which in fact augment the uncertainty in the sector. As a result, production is low, thus depriving the households food grain, in particular during summer which pushes them deep into distress conditions. Faced with such situations, many of these households resort to migration to prosperous rural and urban cities/towns in search of employment, for employment and for wage income earnings (Bhaduri, 1990).

**Table 4.2: Classification of Occupations of the Households according to Castes in the Study Villages**

Occupation	Akkaram		Chityala				Pata Kodangal		Grand Total
	SC	ST	SC	ST	OBC	General	ST	OBC	
Agriculture	10 (13)	68 (87)	14 (18)	29 (38)	31 (41)	2 (3)	33 (43)	43 (57)	230 (96)
Agri & semi-skilled labours	(0.0)	2 (100)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (100)	(0.0)	2 (50)	2 (50)	7 (3)
Service sector	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (100)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (0.0)
Clerks	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (50)	(0.0)	1 (50)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	2 (1)
Total	10 (13)	70 (88)	15 (19)	29 (36)	34 (43)	2 (3)	35 (44)	45 (56)	240 (100)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for occupation and caste is insignificant at .594 levels.

Nevertheless, when we look into the occupational pattern with regard to migrant and non-migrant households, it is found that agriculture is still the dominant occupation across the villages. Up to 66 per cent of the non-migrant households and 34 per cent of migrant households are employed in cultivation, and 57 per cent of the migrant and 43 per cent of the non-migrant households consists of agricultural and other semi-skilled wage labourers (proportion calculated within the labour households). Thus, if we look at the overall pattern across the villages, within the categories of migrant and non-migrant households, agriculture is the main occupation. Notably, there are two households whose occupation is listed as 'clerk', one each from the migrant and non-migrant households in Chityala village (Table 4.3). However, the relationship between occupation and migration is insignificant which is proved from the Pearson value at .515 levels. Similarly, the likelihood odd result reveals that the farmers (by occupation) are 0.96 times more likely to migrate-out as compare to non-migrant farmer households. The semi-skilled and non-agricultural labourers are 2.46 times and clerks 1.86 times more likely to migrate than their non-migrant counterparts in the study villages.

It is interesting to note here that there was not much variation between migrant and non-migrant households in terms of their occupations. Overall, the main occupation is agriculture for 94 per cent of the migrant households and 97 per cent of the non-migrant households. This implies that occupation plays an insignificant role in their decision to migrate. Here, even land-holding households are more prone to move out of the village. It further raises questions like whether farmers are getting sufficient food grain and profit from their cultivation or not. Further, there is the question as to whether agriculture is profitable or viable to them or not. Thus, the rate of migration by and large depends on the state of the agricultural scenario. In this connection, it becomes important to know the status of these agricultural households, i.e. whether landless, small and marginal farmer, medium or large farmers. Such information is necessary to study the seasonal labour migration

process in –depth, and are therefore addressed in detail in the subsequent sections of the chapter.

**Table 4.3: Classification of Occupation of the Households by Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Agriculture	29 (37)	49 (63)	27 (36)	49 (64)	23 (30)	53 (70)	79 (34)	151 (66)
Agri & semi-skill labours	2 (100)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (100)	2 (50)	2 (50)	4 (57)	3 (43)
Service sector	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (100)	(0.0)	(0.0)		1 (100)
Clerks	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (50)	1 (50)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (50)	1 (50)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for occupation and migration is insignificant at .515 levels.

The data in terms of ration card holdings divulged that almost all the surveyed households across the villages are found to be Below the Poverty Line (BPL) (white card). On the whole, 93 per cent of the households hold BPL cards and the remaining 7 per cent possess Anthyodaya Anna Yojana ration cards, with the latter being meant for the poorest of the poor and provides them with 35 kg of food grain at cheap rates (subsidised through Public Distribution System (PDS)). If we examine the information according to migration status, it is found that Anthyodaya card holders are mostly placed in the migrant category which is 75 per cent of the total Anthyodaya households. More importantly, the Akkaram and Chityala villages witnessed a large number of Anthyodaya households, in particular, migrant households while in Pata Kodangal there are both migrant and non-migrant households in this category. When we look into the migrant households, 93 per cent of the BPL families are in Akkaram, 82 per cent in Chityala and 92 per cent in Pata Kodangal. Interestingly, 83 per cent of the Anthyodaya families from both Akkaram and Chityala are migrant households, whereas in Pata Kodangal, the households equally divided into migrant and non-migrant household (50 % in each category) (Table 4.4). In this regard, Pearson chi-square test showed high significance between ration card and migration which is .001 levels in the study villages. On the other



hand, the likelihood odds show that migrant BPL card holders are 0.87 times more likely to migrate out than non-migrants. Migrant Anthyodaya card holders are seen to be 5.57 times more likely to migrate than non-migrant households.

Interestingly, in Pata Kodangal the two Anthyodaya households who reported as non-migrants are mainly poor and vulnerable families who blocked by financial, social network and contact constraints. Thus, they are not in a position to move out of the village in search of employment or earnings. In the case of the BPL families, there are other factors that play a major role in the decision to migrate-out. In addition, Anthyodaya families are landless labour households and their economic vulnerability forces them to migrate more than the BPL households. Interestingly, both Akkaram and Pata Kodangal have a large number of BPL families, while Akkaram and Chityala reported a large number of Anthyodaya ration card households. This indicates that Akkaram village is more vulnerable than rest of the study villages.

**Table 4.4: Proportion of Ration Card Holding Households by Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
BPL card	26 (35)	48 (65)	23 (31)	51 (69)	23 (30)	53 (70)	72 (32)	152 (68)
Anthyodaya	5 (83)	1 (17)	5 (83)	1 (17)	2 (50)	2 (50)	12 (75)	4 (25)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for ration card and migration is significant at .001 levels.

However, when we look into the ration card holdings according to land ownership, it divulged that all the Anthyodaya households are landless households. Further, it is also seen that 88 per cent of households own cultivable land and 12 per cent are landless labourer households. In the landless household category, 62 per cent hold BPL cards and 38 per cent hold Anthyodaya cards. In fact, all the three villages predominantly consist of BPL households that own agricultural land. Moreover, when we examine this within the landless household's category, it is found that there are 46 per cent of Anthyodaya households in Akkaram, and the corresponding

percentage is 35 per cent for Chityala and 33 per cent for Pata Kodangal village (Table 4.5). The results imply most of the landless are poor households out of which Anthyodaya households are more vulnerable than BPL households. This re-establishes the fact that a large proportion of the poor population is landless. In fact, this is not confined to just the study villages but can be observed throughout the Mahabubnagar district. However, there is a significant association found between ration card and land ownership in the sample households (.000). This indicates that even if households have a ration card and own land, they are still inclined to move out of their villages. On the contrary, with reference to land ownership, BPL household migrants are 1.60 times more likely to migrate-out than their non-migrant counterparts. The landless status of Anthyodaya households shows their economic and living vulnerability, which stimulates them to migrate-out to a greater extent than BPL households (Chand, 2005).

**Table 4.5: Distribution of Land Owned Households according to Ration Card Holdings in the Study Villages**

Land Ownership	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Land	Landless	Land	Landless	Land	Landless	Land	Landless
BPL	67 (90)	7 (10)	63 (85)	11 (15)	68 (89)	8 (11)	198 (88)	26 (12)
Anthyodaya	(0.0)	6 (100)	(0.0)	6 (100)	(0.0)	4 (100)	(0.0)	16 (100)
Total	67 (84)	13 (16)	63 (79)	17 (21)	68 (85)	12 (15)	198 (82)	42 (18)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for ration card and land ownership is significant at .000 levels.

In addition, the dwelling condition of the households reveals their living condition which, in turn, is very important when it comes to understanding the economic conditions in the village. Overall 99 per cent of the families possess and live in their own dwellings (out of total number of households). Further, a greater number of the households live in Pucca houses, but it mostly non-migrant households that own 69 per cent of the houses, which is a significantly larger proportion than that of the migrant households. Next, more migrant households (67%) live in Kuccha houses, which is much higher than the proportion of non-migrant household living in such houses. It must be noted that a Kuccha house is made of mud and other non-concrete and steel material with a roof made of tiles or wood, and not concrete.

However, about 82 per cent of the non-migrant households live in tile-roofed dwellings. One family, that is a migrant household, lives in a hut/thatched house. It is important to note here that the tiled house is built of semi-concrete material and thus seem to be on par with pucca houses in terms of quality and appearance (Table 4.6).

When we look into the villages, firstly, it is seen that in Akkaram, a large number of households live in Kuccha houses, with migrant households outnumbering their non-migrant counterparts (74 per cent). In the Pucca dwelling category, non-migrants outnumbered migrant households. In Chityala, the proportion of households with Pucca houses is higher than those with other sort of dwellings (71%), which is in fact dominated by non-migrant households (69 per cent). In the Kuccha house category, migrant households outnumbered the non-migrant households (56 per cent). Similarly, in Pata Kodangal also, a large number of households live in Pucca house, with migrant households outnumbering the non-migrant households (Table 6). However, there is an insignificant association between dwellings and migration at a level of .053, and relationship between type of dwellings and migration is significant (.000). This indicates that more than dwelling ownership, what is important is the kind of house that the household possesses, and this is that decides their living conditions, quality of life and migration status. It is to be noted that, in the study villages, migrants who live in Kuccha households are four times more likely to migrate than non-migrant households, whereas the likelihood is 0.83 times for Pucca households and 0.41 times for migrant households. This vindicated our previous argument that lack of basic household infrastructure is one of the important factors which indirectly stimulates the villagers to migrate towards urban areas.

The main finding here is that a greater proportion of migrant households live in Kuccha houses, thereby indicating their low economic and living status. Conversely, most of the non-migrant households live in Pucca residences, which is indicative of their better economic, living and social status. Thus it is obvious that the non-

migrant households are better off than the migrant households across the villages. In other words, this could imply that if the dwelling and living conditions of a household are poor, then its members are more likely to migrate out when compared to the members of a non-migrant household. Migrant households basically move out in order to earn a wage income and improve their living and economic status in the village. Hence, the nature of dwellings also plays a vital role in their decision to whether to migrate or not (Christian, 1999).

**Table 4.6: Classification of Dwellings of the Households according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Kuccha house	23 (74)	8 (26)	5 (56)	4 (44)	(0.0)	2 (100)	28 (67)	14 (33)
Pucca house	7 (15)	41 (85)	20 (31)	45 (69)	19 (54)	16 (46)	46 (31)	102 (69)
Tiles house	(0.0)	(0.0)	3 (50)	3 (50)	6 (14)	37 (86)	9 (18)	40 (82)
Others	1 (100)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (100)	(0.0)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)
Rented	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (100)	(0.0)	1 (100)	(0.0)	2 (100)	(0.0)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for dwellings and migration is insignificant at .053 levels.

The other essential amenity is access to a domestic electricity connection. On the whole, there are only 6 per cent of households whose dwellings do not have access to electricity. However, there is a greater proportion (68 per cent) of non-migrant households among the electrified households in the study villages. On the contrary, when we look at the migrant household category, there are 13 per cent of migrant households without an electricity connection, while among the non-migrant households the proportion is 3 per cent. The village level disaggregated result divulges that Akkaram has the highest number of households without electricity followed by Chityala and Pata Kodangal villages. It is significant to note that the percentage of migrant households whose dwellings do not have electricity is higher in Akkaram (23 per cent) than in the other two villages (Table 4.7). This shows that among the study villages, Akkaram seems more backward and more vulnerable in terms of access to electricity. Poverty and the economic vulnerability of a household

plays an important role in ultimately deciding as to whether or not to the members of the household should migrate to other regions during times of unemployment and economic difficulties. In general, the study observed that households with a low economic resource base are more prone to be trapped in poverty, and hence for such households, migration is often the only and final survival option for them. However, the relationship between electricity connection and migration in the study villages is significant (.001). Thus, the migrant's likelihood of migration is 0.87 times more than that of non-migrant households. Nonetheless, for a household without an electricity connection the likelihood odd of migration is 5.02 times more than that of non-migrant households.

**Table 4.7: Proportion of Electricity Accessing Households by their Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Yes	24 (33)	49 (67)	26 (34)	50 (66)	23 (30)	53 (70)	73 (32)	152 (68)
No	7 (100)	(0.0)	2 (50)	2 (50)	2 (50)	2 (50)	11 (73)	4 (27)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for electricity and migration is significant at .001 levels.

Similarly, access to drinking water of different households also gives a picture of the living conditions of a household, i.e., the quality of living standards in the study villages. On the whole, 90 per cent of the households' access to drinking water is from a public tap, while 9 per cent use water from their own wells or tube wells for drinking purposes. If we contrast households by migration status, both migrant (34%) and non-migrant households (66%) largely depend on public taps. Among the migrant category, 87 per cent of the households depend on public taps for drinking water, while the proportion is 93 per cent (among non-migrants) for non-migrant households (Table 4.8). What is more interesting here is that a equal proportion of migrant and non-migrant households own wells or tube wells. Here, it is observed that households that depend on wells and tube wells were once economically better off but had later become worse off in terms of income, assets and economic resources. However, households which are not connected properly to the main

village are also found to be vulnerable and neglected in terms of access to drinking water. In fact, such households largely depend on decade-old wells for drinking water. This too, has in some way influenced their economic and living conditions. Though it may not play a vital role in household decisions, people are always concerned when they do not have access to safe drinking water. Safe drinking water is paramount when it comes to maintaining the good health. However, this study show that there is a significant (.398) association between access to drinking water and migration in the study villages as a whole. When we look into likelihood odd of migration with regard to the type of drinking water source, it is seen that households with public taps are 1.0 times more likely to migrate, households with their own well/tube well are 1.71 times more likely to move out and households with access to public well/tube well, the likelihood of migration is 1.86 times more than that of non-migrant households.

**Table 4.8: Classification of Source of Drinking Water by different Households according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Well/T.well	3 (75)	1 (25)	5 (46)	6 (54)	2 (33)	4 (67)	10 (48)	11 (52)
Public tap	28 (37)	48 (63)	23 (33)	46 (67)	22 (31)	50 (69)	73 (34)	144 (66)
Tube well	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (50)	1 (50)	1 (50)	1 (50)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pr = Private Wells and tube wells. Pearson value for drinking water and migration is significant at .398 levels.

In the same way, the source of fuel for daily cooking exhibits that a large number of households still depend on firewood (89%) for daily cooking across the villages. Of this, 63 per cent of non-migrant households cook on firewood while the proportion is 37 per cent for migrant households. Further, among the migrant households, 93 per cent depend on firewood, whereas 87 per cent of non-migrant households use firewood for daily cooking. This indicates that migrant households mostly depend on firewood compared to their non-migrant counterparts. In other words, the propensity to use firewood is more among migrant households than among non-migrants. The next major fuel source is Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) which is

mostly used by non-migrant households (87 %). Nevertheless, more migrant households depend on kerosene for their daily cooking needs compared to non-migrant households. Interestingly, when we look within the non-migrant household category, 13 per cent of the households' source of cooking is LPG, with the proportion being 4 per cent for the migrant households (within their respective migrant and non-migrant category). However, in Akkaram, there is not a single household that used kerosene for cooking, though 11 per cent of the non-migrant households use LPG for cooking. In fact, most of the LPG-using households are in the non-migrant category (Table 4.9). Noticeably, in all the three villages, more non-migrant households use LPG than migrant households, which mean that their economic status is better than that of the migrant households. Here, one has to keep in mind that majority of the households, both migrant and non-migrant, mostly depend on firewood for their daily cooking needs. This indicates that still their economic position and living standards are lower than the required basic level. In this regard, the study reveals a significant overall association between fuel for cooking and migration at the .019 level (Pearson chi-square test). It is found that compared to their non-migrant counterparts, household using kerosene for cooking are 5.57 times more likely to migrate, with the tendency being 1.09 times for households using firewood and 0.28 times for households with an LPG connection.

**Table 4.9: Distribution of Households with fuel access according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Firewood	31 (41)	44 (59)	25 (38)	41 (62)	22 (31)	50 (69)	78 (37)	135 (63)
Kerosene	(0.0)	(00)	1 (100)	(00)	2 (67)	1 (33)	3 (75)	1 (25)
LP Gas	(0.0)	5 (100)	2 (15)	11 (85)	1 (20)	4 (80)	3 (13)	20 (87)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for fuel and migration is significant at .019 levels.

Another crucial amenity is sanitation. It is found that a majority of the households do not have access to sanitation or toilet facilities and largely depend on or use open places. Overall, 81 per cent of the households do not have any access to sanitation

facilities and use open places for answering nature's call and for other related purposes. It is seen that 83 per cent of the non-migrant households have sanitation facilities, while the percentage is only 17 per cent in the case of migrant households. In the migrant category, 90 per cent do not have sanitation facilities, while the corresponding proportion is 76 per cent for non-migrant households. Across the villages it is found that in Akkaram, only 15 per cent of the households have own sanitation, whereas in Chityala, the proportion is 23 per cent and in Pata Kodangal, 20 per cent. The non-migrant households are better placed when it comes to access to their own sanitation facilities compared to the migrant households in all the three study villages. Here also, Akkaram is much more vulnerable than the other two villages. It is important to note here that regardless migration status, a large proportion of the households have no access to basic sanitation facilities. Further, migrant households are more helpless and deprived of the same (Table 4.10). There is a significant relationship (.005) between sanitation and migration. The likelihood odd shows that for households without sanitation facilities (that depend on open places), the likelihood of migration is 1.19 times higher, whereas households with sanitation are 0.38 times more likely to migrate compared to non-migrant households (see the below graphs for more details).

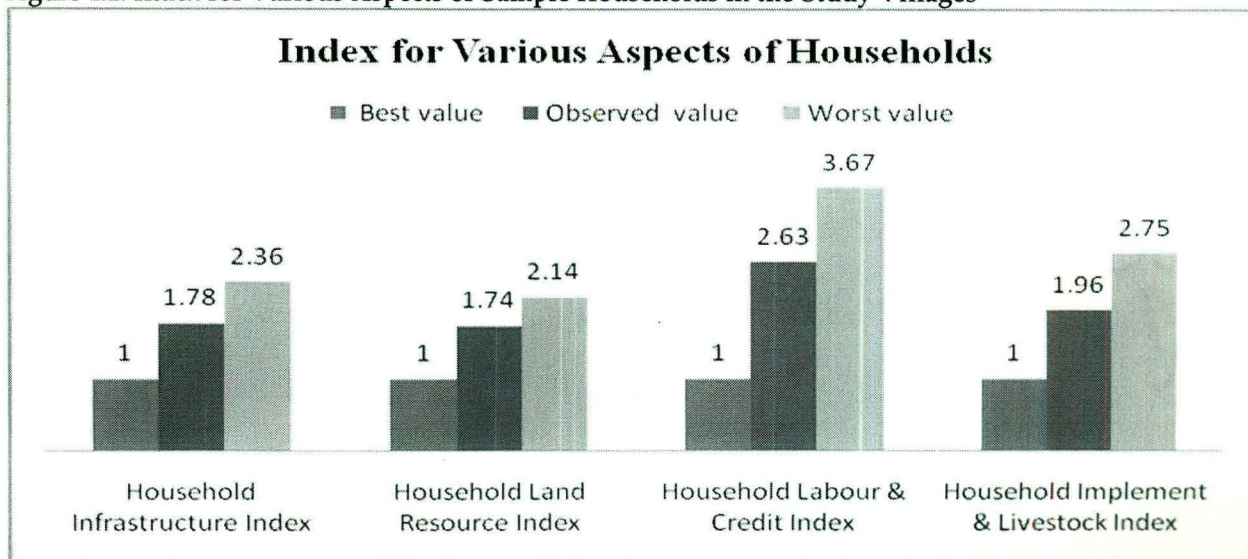
**Table 4.10: Proportion of Households with Sanitation Access by their Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Panchayats	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Own	1 (8)	11 (92)	3 (17)	15 (83)	4 (25)	12 (75)	8 (17)	38 (83)
Open place	30 (44)	38 (56)	25 (40)	37 (60)	21 (33)	43 (67)	76 (39)	118 (61)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for sanitation and migration is significant at .005 levels.

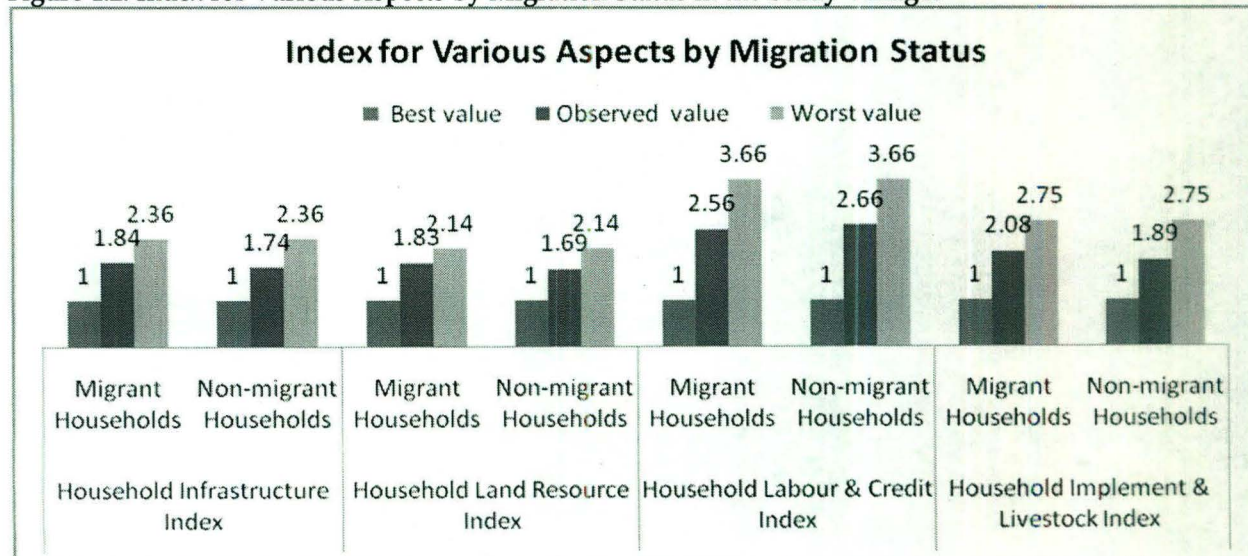


**Figure 4.1: Index for Various Aspects of Sample Households in the Study Villages**



Source: Field Survey conducted during the months of December, 2009 and January 2010.

**Figure 4.2: Index for Various Aspects by Migration Status in the Study Villages**



Source: Same as for Graph 4.1.

### 4.3. Household Resources and Seasonal Migration

This section deals with household resources such as land ownership, irrigation, land transactions and lease transactions across the study villages. These resource indicators are their fixed capital and the main source of income, livelihood and employment for most of the households in the villages. The pattern of land ownership, land transactions, extent of lease-in land and lease-out land provides a picture of the agricultural status and financial condition of the households. Further, it also gives an indication of which categories - the landless or small and marginal farmers or mid-size farmers - have a tendency to migrate from the villages. In this regard, lease-in land could avoid migration or induce through leasing-out their land (Guest, 2003). The information on land ownership shows that out of total 240 sample households, only 18 per cent are landless which means that the majority owns arable land. At 69%, the landless migrant households outnumbered their non-migrant counterparts. On the whole, 60 per cent of non-migrant households own land while the percentage is just 23 in the case of the migrant households across the villages. Of all the study villages, Chityala has reported more number of landless households, out of which 82 per cent are migrant households. This is followed by Akkaram with 92 per cent of the landless households migrating to other places, while the proportion is 25 per cent in Pata Kodangal.

Additionally, when we examine the overall migrant household picture, it is seen that 35 per cent of households are landless, while the corresponding proportion is 39 per cent in Akkaram, 50 per cent in Chityala and 12 per cent in Pata Kodangal (Table 4.11). This implies that though a majority of the households possess cultivable land, most of them migrated in order to seek employment in other prosperous regions of the state and other states. This also brings out the ground reality that seasonal (short-term) labour migrants by and large own land, but that various economic and family problems instigate them to leave their village (the determinants of migration have been presented in an earlier chapter of the thesis). Further, the study shows that it is not only land ownership that plays a major role in the lives of the migrants; factors

such as extent of land, nature of land and access to irrigation also significantly influence their economic well-being and decision making.

The 'Household Land Resource Index' for total sample households shows that the summarised observed index value is 1.74 units, the worst observed index value is 2.14 units and the best observed value is 1.0 units. However, the differential unit value for land resources is .0649 units. If we observe by migration status, the observed index value is 1.83 units and the worst index value is 2.14 units for migrant households. The best observed index value remains constant for all variables. For non-migrant households, the observed value is 1.69 and worst value, 2.14. However, the differential unit value for migrant is .728 and 0.605 for non-migrant households. This suggests that migrant households are more susceptible to migration than their non-migrant counterpart (Graph 4.1 & 4.2). On the whole, the relationship between land ownership and migration is significant (.000) which means that regardless of land possession, households are inclined to migrate from the villages. Likewise, the land-owning households are 0.72 times more likely to migrate, while the landless households are 4.13 times more likely to migrate as compared to the non-migrant households.

**Table 4.11: Distribution of Land Owning Households by Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Land	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Yes	19 (28)	48 (72)	14 (22)	49 (78)	22 (32)	46 (68)	55 (28)	143 (72)
No	12 (92)	1 (8)	14 (82)	3 (18)	3 (25)	9 (75)	29 (69)	13 (31)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for land ownership and migration is significant at .000 levels.

Regarding the ownership of land, the study shows that 28 per cent of land is owned by migrants, while 72 per cent is owned by non-migrant households (within the category of the land-owning households). Of this, 67 per cent of non-migrant households own dry land. In the case of both types of land also, i.e., dry and wet land, non-migrant households outnumbered their migrant counterparts. However,

within the migrant household category, 53 per cent owns dry land and 47 per cent owns both dry and wet land, while among the non-migrant households, 41 per cent owns dry land and 59 per cent owns both dry and wet land. If we look into the villages, migrant households own more dry land in all the three villages while in the case of both wet and dry land, the non-migrant households were predominantly higher. This suggests that non-migrant households own more fertile, quality arable land and have access to irrigation in all the villages. However, what is interesting here is that in Akkaram, 58 per cent of the migrants own dry land while the proportions are 79 per cent in Chityala and 31 in Pata Kodangal, while the dry-land owning proportions for non-migrants in Akkaram, Chityala and Pata Kodangal are 33%, 65% and 22 per cent respectively. This implies that migrant households own more dry land than non-migrant households. Agriculture in Chityala is more of dry cultivation, while in Pata Kodangal, it is more wet cultivation (Table 4.12).

On the whole, the relationship between dry land and migration is very high and significant at a level of .001, whereas for both land (wet and dry) the significance level is .010. However, households with dry land are 0.91 times more likely to migrate-out while for households with both dry and wet land, the likelihood of migration is 0.55 times more when compared to the non-migrant households. This also supports our previous argument that dry-land owning and small and marginal land owners/farmers are more likely to migrate out in greater volume than medium and large size farmers. Since land is one of the key household resources and prime income generation source, the nature and amount of land owned becomes imperative in deciding a household's economic condition. The study results vindicated this ground reality and could be compared with results of existing migration research in which most of the studies revealed that migrant households are weak/poor in resource holdings and more poverty ridden than others (Hampshire et al., 1999).

**Table 4.12: Distribution of Land Owning Households according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Panchayats	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Dry land	11 (41)	16 (59)	11 (26)	32 (74)	7 (41)	10 (59)	29 (33)	58 (67)
Both land	8 (20)	32 (80)	3 (15)	17 (85)	15 (29)	36 (71)	26 (23)	85 (77)
Total	19 (28)	48 (72)	14 (22)	49 (78)	22 (32)	46 (68)	55 (28)	143 (72)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for dry land and migration is .001 and wet & dry land and migration is at .010 significant levels.

On the other hand, the area of land owned on the whole reveals that majority of the households own three acres of land (20%) then remaining households own 2 acres, 4 acres and 5 acres with 15 per cent and each of the 12 per cent respectively. Interestingly, 12 per cent of the households possess more than eight acres of land. Here also, in all the above-mentioned categories of area of land owned, the land-owning non-migrant households outnumbered their migrant counterparts.

The results across the village reveal that, in Akkaram, a greater number of households own 5 acres, followed by 3, 4, 7 acres, etc., respectively. Moreover, in all the above-mentioned categories, non-migrant households outnumbered migrant households. Similarly, in Chityala most of the households possess 2 and 3 acres of land, with an equal number of households in both categories. Here also, migrant households hold less land than their non-migrant counterparts. In contrast, in Pata Kodangal, a large proportion of households owns 6 acres land, followed by 5, 7, 4 acres respectively, whereas non-migrant households predominantly hold larger plots of land than migrant households (Table 4.13). In short, a majority of the households in Akkaram possess between 3 to 7 acres. In Chityala, the size of the plot is smaller whereas in Pata Kodangal, the plot is large in size. This implies that Pata Kodangal is better off than the other study villages. In fact, households with large sized plots are less likely to migrate than small size land owning households. This shows that in Pata Kodangal a lower proportion of migration has been reported as compared to other villages. Besides, the cultivation of small and marginal plots of land may not give them sufficient food grain and employment throughout the year.

Hence, such households have been induced to migrate more than others (Himanshu, 2006).

**Table 4.13: Classification of Area of Land Owned by different Households according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Land in acres	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
1	1 (100)	(00)	3 (21)	11 (79)	1 (100)	(00)	5 (31)	11 (69)
2	3 (43)	4 (57)	5 (24)	16 (76)	(00)	2 (100)	8 (27)	22 (73)
3	4 (36)	7 (64)	4 (19)	17 (81)	2 (29)	5 (71)	10 (26)	29 (74)
4	2 (20)	8 (80)	2 (33)	4 (67)	3 (37)	5 (63)	7 (29)	17 (71)
5	6 (50)	6 (50)	(00)	1 (100)	3 (27)	8 (73)	9 (38)	15 (62)
6	1 (20)	4 (20)	(00)	(00)	7 (37)	12 (63)	8 (33)	16 (67)
7	2 (25)	6 (75)	(00)	(00)	5 (50)	5 (50)	7 (39)	11 (61)
8	(00)	5 (100)	(00)	(00)	1 (20)	4 (80)	1 (10)	9 (90)
9	(00)	2(100)	(00)	(00)	(00)	2 (100)	0	4 (100)
10	(00)	5(100)	(00)	(00)	(00)	1 (100)	0	6 (100)
11	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	2 (100)	0	2 (100)
12	(00)	1(100)	(00)	(00)	(00)	(00)	0	1 (100)
<b>Total</b>	<b>31 (39)</b>	<b>49 (61)</b>	<b>28 (35)</b>	<b>52 (65)</b>	<b>25 (31)</b>	<b>55 (69)</b>	<b>55 (28)</b>	<b>143 (72)</b>

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1.

Further, information about access to irrigation by different households on the whole reveals that 54 per cent of them do not have access to any kind of irrigation facilities (this includes landless households as well). In this, non-migrant households (71%) for the most part had more access to irrigation facilities than migrant households. If we look within the migrant category, 69 per cent of the households do not have irrigation facilities while the proportion is 54 per cent in the case of non-migrant households. Overall, in Akkaram, non-migrant households have access to more irrigation facilities. Among the non-migrant households, 65 per cent have access to irrigation for their own cultivation. Nevertheless, amongst the migrant households, 74 per cent of the households do not have access to irrigation facilities at all. This implies that non-migrant households were at an advantage compared to migrant households (Table 4.14).

In the case of Chityala also, non-migrant households seems to be large in accessing irrigation facilities. But compared to migrants, non-migrants were more likely to have irrigation facilities. However, when we look at the non-migrants, 67 per cent do not have irrigation facilities whereas in the migrants' case, it is 89 per cent. This proves that though non-migrant households also do not have access to irrigation, they are still at an advantage compared to migrant households. In the case of Pata Kodangal, a large proportion of non-migrants (45%) have access to irrigation facilities compared to the migrant households (19%). However, 71 per cent of non-migrant have access to irrigation whereas for migrants the proportion is just 29 per cent. Here, what makes it more interesting is that among the non-migrants, 65 per cent of the households have irrigation facilities while the proportion is 60 per cent for migrant households (within their category). This suggests that the difference in the likelihood of access to irrigation is not so wide among the migrant and non-migrant households.

However, the relationship between irrigation and migration is significant (.000) across the study villages. If we look at the likelihood of migration households with reference to access to irrigation, they are 0.59 times likely to migrate, while households without irrigation facilities are 1.52 times more likely to migrate as compared to non-migrant households. This indicates that households without irrigation were more exposed to migrate-out. Therefore, access to irrigation facilities plays a major role in cultivation and further influences food grain and income. Thus a good crop-output can enhance the living standard and economic status of the village (Margery et., 1998).

**Table 4.14: Proportion of household with Irrigation Access by Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Yes	8 (20)	32 (80)	3 (15)	17 (85)	15 (29)	36 (71)	27 (24)	85 (76)
No	23 (58)	17 (42)	25 (42)	35 (58)	10 (35)	19 (65)	58 (45)	71 (55)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for irrigation and migration is significant at .000 levels.

In the process of understanding the different characteristics of household resources, it is imperative to explore land transactions made by the migrant and non-migrant households. Here, the study examines land transactions that have occurred since last five years in the study villages. If we look into the households that sold land, it is seen that on the whole 4 per cent of the households had sold off their land during the last five years. It is interesting to note here is that all these transactions were made by the non-migrant households and there is not a single migrant household that sold its land during the last five years. At the village level, it is seen that Akkaram and Chityala villages have not reported any land transactions. In contrast, all the land transactions (sales) occurred only in Pata Kodangal. In Pata Kodangal, out of total households, 11 per cent sold their land which is sold only by non-migrant households (Table 4.15).

Similarly, when we look into the land purchase details, it is revealed that 3 per cent of the households bought land out of the total households in the study villages. Incidentally, all of the land transactions took place in Pata Kodangal. Here, 50 per cent of the land was purchased by the migrant households and the remaining 50 per cent by the non-migrant. Among the migrant households, only 5 per cent purchased land while the proportion is 3 per cent for non-migrant households. The high proportion of purchased land by migrant households suggests that migrants are more inclined to buy land. This could be owing to income from migration. Though both migrant and non-migrant households bought land equally the likelihood of land purchase by non-migrant households is lower than by migrant households. Thus 16 per cent of the migrant households bought land, while the proportion is 7 per cent for non-migrant households. This suggests that limited land transactions took place which means that the land market is not active or efficient. However, in the other two villages, the land market is stagnant and ineffective since the last five years. This is a sign of underdevelopment or of a stagnant rural economy (Kundu, 2007).



Overall, the relationship between land sale and migration is significant (.025) whereas the relationship between land purchase and migration is also significant (.366). However, households who sold land are 1.04 times more likely to migrate-out than non-migrant households. Similarly, the likelihood of land purchased households to migrate is 1.85 and while households that did not purchase land are 1.0 times more inclined to migrate as compared to non-migrant households. This indicates that migrant households seem to be purchasing more land and this could be attributed to income earned from migration. This means that for such households, migration is an opportunity to earn income and to buy land for additional cultivation and other fixed assets (Murthy, 1991).

**Table 4.15: Proportion of Land Transactions done by different Households according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Land Transactions	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total		
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	
Sold land	Yes	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	9 (100)	(0.0)	9 (100)
	No	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (35)	46 (65)	84 (36)	147 (64)
	Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)
Purchased land	Yes	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	4 (50)	4 (50)	4 (50)	4 (50)
	No	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	21 (29)	51 (71)	80 (35)	152 (65)
	Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source: Same as for Table 4.1. Note: Land Transactions from last five years have taken for analysis. Pearson value for land sold and migration is significant at .025 and purchased land and migration is significant at .366 levels.

On the other hand, information on lease transactions on the whole shows that 7 per cent of the households took land on lease from others farmers for cultivation. Of this, 3 per cent of the migrant and 4 per cent of non-migrant households took land on lease. However, among the leased land households, 52 per cent were non-migrants and the remaining were migrant households. Interestingly, within migrant households only 10 per cent took land on lease while the corresponding proportion is 6 per cent for non-migrant households. This implies that migrants are more inclined to take land on lease from others either to expand their agricultural area or to start cultivation newly by taking land on lease. In other words, small and

marginal farmers perhaps took additional land on lease owing to inadequate land to expand cultivation. Secondly, landless labourers could also lease land to start cultivation. Thus, through leasing in land, such households tried to expand their cultivable area, overcome the shortage of food, and also avoid migration out of their village. In fact, there is a positive association between lease-in land and the sufficiency of food grain, income and employment.

Further, lease-in transactions largely took place in Akkaram where 19 per cent of the migrant households and 6 per cent of the non-migrant households took land on lease. Therefore, migrants are more likely to lease-in land. In Chityala, 8 % of the non-migrant households and 4 per cent of the migrant households took land on lease from other farmers. In Pata Kodangal, a large proportion of lease-in land transactions is by non-migrant households (67%). When we look within their respective categories, 4 per cent of non-migrants took leased-in and it same for migrant households. There is no significant difference between migrant and non-migrant households which can signify the intensity at which land is taken on lease from other farmers.

Likewise, when we examine the lease-out transactions, it is seen that out of the total 240 households, 11 per cent leased out their land. Of this, non-migrant households were more predominant than migrant households (55% and 45% respectively). If we look into migrant category where 14 per cent of them leased-out their land and it is 10 per cent in the category of non-migrants. When we look across the villages, a large number of the leased-out households were in Akkaram, where 19 per cent of the sample households leased out land, with non-migrant households outnumbering their migrant counterparts. Of the migrant households, the proportion that leased out land is 13 per cent and the corresponding proportion is 22 per cent for non-migrant households. This suggests that non-migrants were more likely to lease out their land. In Chityala, on the whole, 6 per cent of the households leased out their land, and migrant households outnumbered non-migrants in lease-out transactions. Within the migrant category, 14 per cent leased out their land while the proportion

is 2 per cent for non-migrant households. In the case of Pata Kodangal, 9 per cent of households leased out their land with migrant households dominating in these transactions. However, among the migrant households, 16 per cent leased out their land while the proportion is 5 per cent for non-migrant households (Table 4.16).

The relationship between lease-in land transactions and migration is significant (.280). The relationship between lease-out and migration is also significant (.275). The likelihood of migration by lease-in household is 1.71 times more while households that do not lease in land are 0.96 times likely to migrate out than non-migrant households. The likelihood to migrate is 1.52 times in the case of leased out households and 0.96 times for household that do not lease out land, so that the former category of households are more likely to migrate-out than non-migrant households. Interestingly leased-in and leased-out households are more or less inclined to migrate, which can be attributed landlessness, inadequate land and insufficient income from cultivation. It should be noted that, apart from Akkaram, in other two villages there are large number of land leased-out households that migrated to other places. They could be interpreted as migrant households with small and marginal land holdings that have leased out their land to others instead of cultivating it themselves owing to various reasons. Such households rather prefer to migrate in order to earn more income than what they would be able to get from cultivation. In contrast, insufficient land forces them to move out because it will not help them to get enough food grain and income from cultivation. Interestingly, in Akkaram it was the inadequacy of land that forced non-migrants to lease it out. Such households completely depend on daily wage labour, on migration and work in large farmers fields as contract labourers for a fixed rate on an annual basis (Maddulettey, 1989).

**Table 4.16: Distribution of Lease-in and Lease-out Land Households by Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total		
Lease details	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	
Lease in land	Yes	6 (67)	3 (33)	1 (20)	4 (80)	1 (33)	2 (67)	8 (48)	9 (52)
	No	25 (35)	46 (65)	27 (36)	48 (64)	24 (31)	53 (69)	76 (34)	147 (66)
	Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)
Leased out land	Yes	4 (27)	11 (73)	4 (80)	1 (20)	4 (57)	3 (43)	12 (45)	15 (55)
	No	27 (42)	38 (58)	24 (32)	51 (68)	21 (29)	52 (71)	72 (34)	141 (66)
	Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for leased-in and leased-out land and migration is significant at .280 and .275 levels respectively.

#### 4.4. Labour, Credit Market and Seasonal Migration

In this section, the study tries to examine the labour and credit markets with reference to seasonal labour migration in the study villages. The labour market reveals details about work or employment available to different households in the study villages. Labour participation depends on nature of work and employment opportunities. If employment opportunities are diverse and multiple and labourers can get maximum days of wage employment, then that labour market in any particular village would work actively and can be considered an active or efficient labour market (Guest, 2003). However, employment in rural areas is by and large confined to agriculture and allied sectors which is indeed characterised by seasonal natured employment. Thus, getting regular and secure employment throughout the year becomes difficult particularly during the post-harvest season when employment opportunities become fewer and dismal. In this context, we tried to examine the number of households which participated in the local labour markets during the survey year.

On the other hand, this study also tried to explore the sources of the credit market and accessibility to credit by different households in the study villages. This aspect becomes very important for the simple reason that in rural India not only small and marginal farmers but also medium size farmers are in need of credit, in particular during the monsoon period for the purchase of agricultural inputs such as seed,

implements, pesticides, fertilisers and for other additional input cost. If credit facilities are multiple (both formal and informal institutions) and available at affordable interest rate during the agricultural season, then the likelihood that households would avail of credit facilities is high. This can, in fact, enhance the area of cultivation. Thus, the credit market can be regarded as an active or efficient market. If there is no proper credit providing agency for farmers, then that would affect agriculture, particularly the area under cultivation. In such a situation, farmers could cultivate a smaller plot of land and leave the rest of the land barren, or sometimes not cultivate the entire plot of land. As a consequence, such households may prefer to move out of their village for employment and earning purposes (Sharma, 1997).

Table 4.17 shows the proportion of households whose family members participated in the village labour labour/employment market during the study year. On the whole, 46 per cent of the households had not worked in the labour market in the village of origin, with non-migrant households outnumbering migrant households (excluding their labour for their own cultivation). It should be noted that most of these labourers are either head of the household or their spouse. However, in both head of the household and spouse categories non-migrant households worked predominantly than migrant households. Within the non-migrant households, the head of the household's proportion is around 44 per cent while it is 56 per cent in the case of migrant households.

Further, in Akkaram, on the whole, 54 per cent of the households did not work in the labour market (in other farmers' fields) and they primarily belong to non-migrant households. However, 46 per cent of the heads of the households were engaged in the labour market, and of this, migrant households accounted for a large proportion. The proportion of head of the households who engaged in the labour/employment market during the monsoon agricultural season was 31 per cent for the non-migrant households and 65 per cent for the migrant households. In the case of Chityala, 59 per cent of household heads engaged in the labour market on the

whole. In this case also, non-migrants outnumbered migrant households. When we examine their respective categories it is revealed that among migrant households, 39 per cent of the household heads worked in local labour market, while it is 69 per cent for non-migrants. This implies that non-migrants have a greater tendency to work in the origin labour market than their migrant counterparts.

In Pata Kodangal, 54 per cent of the households did not work in the labour market. Overall, in 41 % of the cases, the main worker is head of the household, and in this, there is not much difference between the migrant and non-migrant households, i.e., they are more or less equally engaged in the labour market. Taking the non-migrants, 31 per cent reported as main workers (head of the household), while the corresponding proportion is 64 per cent in the case of the migrant households. This indicates that the migrants were more inclined to depend on local labour or the employment market for work, and thus the same labour class has the tendency to migrate. In short, there are migrants in Akkaram, non-migrants in Chityala and both migrants and non-migrant households in Pata Kodangal who largely participated in their respective labour market for daily wage employment during the agricultural season. However, employment opportunities depended on the agricultural season and the chances of getting work outside agriculture sector (in nearby villages/towns), which is difficult in the region.

In this regard, the 'Household Labour & Credit Index' for total sample households showed that the summarised observed index value is 2.63 units, the worst observed index value is 3.67 units and the best observed index value is 1.0 units. However, the differential (distance) unit value for labour and credit is .0610 units. If we look at the migration status for migrant households, the observed index value is 2.56 units and the worst observed index value is 3.66 units (best index value remains constant for all measured aspects), while the observed value is 2.66 and the worst value is 3.66 for non-migrant households. But the differential unit value for migrants is 0.586 and 0.624 for non-migrant households. This implies that migrant households were more susceptible to migration than their non-migrant counterpart (Graph 1 & 2).

However, the relationship between working in origin labour market and migration is significant (.127) for all the sample households in the study villages. Households working in village labour market are 0.80 times more likely to migrate and households not working in the labour market are 1.24 times more likely to migrate than non-migrant households.

**Table 4.17: Proportion of Households that Participated in Origin Labour Market according to Migration Status in the Study Villages (at least one member)**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Patakodangal		Grand Total	
Code of labour	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
No	11 (26)	32 (74)	17 (55)	14 (45)	5 (14)	32 (86)	33 (30)	78 (70)
1	20 (57)	15 (43)	11 (23)	36 (77)	16 (49)	17 (51)	47 (41)	68 (59)
2	(0.0)	2 (100)	(0.0)	1 (100)	1 (25)	3 (75)	1 (14)	6 (86)
3	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (100)	0	1 (100)
4	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (100)	(0.0)	1 (100)	0	2 (100)
5	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (50)	1 (50)	1 (50)	1 (50)
6	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	2 (100)	(0.0)	2 (100)	(0.0)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for origin labour market and migration is significant is at .127 levels.

It is interesting to look into the nature of work/employment that they have engaged in local labour market during the agricultural season of the surveyed year. Up to 30 per cent of the households worked in agricultural fields as a daily wage earning labourers. Subsequently, 23 per cent of them worked under the MGNREGA programme (this work is mostly available during the lean periods). Here, non-migrant households outnumbered migrant households. Among the non-migrants, 29 per cent worked in the agricultural sector and 19 per cent worked in the MGNREGA scheme and in the case of migrants, the corresponding proportions are 31 per cent and 30 per cent respectively. It seems that migrant households are more likely to work in MGNREGA than their non-migrant counterparts in the study villages. Agricultural work and MGNREGA work is the major source of employment. This suggests that there were not many diverse and alternative employment and earning opportunities in the study villages (Parthasarathy et al., 1998).

At village level, it is observed that in Akkaram, a large number of agricultural labour households are those of non-migrants, while most of the MGNREGA workers belong to migrant households. Among the migrant households, 39 % are agricultural labourers and 26 per cent are MGNREGA workers. This suggests that migrant households still had a tendency to depend on agricultural manual work and migration. In the case of non-migrants, the proportion of agricultural labourers and MGNREGA workers is 27 per cent and 8 per cent respectively. However, both migrants and non-migrants were greatly dependent on agriculture, and MGNREGA is still a secondary option and shows its ineffectiveness. In Chityala also, agricultural and MGNREGA work is predominant. Interestingly, in both work categories, non-migrant households outnumbered migrants. Whilst among the non-migrants, 44 per cent and 23 per cent are agricultural and MGNREGA workers respectively, among the migrant households, 32 per cent are agricultural labourers and only 7 per cent are MGNREGA workers. In Pata Kodangal, there are more MGNREGA workers (35 per cent) than agricultural workers (19 per cent). Within the migrant category, 60 per cent are MGNREGA workers and 20 per cent are agricultural labourers, while the proportions are 24 per cent MGNREGA workers and 18 per cent agricultural workers for non-migrant households in the village (Table 4.18).

However, the association between working in the origin labour market and migration is significant (.302) for the total sample households in the study villages. Agricultural labourers are 1.04 times more likely to migrate, while MGNREGA workers are 1.58 times more likely to do so as compared to non-migrant households. This indicates that MGNREGA workers might be migrant households who work in the scheme when MGNREGA work is offered and migrates out in the absence of the scheme. This result implies that, regardless their migration status, a large number of the households still depends on agriculture for employment. The second largest employment source is MGNREGA where both types of households work moderately. However, non-migrants take greater advantage of the programme than migrants. This could be because MGNREGA households might have stopped



migrating due to the availability of employment in the village during the lean agricultural season. This issue would be addressed in detail in chapter 6.

**Table 4.18: Classification of Employment of the Households in the Village Labour Market by their Migration Status (at least one member)**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Patakodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
0 (non-workers)	11 (26)	32 (74)	17 (55)	14 (45)	5 (14)	32 (86)	33 (30)	78 (70)
Agri-labour	12 (48)	13 (52)	9 (28)	23 (72)	5 (33)	10 (67)	26 (36)	46 (64)
Construction worker	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (100)	(0.0)	(0.0)	0	1 (100)
NREGA worker	8 (67)	4 (33)	2 (14)	12 (86)	15 (54)	13 (46)	25 (46)	29 (54)
Piece/contract labour	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (100)	(0.0)	(0.0)	0	1 (100)
Other works	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (100)	(0.0)	(0.0)	0	1 (100)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for occupation in origin labour market and migration is significant at .302 levels.

In this background, it would be interesting to examine if people from the study villages worked in nearby village labour market or not. On the whole, 16 per cent of the households worked in nearby villages wherein non-migrant households outnumbered migrant households. Among the non-migrants, only 15 per cent worked in the outside labour market and this proportion is 19 per cent for migrant households. This shows that migrant households are more vulnerable and in need of more work, and hence the likelihood of their working in the nearby village labour markets is high. Interestingly, from Akkaram, there is no single household that worked in the nearby villages. In the case of Chityala, 20 per cent of households worked in nearby village labour markets while the non-migrant households outnumbered the migrant households. Among the non-migrant households, 23 per cent worked in the nearby village labour markets, while 14 per cent of migrants did so too. In the case of Pata Kodangal, 26 per cent of the households worked in the nearby villages and of this, there were more migrant households than non-migrant households, that is, there were 44 per cent migrant households and 18 per cent non-migrant households (Table 4.19). In Pata Kodangal, migrants are more vulnerable than those in Chityala. The results imply that if employment is available in nearby

villages, these households are inclined or prefer to commute daily and take up any type of manual labour in these nearby villages and towns. In fact, this could sometimes curb long distance migration by such households and thus help them avoid the risks involved in such long distance migration. In this context, the relationship between working in the nearby villages and migration is quite significant at .239. However, households that work in nearby villages are 1.29 times more likely to migrate, whereas not-working households are 1.19 times more likely to migrate as compared to the non-migrant households in the study villages.

**Table 4.19: Distribution of Households Working in Nearby Labour Markets according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Gross Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
0	11 (26)	32 (74)	17 (55)	14 (45)	5 (13)	33 (87)	33 (29)	79 (71)
Yes	1 (50)	1 (50)	4 (25)	12 (75)	11 (52)	10 (48)	16 (41)	23 (59)
No	19 (54)	16 (46)	7 (21)	26 (79)	9 (43)	12 (57)	35 (39)	54 (61)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for working in nearby villages and migration is significant at .239 levels.

The information on credit reveals that 65 per cent of the households accessed credit from different sources and the remaining 35 per cent did not avail of any credit from any source. Among the credit taking households, 48 per cent took credit (loans) from banks and 17 per cent borrowed from moneylenders in the study villages. Here, migrant households are less likely to have access to credit than non-migrant households. In the migrant household category 39 per cent took loans from banks and 21 per cent depended on credit from moneylenders. In the case of the non-migrants, 52 per cent took credit from banks and 15 per cent from moneylenders. This means that the non-migrants largely accessed loans/credit from banks. Although the migrants availed of credit from banks, loans (credit) from moneylenders dominate as compared to non-migrant borrowings from moneylenders. It is observed that the low accessibility to credit is mainly on account of landlessness, and the possession of only small and marginal land holdings (Lipton, 1977).

Furthermore, in Akkaram, 46 per cent of the households did not take credit in which non-migrants were outnumbered migrant households. Among the credit availing households, 34 per cent took credit from banks and 20 per cent from money lenders. Among the migrants, 26 per cent took loans from banks and 39 per cent from moneylenders. In the case of non-migrants, 39 per cent took credit from banks and 8 per cent from moneylenders. In Chityala village, 56 per cent availed of loans. Of this, 43 per cent took credit from banks and 14 %, from moneylenders. In short, both migrants and non-migrant households predominantly took loans from banks, though migrants still lag behind non-migrant households. In Pata Kodangal, 84 per cent of the households availed of credit facilities. Of this, 66 per cent took loans from banks and 18 per cent from moneylenders. Among the migrants, 72 per cent of households took loans from banks and 16 per cent from moneylenders. In the case of non-migrants, 64 per cent of the households took credit from banks and 18 per cent borrowed from moneylenders (Table 4.20).

These findings imply that Akkaram is comparatively vulnerable while Pata Kodangal is the most advantaged village in terms of access to both formal and informal sources of credit. In all the villages, the bank is the major source of credit. Non-migrant households have a greater advantage in accessing credit from institutional sources, mainly from banks. However, households that took credit from moneylenders are in fact mostly migrant households rather than non-migrant households. This revalidates the fact that migrant households are less likely to get credit from both institutional and non-institutional sources for agricultural and household purposes. Perhaps it is the small and marginal land holdings that restrict the migrant households' ability to access credit. Banks give credit based the land size and guarantee from the households. In such cases, the households that are economically better off in terms of land and assets can easily avail of more credit from institutional sources. Here, there is significant relationship between credit and migration (.149) for total sample households in the study villages (Pearson chi-square test). However, households that took credit from bank are 0.76 times more

likely to migrate than non-migrant households, while households that have borrowed from moneylenders are 1.46 times more likely to migrate. Households that do not have access to credit are 1.19 times more likely to migrate when compared to non-migrant households. This indicates that large numbers of migrant households who do not have access to credit and take loans from moneylenders are more prone to move out (Dennis, 2006).

**Table 4.20: Distribution of Credit Received Households by Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
0 (not taken)	11 (30)	26 (70)	19 (54)	16 (46)	3 (23)	10 (77)	33 (39)	52 (61)
Banks	8 (30)	19 (70)	7 (21)	27 (79)	18 (34)	35 (66)	33 (29)	81 (71)
Money lenders	12 (75)	4 (25)	2 (18)	9 (82)	4 (29)	10 (71)	18 (44)	23 (56)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for credit market and migration is significant at .149 levels.

Additionally, when we look into the amount of credit taken by different households across the study village, it is seen that in Akkaram, the average (Mean) amount of credit taken by migrant households is more than Rs. 21,000 whereas for non-migrants it is around Rs. 14,000. In the case of Chityala, the average amount of credit availed of by the non-migrant households is around Rs. 13,000 and it is just Rs. 5,600 for migrant households. In Patakodangal, the amount availed of by non-migrants is around 26 thousands, and 23 thousand for migrant households. Interestingly, in Akkaram, migrant households availed of more credit than non-migrant households. In the other two villages, non-migrant households outnumbered migrant households in the average amount of credit availed. It is to be noted that in Chityala, the margin with regard to credit between migrant and non-migrant households is very wide. This suggests that migrant households were either not accessing any credit or getting only a very small amount of credit.

When we look into the maximum amount of credit taken by different households it is found that in Akkaram, the maximum amount of credit taken is around Rs. 70,000 which was availed of by migrant households, while it is Rs. 60,000 for non-migrants. In Chityala, it is around 45 thousand for migrants and Rs. 40,000 for non-migrants. In Patakodangal, the maximum amount of credit availed of is around one lakh which was taken by migrant households while the amount borrowed is 80 thousands for non-migrant households (Table 4.21). Apart from Chityala, in the other two villages, the extent of credit availed of by migrants credit is far greater than that availed of by non-migrant households. This indicates that migrant households are more burdened with huge debts due to various economic and social reasons. This ascertains the results discussed in the above section. Though non-migrant households were not so better off in terms of credit, they are definitely in an advantageous position compared to migrant households (Korra, 2011).

**Table 4.21: Distribution of Amount of Loan Taken by Households according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Credit amount						
Mean	21323	14408	5643	13365	23600	26145
Maximum	70000	60000	40000	45000	100000	80000
Median	20000	0	0	10000	20000	30000

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1.

#### **4.5. Agricultural Implements, Livestock and Seasonal Migration**

Agricultural implements play an important role in cultivation, particularly in the case of small and marginal farmers and are an indication of active cultivation by a household. A farmer with a small piece of land and without any agricultural implements would have only two options - he can hire these implements or refrain from cultivating his land. Since the income generating capacity of such farmers is low, getting implements on rent becomes difficult. Alternatively, if their economic condition is weak, they could lease out their land and work in others fields during

the agricultural season. Later, they might resort to migration towards other prosperous regions in order to get work/employment (Mark Collinson et al., 2003).

In this connection, it is seen that, on the whole, 60 per cent of the households under study possess agricultural implements and 40 per cent do not (this includes landless households). Further, it is found that it is the non-migrant households that own a lot of implements. Among the non-migrants, 63 per cent possess a plough kit while the corresponding proportion is 52 per cent for migrant households. A plough kit includes all ploughing-related implements. In Akkaram, 48 per cent of the households, mostly non-migrant, possess agricultural implements. Up to 51 per cent of the non-migrant households own implements while the corresponding proportion is 42 per cent among migrant households. In the case of Chityala, households own plough kits constitute 58 per cent of the total, with non-migrant households outnumbering the migrant households. Within the non-migrant category, 69 per cent of households have agricultural implements, while the proportion of migrant households that do so is 36 per cent. In Patakodangal, 74 per cent of the households possess implements and these are mostly non-migrants. Up to 69 per cent of the non-migrant households and 84 per cent of the migrant households possess implements meant for cultivation. Of this, the proportion of migrant households is predominantly greater than that of the non-migrants (Table 22). In Akkaram, households with implement are less than fifty per cent of the total and among these the migrant households were more vulnerable. The situation is the same in Chityala. The lack of adequate agricultural implements could also stimulate vulnerable households to move out of the village economy and take up seasonal work/employment in other prosperous regions.

In terms of the number of implements, the study reveals that 43 per cent of all the households own at least one plough kit, with non-migrant households outnumbering migrant households in this aspect. Further, 10 per cent of the households, mostly non-migrant, possess two plough kits. In the case of Akkaram, 39 per cent of the total number of households has at least one plough kit and 6 per

cent have two plough kits with non-migrant families dominating. In Chityala, one plough kit is owned by 56 per cent of the households, mostly non-migrant. Chityala reported that most of its households possess only single plough kit. In Pata Kodangal, 50 per cent of them possess at least one implement, mostly non-migrant, while 21 per cent have at least two plough kits. One household each in the migrant and non-migrant categories possesses at least 3 plough kits (Table 4.22).

The observed 'Index for Agricultural Implements and Livestock' for the total number of households is 1.96 units and worst observed index value is 2.75 (best value remains constant at 1.0). However, the differential scale of unit here is 0.549 units. For the migrant households, the observed index value is 2.08, the worst observed value is 2.75, and the differential unit of value is 0.617. In the case of the non-migrant households, the observed index value is 1.89 and worst observed index value is the same as the migrant category, i.e. 2.75 units, while the differential unit value is 0.509 units. Further, the relationship between traditional agricultural implements and migration is insignificant (0.95) in the study villages. Plough kit (traditional implement) households are 0.83 times more likely to migrate than non-migrant households, while those without implements are 1.29 times more likely to migrate than them.

**Table 4.22: Distribution of Households holding Traditional Implements by their Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Village Impl	Akkaram		Chityala		Patakodangal		Gross Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
No	18 (43)	24 (57)	18 (53)	16 (47)	4 (19)	17 (81)	40 (41)	57 (59)
Ploughs	13 (34)	25 (66)	10 (22)	36 (78)	21 (36)	38 (64)	44 (31)	99 (69)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)
No	18 (43)	24 (57)	18 (53)	16 (47)	4 (19)	17 (81)	40 (41)	57 (59)
1	12 (39)	19 (61)	10 (22)	35 (78)	14 (35)	26 (65)	36 (31)	80 (69)
2	1 (20)	4 (80)	(0.0)	1 (100)	6 (35)	11 (65)	7 (30)	16 (70)
3	(0.0)	2 (100)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (50)	1 (50)	1 (25)	3 (75)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for traditional implements and migration is insignificant at 0.95 levels.

Table 4.23 shows that only 26 per cent of the total number of households, mostly non-migrant, possesses a traditional hand pump (sprayer). The proportion of households with a traditional sprayer is 32 per cent for non-migrant households and 15 per cent for migrant households. In Akkaram, 28 per cent of the households, non-migrant, own traditional hand pumps. Among the non-migrant households, 39 per cent have them while the corresponding proportion is 10 per cent for migrant households. In Chityala, 25 per cent of the households, mostly non-migrant, have a hand pump, with the proportions being 31 per cent of the non-migrant households and 14 per cent of the migrant households. In Pata Kodangal, the proportion is 26 and mostly composed of non-migrants. Among the non-migrant category, 27 per cent hold these pumps while the proportion is 24 per cent among the migrant households. Interestingly, in all the three villages, less than 28 per cent of the households possess a traditional hand pump, with Chityala being more deprived and Akkaram at a slight advantage. However, there is significance association between traditional hand pump and migration (.005) for total households in the study villages. While households with hand pump are 0.49 times more likely to migrate, those without are 1.24 times more likely to migrate than non-migrant households.

**Table 4.23: Distribution of Pump Handset Owned Households according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

	Akkaram		Chityala		Patakodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
No Pump	28 (48)	30 (52)	24 (40)	36 (60)	19 (32)	40 (68)	71 (40)	106 (60)
Pump	3 (14)	19 (86)	4 (20)	16 (80)	6 (29)	15 (71)	13 (21)	50 (79)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)
No	28 (48)	30 (52)	24 (40)	36 (60)	19 (32)	40 (68)	71 (40)	106 (60)
1	3 (16)	16 (84)	4 (22)	14 (78)	5 (28)	13 (72)	12 (22)	43 (78)
2	(0.0)	3 (100)	(0.0)	2 (100)	1 (50)	1 (50)	1 (14)	6 (86)
3	(0.0)	1 (100)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	0	1 (100)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for traditional hand pump and migration is significant at .005 levels.



Similarly, the ownership pattern of modern sprayers reveals on the whole that 16 per cent of the households, mostly non-migrant, possess a modern sprayer. Within non-migrant category, 21 per cent holds one, and 9 per cent hold one among the migrant households. In Akkaram, 14 per cent of the non-migrant households own a sprayer, while not a single migrant household owns one. In Chityala, the proportion with a sprayer is 13 per cent, and most of these are non-migrant households. Among the non-migrant households, 17 per cent own a sprayer and there is just one migrant household that has one. In Pata Kodangal, of the 28 per cent that have a modern sprayer, most are non-migrant households; among the non-migrants, 29 per cent have one while this proportion is 24 per cent among the migrant households (Table 4.24).

Taking the number of sprayers, it is found that in Akkaram, sprayers are owned mostly by non-migrants, with one household possessing two sprayers and 12 per cent of the households having one sprayer. In Chityala, among sprayers owned households 13 per cent have single sprayers which is largely by non-migrants. While in Pata Kodangal it is 24 per cent own a single sprayer which is largely by non-migrant households, and 4 per cent have two sprayers. Up to 25 per cent of the non-migrant have a single sprayer. In a nutshell, migrant households in the study villages are less likely to have both traditional and modern implements. In this regard, the relationship between modern sprayers and migration is significant (.015) in the study villages. While households with a sprayer are 0.41 times likely to migrate, households without a sprayer are 1.14 times more likely to migrate than non-migrant households.

**Table 4.24: Distribution of Modern Sprayer Possessing Households according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Villages		Akkaram		Chityala		Patakodangal		Grand Total	
Implements		Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
M. implements	No Sprayer	31 (42) (0.0)	42 (58) 7 (100)	27 (39) 1 (10)	43 (61) 9 (90)	19 (33) 6 (27)	39 (67) 16 (73)	77 (38) 7 (18)	124 (62) 32 (82)
	Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)
	No. of implements	31 (42) (0.0)	42 (58) 6 (100)	27 (39) 1 (10)	43 (61) 9 (90)	19 (33) 5 (26)	39 (67) 14 (74)	77 (38) 6 (17)	124 (62) 29 (83)
	2	(0.0)	1 (100)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (33)	2 (67)	1 (25)	3 (75)
	Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for modern sprayer and migration is significant at .015 levels.

The other important household resource is livestock. It is seen that on the whole, 60 per cent of the households own at least one variety of livestock and the remaining 40 per cent does not possess any of kind of livestock in the study region. The non-migrants hold the bulk of livestock. Further, it is revealed that within non-migrant households, 36 per cent do not have any livestock. Of this, 40 per cent of the households own cows and 21 per cent own bullocks. Among the migrant households, 49 per cent do not own any livestock, 13 per cent own bullocks and 38 per cent own cows. In Akkaram, 47 per cent of the households own livestock, with 29 per cent owning cows and 16 per cent owning bullocks. Here, non-migrant households were outnumbered migrant households in possessing livestock. Within the non-migrant category, 49 per cent do not have any livestock, 29 per cent own cows and 18 per cent own bullocks. Further, among the migrants, 58 per cent do not own any livestock and 13 per cent own cows and 29 per cent own bullocks. In Chityala, 59 per cent of the households own livestock, with non-migrant households owning more livestock than migrant households. Among the livestock owned households, 49 per cent own cows and 9 per cent own bullocks. Of the non-migrant households, 58 per cent hold cows and 12 per cent possess bullocks, while the corresponding proportions are 32 % and 4 per cent among the migrant households (Table 4.25).

In Pata Kodangal, 72 per cent own livestock and most of them are non-migrant households. Up to 41 per cent of the households own cows and 30 per cent own bullocks. Of the non-migrant households, 35 per cent own cows and 33 per cent own bullocks. Among the migrants, 56 per cent own cows and 24 per cent own bullocks. In this regard, the association between livestock and migration is significant (.170) in the study villages. Households without livestock are 1.34 times likely to migrate as compared to non-migrant households, while households with cows are 0.96 times and households with bullocks are 0.62 times more likely to migrate than non-migrant households. In the case of other animals, the likelihood of migration is almost zero. The result implies that most households do not hold any livestock in Akkaram, followed by Chityala and Pata Kodangal villages. In Pata Kodangal, only a few households do not possess any livestock which means this village is at an advantage compared to the two other villages. Nevertheless, in all the villages, the migrants possess less livestock compared to non-migrants and the likelihood of their owning livestock is also less than that of non-migrant households. Further, most of the households own more cows than bullocks. In short, Akkaram is the most disadvantaged in terms of livestock ownership while Chityala and Pata Kodangal are better off, and in the latter two villages, the difference between migrants and non-migrants in terms of livestock possession is very marginal.

**Table 4.25: Distribution of Livestock Owning Households by Migration Status in the Study Villages (at least with one livestock)**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Patakodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
0	18 (43)	24 (57)	18 (55)	15 (45)	5 (23)	17 (77)	41 (42)	56 (58)
Buffalo	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (100)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (100)
Bullock	4 (31)	9 (69)	1 (14)	6 (86)	6 (25)	18 (75)	11 (25)	33 (75)
Cows	9 (39)	14 (61)	9 (23)	30 (77)	14 (42)	19 (58)	32 (34)	63 (66)
Goat	(0.0)	2 (100)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	1 (100)	(0.0)	3 (100)
Total	31 (39)	49 (69)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 4.1. Pearson value for livestock and migration is significant at .170 levels.

## **4.6. Logistic Model**

So far the study described various aspects of households with reference to migration which yielded interesting results. Nonetheless, it is intriguing to examine the significance level of some of the important variables with regard to migration. In this regard, this study has constructed an appropriate binary logistic model to look at the issue using various indexes that presented in earlier section of the chapter with reference to migration (see index graphs). This could provide not only the significance of the association between various variables and migration, but also give the likelihood of being a migrant household with regards to such variables. This in fact depicts which variable plays a major and strong role in the household's decision to migrate.

### **4.6.1. Hypothesis**

In determining the migration status of a household, factors like the household's basic amenities, fixed resource holdings, participation in the labour market, access to credit, possession of agriculture implements and livestock could play a vital role. For instance, a household with an advantage in above-mentioned factors may be less likely to prefer to migrate and vice versa. On the contrary, such households may take up migration in order to improve their economic and social status in the village of origin. Likewise, households with fewer resources may resort to leaving the village for survival or in order to find employment. In this regard, quite a few studies have demonstrated that the migration status of a household is a function of the household and its individual characteristics. Household characteristics refer to ownership of various resources while individual characteristics refer to sex, age, community, education, etc. (Guest, 2003).

The potential explanatory variables for categorisation as a migrant household are explained below. If the lack of a variety of household resources induces migration then it could be argued that such households migrate due to extreme economic

difficulties and depressed life conditions. Further, if a better resource owning household moves towards developed regions, it could be presumed that migration may occur for better economic opportunities and living standards (Rani et al., 2003). The alternative hypothesis here is that lack of household resources in fact persuades households to take up migration. This alternative hypothesis seems to be true in the context of mounting distress migration from backward rural regions. Here, a household which possess better basic amenities and fixed resources, and participates more in the labour market in the village of origin, have access to credit, implements and livestock, and are in fact presumed to be less likely to travel towards other prosperous regions and vice versa.

#### 4.6.2. Results of Logistic Model

A household's decision to migrate is influenced by number of factors which could be grouped here as its basic infrastructure, fixed resources, participation in labour market, access to credit and possession of agriculture implements and livestock (indexes as independent variables). The dependent variable here is migration status, i.e., whether migrant or non-migrant. Here, household infrastructure (I) comprises dwellings, electricity, drinking water, fuel, sanitation, radio, tape recorder, television, mobile phone, land phone and motor cycle. Household fixed resources (R) includes land ownership, nature of land, irrigation, land sold and purchased, and leased-in and leased-out land. Labour and credit (L) reflects participation of household members in the village of origin and nearby village labour market and accessibility to credit. Lastly, agriculture implements and livestock (A) denotes traditional and modern agriculture implements and livestock possession.

$$P_i = E(M = 1 / I, R, L, A) = \beta_1 + \beta_2 I_i + \beta_3 R_i + \beta_4 L_i + \beta_5 A_i$$

Where M denotes migration status,

I is the infrastructure index,

R is the resource index,

L is the household labour and credit index and,

A is the agriculture implements and livestock index. Note here that these variables refer households rather than individuals.

Here, households are categorised as better off and worse off households in terms of the above-mentioned variables and their migration status i.e. migrant or non-migrant. The estimated logistic regression model showed a significant association between a migrant household and one with less or weak household resources, implements and livestock. Further, there is insignificant association between being a migrant household and having better basic infrastructure and better participation in labour and credit markets. It imply that the fewer the resources, implements and livestock, the more the likelihood of the households to migrate. With regard to infrastructure it suggests that the better the infrastructure and the greater the participation in the labour and credit market, the more their tendency to migrate towards other regions. On the other hand, households with basic infrastructure and a high rate of participation in the labour and credit market are 1.03 and 1.10 times respectively more likely to migrate than non-migrant households. Likewise, likelihood odd ratio reveals that a household with fixed resources, implements and livestock are 0.58 and 0.77 times less likely to migrate than their non-migrant counterparts (Table 4.26). Here the base value is 1, and a value above 1 indicates a greater likelihood of a household being in the migrant category and a value less than 1 shows a lower likelihood of classification as a migrant household.

**Table 4.26: Logistic Regression of Migration Status of Households on Selected Characteristics**

*Migration Status	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	P>z
Household Infrastructure Index	1.034702	0.120848	0.77
Household Resource Index	0.5840431	0.142861	0.028
Labour & credit Index	1.104711	0.057144	0.054
Implements & Livestock Index	0.7794955	0.077868	0.013

Source: Same as for Table 4.1. Note: Base value is 1, < 1 & > 1 reflects best and worse values. \*Migrant and non-migrant households.

#### 4.7. Summary and Conclusions

The main objective of the chapter was to address the linkage between household resources, rural markets and seasonal migration in the study village of Mahabubnagar district. This examination aimed to identify the seasonal migrants, why they prefer to migrate on a seasonal basis, the nature of household composition and other characteristics. The major revelations of the chapter are given below. Migration from the study villages is predominantly taken up by socially and economically backward SC & ST communities while other social groups moved out less. Most of the households across the villages depended on agricultural activities for their livelihood. There is hardly any occupational diversification and variation between migrant and non-migrant households in terms of occupations in the villages. It was found that all the surveyed households in study region either belongs to BPL or Anthyodaya families.

Further, it is found that all the Anthyodaya ration card holders are landless labour households. This re-establishes the fact that a large segment of migration population is primarily from BPL and Anthyodaya households. Likewise, we have seen a greater proportion of households, mostly migrant, live in Kuccha houses, while most of the non-migrant households live in Pucca residences. Kuccha house inhabitation indicates the low economic and living standards and residence in Pucca houses points to comparatively better economic and living condition for the households. However, a majority (94%) of the households had an electricity connection, but in the non-access category, migrant households outnumbered others. Akkaram was found to be more deprived and susceptible than the other two villages. Most of the surveyed households mainly had access to drinking water from public taps and here, non-migrant households outnumbered than their migrant counterparts. So also, it is found that a large number of households (89%) use firewood for cooking purposes in all the villages. It also found that most of the households do not have access to or possess any sanitation facilities and that the majority use or depend on open spaces.

With reference to land ownership, the chapter disclosed that a majority of the households possess land while a few households do not possess arable land (18%). A large proportion of the landless households belongs to the SC and ST communities and is in the migrant household category. Among the villages, Chityala had a greatest number of landless households. Amongst the land owning households, the majority of the land (72%) is possessed by non-migrant households, viz., both dry and wet land. In terms of area of land, most of the households own three acres of land. Nonetheless, large sized land holdings are owned by few non-migrant households. Though the majority of the households possess land, they do not have access to any irrigation facilities, and those that do access irrigation facilities across the study villages are mainly non-migrant households.

With regard to land transactions, it is seen that a few households had sold their land over the last five years. Interestingly, all these transactions were made by non-migrant households. Similarly, there were very few households that purchased land from other farmers, and in this respect, migrant and non-migrants made an equal number of transactions. Noticeably, all land transactions, both land sale and purchase, took place only in Pata Kodangal village. With regard to lease transactions, we have seen that a few of the households leased-in land for cultivation purposes and that these were mostly non-migrant households. In the same way, households that lease out their land were minimal in number. However, among the land leased-out households, the non-migrants were greater in number than migrant households. It is to be noted that apart from Akkaram, in other two villages, most of the land leased-out households belong to the migrant category. Coming to work participation in the origin labour market, it is seen that majority of the households engaged in agricultural activities as a daily wage earning workers, wherein non-migrant households were predominantly greater in number than migrant. As a result, labour migration from such households is reported to be lower than from migrant households. Subsequently, the study also found that migrant households were more inclined to work in MGNREGA than their non-migrant counterparts.



Most of the MGNREGA workers were either head of the household or his/her spouse. Interestingly, there were a few households that worked in nearby villages for daily wages.

Out of total number of households, the majority (65%) have access to credit from various sources. Here, migrant households were less likely to access to credit than non-migrant households. Furthermore, banks and moneylenders are the main credit providers in the study villages. Non-migrants were took more loans from banks while migrants borrowed from moneylenders. With regard to agricultural implements, most of the households possess both traditional and modern implements, though non-migrant households own a larger share. Likewise, most of the households across the study villages have/possess livestock in which cows and bullocks were predominant. Nonetheless, the non-migrants outnumbered migrant households in this respect.

In short, the chapter exposes some of the important facts in the direct or indirect linkage between migration and household resources. The majority of the households across the study villages possess basic resources, though non-migrant households were at an advantage in almost all the aspects of the household resources when compared to migrant households. However, the fact of the matter is that most the migrant households not only have inadequate resources but also low standard resources/amenities in relation to non-migrant households. Perhaps, the inadequate income level, resources and poor living conditions augmented their vulnerability and it is this that forced such households to migrate. This migration is seen to be extensive during the lean agricultural season.

It established that most of the non-migrant households were at an advantage in many aspects as compared to migrant households. Further, there is significant relationship between resources and migration. Households with weak resources/assets were more inclined to migrate than affluent households. Most of the migrant households belong to the SC and ST communities in the BPL and

Anthyodaya category and are either landless or have inadequate land area. The study exposed that most of the migrants cultivate their own land and additionally work in other farmers fields during the agricultural season in the village of origin. In the absence of work in the village during the post agricultural lean season they are inclined to migrate for short durations to various urban and more prosperous rural areas. Significantly, this process of migration occurs year after year.

## CHAPTER V

### THE EVALUATION OF MGNREGA(S) IN ANDHRA PRADESH: AN INTER-DISTRICT ANALYSIS

#### 5.1. Introduction

Having analysed the various issues related to seasonal labour migration at micro level in particular and macro level in general in previous chapters, the next issue relates to Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) which is either directly or indirectly has a role to play in labour household's decision to migrate. This issue assumes significance in a context where MGNREGS promoted with a view to provide rural households 100 days of guaranteed employment and thus reduce distress seasonal labour migrations from rural India. Thus, this chapter intends to examine the implementation of MGNREGA scheme in Andhra Pradesh state through an inter-district analysis.

The Government of India passed the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA, 2005) on 2<sup>nd</sup> February, 2006. The main objectives of the scheme are to provide 100 days of employment to the rural poor such as landless labourers and marginal farmers. It also aims at improving land productivity, farm productivity, income and employment in Indian countryside in due course. The Act guarantees 100 days of employment in a financial year to any rural household whose adult members are willing to do unskilled manual work. The scheme first came into force in 200 districts of the country (I-phase). It was later extended to 136 more districts in April 2007 and to another 207 districts in September 2007 (II-phase). With the third extension, the scheme became operational in all the rural districts of India from the financial year 2008-09. As far as the financing of the programme is concerned, the Government of India bears almost all of the total cost of wages and 75 per cent of the cost of material, with the State Governments footing the remaining 25 per cent of

this cost. Considering the fact that most of the cost is incurred for paying wages to unskilled workers, the Central and State Governments' share of financing is approximately in the ratio of 90:10 (MGNREG Act, 2005). The Act was later renamed the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005.

The Act is an important step towards the realisation of the right to work and intends to enhance people's livelihood on a sustained basis, by developing the economic and social infrastructure in the rural areas and simultaneously targeting to arrest distress migration of rural household members who travel to other regions for work or in search of employment. One of the unique features of the scheme is to provide hundred days employment to rural people with a payment of Rs. 100 wage per day, and equal wages to both male and female workers. Perhaps, MGNREGA is one of the most progressive employment programmes which provide the rural poor with employment security. It has the potential to bring about huge changes in rural India. The main distinguishing feature of the MGNREGA and previous employment schemes is that in earlier schemes like the Maharashtra Employment Guarantee Act, Food for Work Programme and Sampoorna Gram Rojgar Yojana, work was often not given to those in need of it even if funds are lying unutilized. Further, work was not provided during drought or unemployed periods and thus restricted to certain periods. Also workers could not force the Government to give them work as no rights accrue from these schemes (Acharya, 1990).

In contrast, the MGNREGA provides rural labour with a right to employment enforceable through a court of law - something that cannot be taken away with a change of Government. Employment is provided on demand basis and there is time bound action to fulfil the Guarantee. It provides unemployment allowance in case employment is not provided in a stipulated time period. The funds under the Act cannot be used for any other purpose. There is accountability in the public delivery system. Further, it allows a large number of rural workers to work together at a single site instead of working for many different employers thus making them easier

to organise. It can thus be effective in reaping the rich human resources available in rural India to develop essential infrastructural facilities (MGNREG Act, 2005).

The other main features of the Act is that it involves participatory planning and implementation of the scheme through (i) proactive role of gram sabha (ii) rigorous and continuous monitoring by way of social audit, and (iii) involvement of common people at the grass-roots level. Thus, it addresses (i) chronic poverty (ii) droughts (iii) deforestation, and (iv) soil erosion, etc. Besides, it also aims at (i) generating productive assets (ii) protecting the environment (iii) empowering rural women, and (iv) arresting rural-urban migration. The scheme is implemented through collaborative partnership right from the gram sabha to the Central Government. Here, community participation is by way of (i) gram sabha (ii) local vigilance and monitoring committees (iii) self help groups (SHGs) and a proactive role by civil society organisations is ensured (MGNREGA, 2005). However, the gram panchayath needs to plan ahead for works to ensure that the group of households that have applied for work are provided work in the gram panchayath area within 15 days of receiving the application for work. In the scheme, emphasis is given to unskilled manual labour which can be focused on building roads, water conservation, plantation and afforestation, flood protection, land development, drought proofing, minor irrigation, horticulture and rural connectivity (Drèze, 2007).

MGNREGA is the most significant act in the history of Indian polity in many ways, like the grass-root level participation of every citizen and beneficiary through a democratic process. Since the scheme is going to be in place for an undefined period of time, and is being enlarged in terms of scope and geographical coverage, there are many challenges like non-homogeneity in its effectiveness, region-specific disparities and outcomes, etc. (Drèze, 2009). Nevertheless, there are many problems reported from throughout the country with regard to implementation of the scheme (Drèze, 2006). There are success stories and failures as well in the execution of the scheme in a majority of the states. The main issues or problems involved in the scheme are delay in issuing job cards, employment and wage payments, manipulation in

attendance, rampant corruption, lack of transparency, administrative failure and lack of social audits, etc. (Mehrotra, 2008). However, there are many studies which more importantly talked about systemic defects, rather than probing the impact on beneficiary households (Pankaj, 2008).

It is in this context, the main objective of the current chapter is to examine the employment pattern of MGNREGA workers, that is, inter-district, caste-wise and gender-wise, with special reference to Andhra Pradesh state. In order to achieve the above study objective, the data for the analysis was collected from the MGNREGA website of Andhra Pradesh state for the period of 2009-10 financial years. Here, the study employs information pertaining to job card issued households, working households, work days completed households, SHG and disabled members, work status and work done under different category, etc. The analysis was carried out to include various facets - inter-district, caste or social status and gender-wise. Further, the analysis was carried out through tabulation and simple percentages. The present chapter is divided into five sections including the introduction. The second section talks about the registration of workers and employment patterns of MGNREGA labourers across the districts in the state. The third section deals with the gender-wise employment pattern. The fourth section discusses employment status and work done by labourers under different categories. The final section is summary and conclusions.

#### **5.1.1. Review of Literature**

One of the important salient features of the Act is to improve the quality of life of rural households that are vulnerable to out-migration for daily wage employment, by channelising the wage workforce towards developmental activities at the village level itself. A study on the Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh revealed that the nomadic tribals predominantly depended on migration for survival/livelihood purpose. Now, with the MGNREGA in place, they have stopped migrating to cities like Bangalore and Chennai, as they have a source of livelihood during droughts and

off-fishing seasons (Rajeev, 2008). Similarly, a recent study in Madhya Pradesh with reference to participation of workers and number of worked days revealed that there are as high as 85 days per household per year, and nearly half of all working households have got 100 days of work. They also earned a minimum wage (Khera, 2008).

A study on the Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh showed the successful implementation of the MGNREG Scheme which has reduced the large-scale migration of workers from the district. In 2005, more than three lakh workers had migrated to Mumbai, Surat, Pune and other places in search of jobs. The astonishing figures came down to around 35,000 in the 2007-08 financial years (Panchayati Raj Update, 2008). Likewise, some the field experience of experts revealed that workers earned close to the statutory minimum wage of Rs 70 per day, and that wages were paid within 15 days or so. This is an unprecedented opportunity for the rural poor, and there was evident appreciation of it among casual labourers and other disadvantaged sections of the population. Some of them even hoped that MGNREGA would enable them to avoid long-distance seasonal migration, with all its hardships (Drèze, Khera and Siddharth, 2007).

A study by Khera et al., (2009) focused on the female worker participation to highlight the impact of the scheme on their lives. It revealed significant benefits for the women which include increased food security and a better ability to avoid hazardous work. The availability of local wage employment at the statutory minimum wage for women is a new development associated with the MGNREGA. However, the participation of women varies widely across the survey regions. Correspondingly, a study in Andhra Pradesh exposed that the female participation at 52 per cent is higher than that of their male counterparts. MGNREGA has been playing a vital role and makes a mark in lives of many rural poor nationally in general, and particularly in Andhra Pradesh (Panchayati Raj Updates, 2008).

On the contrary, a study by IAMR on evaluation of the MGNREG Scheme revealed that all the important variables which contribute towards quality of life such as expenditure on food and non-food goods and non-improvement of household assets and so their quality of life remained unchanged (IAMR Survey, 2007). In another context, a social audit team led by economist Jean Drèze visited Markachcho in Kodarma district in 2008 to monitor the implementation of the scheme. He remarked after a public hearing that the team's findings indicated that progress in the implementation of the scheme in Jharkhand was the "worst compared to other states". A major reason was that villagers had not been properly briefed about the provisions of the scheme. Only 26 per cent of the villagers in Kodarma and Palamu districts knew about the job cards and the benefits that come with it (Panchayati Raj Update, 2008).

A study in connection with enhancing accountability in public service delivery through social audits in Andhra Pradesh exposed that social audits are indeed an important tool in building social awareness about the programme and has been one of the important factors in the successful implementation of the programme (Ritesh et al., 2009). However, it is still in the process of evaluation and has to go long way to achieve transparency in the scheme (Aakella et al., 2007).

## **5.2. Employment Patterns of MGNREGA Workers**

The commencement of MGNREGA is a noble initiative towards addressing unemployment among rural masses and has evoked mixed responses from the implementation agency on one hand and beneficiaries on the other. While the programme is in the operation across the country, the levels of success seem to be different in different states. With regard to its implementation, the southern state of Andhra Pradesh is supposed to be one of the regions where this programme delivered good results (Dreze, 2009; Vanaik et al., 2008).



In this context, this study evaluates the MGNREGA programme in Andhra Pradesh. In carrying out such an evaluation, we use the available secondary level information regarding the programme across districts of Andhra Pradesh. The distribution of households issued with job cards across districts seem to be in keeping with their development status as well as levels of rural employment. A substantially large proportion of job cards are issued in the districts of East Godavari, Anantapur, Nalgonda, Mahabubnagar, Kurnool and Warangal on the whole. However, Ranga Reddy, Nizamabad, Visakhapatnam, Krishna and Medak districts have only a marginal share of the job card holding households, and some districts are worse in this respect. Such a regional pattern could be very well believed to be due to differential rural development across the districts. For instance, districts with a large number of job card issued households are mostly the less developed districts. In contrast, the districts issued less job cards are the developed to relatively developed districts in the state.

Taking into account the unequal development in rural areas, it is pertinent to emphasise the caste-based inclusion to examine the MGNREGA employment patterns across the social groups based within the programme. In general, such caste compositions are being given in four categories, namely Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled Tribe (ST), Other Backward Caste (OBC) and 'Others' or Upper Castes where the predominant beneficiaries belong to the OBC, followed by the SC, Other/upper caste and ST categories. It is worthwhile to mention that certain districts are largely dominated by certain castes/communities in terms of their population. As such, SCs issued job cards are predominantly in West Godavari, Kurnool and Nellore, etc, and STs largely located in Khammam, Visakhapatnam and Adilabad. Likewise, OBCs with job card households are mostly placed in Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Mahabubnagar districts while other castes issued job cards are predominantly located in Kadapa, Chittoor, Guntur, etc. It is interesting to note here that the above-mentioned districts also represents region specific characteristics for instance, SCs dominated (in terms of population) districts happen

to be in the Andhra region while STs are in Telangana, OBCs in North Andhra and Telangana, and Other castes are mostly present in the Rayalaseema region (Table 5.1).

**Table 5.1: Distribution of Job Card Issued Households across the Andhra Pradesh according to Social Groups during the 2009-10 Financial Year**

District	No. of HHs Issued Job Cards	% of SC HHs Issued Job Cards	% of ST HHs Issued Job Cards	% of BC HHs Issued Job Cards	% of Other HHs Issued Job Cards
Adilabad	441405	24	29	41	6
Anantapur	768557	18	5	51	26
Chittoor	608175	27	6	36	31
East Godavari	772900	27	9	39	26
Guntur	502026	34	7	29	30
Kadapa	497829	26	4	31	40
Karimnagar	564655	29	5	58	8
Khammam	538008	21	37	32	10
Krishna	431077	41	5	39	15
Kurnool	653627	25	2	56	17
Mahabubnagar	675787	23	9	59	9
Medak	442348	27	7	55	10
Nalgonda	743992	23	14	53	10
Nizamabad	392707	23	11	56	11
Prakasam	492762	32	5	33	30
Ranga Reddy	261640	29	10	46	15
S.P.S Nellore	454036	35	13	33	18
Srikakulam	482173	11	8	76	5
Visakhapatnam	428534	7	37	35	21
Vizianagaram	486117	12	13	71	4
Warangal	621423	23	19	52	6
West Godavari	480260	37	6	40	17
Andhra Pradesh	11740038	25	11	47	17

Source: (i) [www.nrega.ap.gov.in](http://www.nrega.ap.gov.in) (ii) [www.rd.ap.gov.in](http://www.rd.ap.gov.in) (MGNREGA websites of Andhra Pradesh Government). Note: The data taken for 2009-10 financial years (up to March). The data compiled by author. HH denotes households.

While there could be a discrepancy between job card issued households and effectively working households, it is rather relevant to compare the latter with the former. In fact, it is only about 50 per cent of the households who were actively reported to be working under the MGNREGA programme in Andhra Pradesh (job card issued households/working households = share of working households). It implies that job card issued households are still not provided employment. The working households too depict regional patterns similar to that of job cards issued households across the districts in the state. The households which are actively

working under the scheme are predominantly in Nalgonda, Warangal, Karimnagar and Mahabubnagar, and inactive working households were mostly placed in the Guntur, Ranga Reddy, Krishna and West Godavari districts. Here, it is worthwhile to point out the discrepancy in working household patterns between regions where majority of the working households happen to be in the Telangana region, which still has to experience large scale development. In contrast, there were a lower proportion of working households in the Andhra region which is considered one of the prosperous and developed regions of the state (Table 5.2). It also implies that if a region is developed either in terms of agriculture or urban development, then it can be expected that there will be more and diverse employment opportunities in such regions. Further, it might influence the labour household's preference as to whether to work in the MGNREGA scheme or to work in open labour market where higher wages can be expected.

On the other hand, with respect to the caste composition of MGNREGA working household, the category which discloses patterns similar to that of households with job cards issued or received. Here, SCs households mostly work in the Krishna, West Godavari, and Nellore districts. STs predominantly work in Khammam, Visakhapatnam and Adilabad, while OBCs work in Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Mahabubnagar. The upper caste households work mostly in Kadapa, Prakasam and Chittoor districts. This region and caste specific outcome suggests that poor households from backward districts of Telangana and Rayalaseema considerably participated in the MGNREGA employment scheme. In contrast, there is a discrepancy within the Andhra region where in prosperous districts with a lower number of households working in backward districts and a larger number of households engaged in the hundred days employment programme. This could be on account of the household composition and local or region specific socio-economic factors.

**Table 5.2: Distribution of Working Households across the Andhra Pradesh by their Castes during the 2009-10 Financial Year**

District	No. of Total Working HH	% of SC Woking HH	% of ST Woking HH	% of BC Woking HH	% of Others Woking HH
Adilabad	258002	26	32	39	3
Anantapur	333691	21	5	54	20
Chittoor	246199	33	6	35	26
East Godavari	319704	31	15	36	18
Guntur	94542	36	9	31	24
Kadapa	226058	29	3	33	35
Karimnagar	368528	30	5	59	6
Khammam	303981	21	40	31	8
Krishna	151956	45	4	38	12
Kurnool	276866	28	2	59	11
Mahabubnagar	362297	25	8	62	5
Medak	254645	30	7	57	6
Nalgonda	402394	24	14	55	7
Nizamabad	215450	25	11	57	8
Prakasam	291096	32	3	34	30
Ranga Reddy	121702	31	10	48	11
S.P.S Nellore	185296	39	8	34	19
Srikakulam	287360	11	10	75	4
Visakhapatnam	287255	7	39	34	20
Vizianagaram	294183	12	13	72	3
Warangal	386660	23	17	55	5
West Godavari	185991	42	8	37	12
Andhra Pradesh	5853856	26	13	49	13

Source & Note: Same as for Table 5.1.

On the other hand, information on registered households and working households on the whole exposed that among registered households, only 50 per cent work in the scheme in Andhra Pradesh. It is to be noted that registered households and job card issued households are two different categories and job card issue takes place only after the registration of job needy households. Further, it is revealed that large proportions of beneficiaries of the scheme are STs, OBCs, SCs and Upper castes in the category of working households out of the total registered households. The most benefited districts in terms of the utilisation of job cards are Visakhapatnam, Karimnagar, Warangal, Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Prakasam, and disadvantaged districts are Guntur, Krishna, West Godavari, Chittoor and Nellore. This implies that the economically backward districts are more proactive in utilising their job cards while most developed districts are lagging behind in making use of

their job cards. This further suggests that where the unemployment problem is widespread, there is a much better utilisation of job cards, and vice versa.

However, there is a discrepancy in terms of caste composition and registration and working households across the districts. On the whole, there are certain districts which are largely constituted by certain social groups and are in fact, predominantly working in the MGNREGA scheme. Nonetheless, what is interesting here is that in some of the tribal dominated districts, the SC registered households greatly working out of its total registered households. In contrast, a large proportion of tribal registered households are working in the SC predominant districts, and there are more Upper castes working in the OBC dominated districts. For instance, the SC registered households are mostly working in Karimnagar, Adilabad and Warangal, while there are more STs working in Srikakulam, East Godavari and Visakhapatnam more OBCs in Karimnagar, Warangal, Visakhapatnam districts, and more Upper caste registered households in Visakhapatnam, Prakasam and Karimnagar (Table 5.3). In fact, these results are intriguing but require further in-depth analysis in order to explore such patterns across the state.

**Table 5.3: Distribution of Working Households among Registered Households across the Andhra Pradesh according to Social Groups during the 2009-10 Financial Year**

Districts	% of Working HH among Total Regd HH	% of SC Working HH out of Total Regd	% of ST Working HH out of Total Regd	% of BC Working HH out of Total Regd	% of Others Working HH out of Total Regd
Adilabad	58	63	63	56	32
Anantapur	43	50	49	46	33
Chittoor	40	49	38	40	34
East Godavari	42	47	72	38	30
Guntur	18	20	22	20	15
Kadapa	45	51	42	48	40
Karimnagar	65	66	71	66	53
Khammam	56	58	61	54	42
Krishna	35	39	31	35	29
Kurnool	42	47	42	44	29
Mahabubnagar	53	57	43	57	31
Medak	58	62	55	60	34
Nalgonda	54	56	54	56	39
Nizamabad	55	59	55	56	40
Prakasam	59	59	39	62	59
Ranga Reddy	46	48	50	48	35
S.P.S Nellore	41	44	25	43	42
Srikakulam	60	62	73	59	50
Visakhapatnam	67	62	71	65	66
Vizianagaram	60	61	62	61	39
Warangal	62	63	53	66	53
West Godavari	39	44	58	36	27
Andhra Pradesh	50	51	56	52	37

Source & Note: Same as for Table 5.1.

Further, apart from providing employment to the rural poor and marginal farmers, the scheme also accommodates disabled and self help groups in its purview. Therefore, it not only provides employment to able bodied labourers but also allows to Self Help Groups (SHG) and disabled persons to seek employment under this scheme. In this context, the information on registered and working SHG and disabled members shows that SHG members are in a more advantageous position compared to disabled members. Here, on the whole, the study exposed around 12 lakhs total registered SHG members out which 47 per cent were working actively, while it was 1.6 lakhs disabled members who registered out of which 39 per cent were actively engaged in the MGNREGA programme in the state. It should be noted that the proportion of general MGNREGA workers is greater than SHG members and disabled workers in the scheme. Here, work participation of such members

would in fact depend on the economic status of the SHG and disability level of a disabled member.

On the other hand, very similar patterns could be observed in most of the districts in the state. When we look into the details, it is seen that the SHG members predominantly registered in the Chittoor, Anantapur, Khammam and Nalgonda districts are however mostly working in the Adilabad, Medak, Karimnagar and Warangal districts (Table 5.4). In this context, what is interesting is that though SHG registered members are from all across the regions, when it comes to the effective utilisation of job cards (working members) most of these members happen to be from the Telangana region. It implicitly suggests that the backward regions can benefit more from government initiated employment programmes like MGNREGA. Similarly, there are more disabled members registered in Nalgonda, Anantapur, Chittoor, etc., and a large proportion of them are working in Karimnagar, Adilabad, Visakhapatnam and Prakasam. It is significant to mention here that registered disabled members are predominantly from non-agency (plain area) districts, but most of the working members are located in tribal dominated agency districts which are normally deprived of development, employment, education, nutritional food, public health and basic infrastructure and services.

**Table 5.4: Distribution of Registered and Working SHG & Disabled Households across the Andhra Pradesh during the 2009-10 Financial Year**

District	No. of Registered SHG members	% of SHG members Working	No. of Registered Disabled members	% of Disabled members Working
Adilabad	18378	71	5704	54
Anantapur	103671	46	13336	37
Chittoor	171449	39	13031	26
East Godavari	51753	39	10827	27
Guntur	53447	8	4564	8
Kadapa	19753	51	4757	33
Karimnagar	31663	68	8173	61
Khammam	89876	59	10442	40
Krishna	70305	23	8850	21
Kurnool	31203	49	7182	39
Mahabubnagar	46776	61	7332	46
Medak	3097	69	4641	48
Nalgonda	79588	57	16112	39
Nizamabad	41561	60	6163	41
Prakasam	26859	58	4137	51
Ranga Reddy	18113	47	3141	44
S.P.S Nellore	56795	34	4451	32
Srikakulam	74288	60	5406	43
Visakhapatnam	71858	60	6542	54
Vizianagaram	30609	55	6056	49
Warangal	30984	68	9700	48
West Godavari	73064	30	5745	25
<b>Andhra Pradesh</b>	<b>1195090</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>166292</b>	<b>39</b>

Source & Note: Same as for Table 5.1.

### 5.2.1. Employment Status of Households by Caste/Social Group

The success rate of the MGNERGA programme depends on two important factors: one is effective administration, and the other is the beneficiary's number of worked days. It is important to examine the latter aspect which is very pertinent from the point of view of the workers as well as the effectiveness of the implementation agency. In addition, it is imperative to look at workers' number of days worked by their social groups. In this regard, the study on the whole shows that OBCs, SCs, STs and Upper castes predominantly worked in this programme in the proportion of 49%, 25%, 15% and 12 per cent respectively. The most of number of worked days were reported predominantly in Vizianagaram, Kurnool, Anantapur, Karimnagar and Nalgonda districts while a lower number of worked days was documented in



the Guntur, Krishna, Ranga Reddy and Nellore districts respectively. This indicates that workers from backward districts predominantly utilised their job cards and vice versa (number of worked days). This could be because of better and diverse employment opportunities in developed districts and unemployment and lack of alternative opportunities in backward districts which might have played major role in the utilisation of job cards in their respective districts (Table 5.5).

Further, household worked days with reference to caste reveals that the proportion of SC households worked days were predominantly documented in West Godavari, Kurnool and Nellore, etc., and STs, largely in Khammam, Visakhapatnam and Adilabad. Likewise, OBC households with majority of worked days were predominately reported in Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Mahabubnagar districts while other castes are predominantly documented in Kadapa, Chittoor and Guntur district. It is to be noted that most of these districts are also predominant in the working household category. This also exposes that some of the underdeveloped districts are performing well and other backward districts are not, in terms of worked days. The possible explanation for this could be the active role of local political leaders and effective administration. For instance, Vizianagaram, Srikakulam and Anantapur performed better while Khammam, Adilabad and Visakhapatnam lagged behind. It is worthwhile to mention here that in these districts, tribal beneficiaries utilised their job card effectively and much more than other social groups. Another typical outcome here is that overall, Mahabubnagar is one of the least job card utilising districts, but most of the OBC beneficiaries make use of their job cards extensively. Hence, it should be noted that household worked days not only depend on the level of development of the district but also on the household's socio-economic background. However, the highest household average wage rate is in Ranga Reddy and the least in the West Godavari districts at Rs. 103 and Rs. 80 respectively. Here, the average wage rates did not show any specific pattern according to the development or backwardness of the districts. However, average wages in all the districts recorded not less than Rs. 80.

**Table 5.5: Distribution of Household Worked Days according to Social Groups across Andhra Pradesh during 2009-2010 Financial Year**

District	HHs Total Worked Days	% of SC HHs Worked Days	% of ST HHs Worked Days	% of OBC HHs Worked Days	% of Others HHs Worked Days	Household Average Wages
Adilabad	16136314	27	35	36	3	94
Anantapur	20213745	22	6	54	18	97
Chittoor	18231409	34	5	37	24	88
East Godavari	15772431	24	30	32	14	84
Guntur	1789279	33	14	32	21	96
Kadapa	16534725	31	3	33	33	84
Karimnagar	19491047	31	7	57	6	92
Khammam	17789107	19	50	26	5	84
Krishna	3500043	47	5	38	10	84
Kurnool	21049036	27	2	61	9	88
Mahabubnagar	19662949	25	8	62	5	92
Medak	14105913	32	7	56	5	96
Nalgonda	19428052	24	15	55	6	87
Nizamabad	14057207	25	14	55	6	95
Prakasam	15730964	31	3	36	30	86
Ranga Reddy	8128570	32	13	46	10	103
S.P.S Nellore	9229988	38	7	34	21	86
Srikakulam	18481107	12	13	70	5	88
Visakhapatnam	16864521	7	34	39	21	92
Vizianagaram	21749314	13	11	73	3	84
Warangal	17205212	23	19	54	4	86
West Godavari	6251125	45	16	30	9	80
Andhra Pradesh	331402051	25	15	49	12	89

Source & Note: Same as for Table 5.1.

In addition, the data on the number of work days completed by households could provide exactly how many households completed the total number of work days in the state. It is important to examine this for the simple reason that it shows the success level of implementation and the effective usage of the funds and functioning of administration. Besides, it can provide information on the best and least performing districts in terms of number of work days completed in the state. Significantly, an analysis of this kind reveals that 60 per cent of the labour households completed less than 50 days, and only 17 per cent of them completed hundred days of work on the whole in Andhra Pradesh state. Nine per cent of the households completed 75-100 work days, and 14 per cent of them completed 50-75 work days. When we look across the districts, it is found that districts like Guntur,

Krishna, West Godavari, East Godavari, Nellore, Warangal and Mahabubnagar are predominantly placed in the category of households that completed 50 days of work. This means that workers from these districts got less number of work days, thus exposing the ineffective implementation and poor performance of the scheme in providing work to the needy rural labour poor (Table 5.6). //

On the contrary, districts like Chittoor, Kadapa, Kurnool, Vizianagaram and Ranga Reddy provided full 100 days of work to beneficiary households. Besides, most of these districts placed in the category of 75-100 days of work completed. Further, the same districts, along with some other districts like Adilabad, Medak and Srikakulam, predominantly provided 50-75 days of work to its beneficiary households. What is worth mentioning here is that districts which provided full 100 days of employment are also leading in providing 75-100 and 50-75 days of work, which the beneficiary households completed. Interestingly, there are both developed and under developed districts among those that accommodated less than fifty days of work. It is complex to draw the inference from such results. However, it could be on account of better and diverse employment options in agriculture rich districts, while ineffective implementation in backward districts could have augmented less number of completed work days. Besides, it could depend on employment patterns, wage rates, labour preferences, and socio-economic conditions of labour households and the overall development status of that particular district. \*

**Table 5.6: Classification of Households according to Number of Completed Work Days across the Andhra Pradesh during the 2009-10 Financial Year**

Districts	No. of Working HHs	% of HHs completed 100 days	% of HHs completed 75 - 100 days	% of HHs completed 50 - 75 days	% of HHs completed < 50 days
Adilabad	255043	19	10	16	55
Anantapur	332292	19	10	15	56
Chittoor	245130	27	10	13	50
East Godavari	317898	16	7	10	68
Guntur	93737	2	2	5	92
Kadapa	225700	27	11	14	49
Karimnagar	366749	15	9	15	61
Khammam	303337	19	9	14	58
Krishna	151220	3	3	7	88
Kurnool	274993	26	11	15	48
Mahabubnagar	361149	15	9	15	61
Medak	253350	16	10	16	58
Nalgonda	399985	12	8	15	65
Nizamabad	214806	21	10	15	54
Prakasam	290967	16	9	15	61
Ranga Reddy	121307	22	12	17	49
S.P.S Nellore	184805	14	7	12	67
Srikakulam	285641	20	11	16	53
Visakhapatnam	284215	20	9	14	57
Vizianagaram	292865	26	14	19	42
Warangal	384304	10	8	15	67
West Godavari	182423	8	5	8	79
Andhra Pradesh	5821916	17	9	14	60

Source & Note: Same as for Table 5.1.

### 5.3. Employment Patterns of MGNREGA Workers by Gender

There could be discrepancies in terms of the number of registered and wage seeking workers in the MGNREG scheme, in particular, between male and female workers. The aspect of number of registered and wage seeking workers is different from that of working and worked households. This means persons who registered under the scheme for employment and thus seeking wage employment in the scheme. This, in fact, can give us information on the number of persons registered and how many are provided employment. Likewise, it can also reveal how many are still seeking wage employment. In this respect, it is important to the analyse gender aspect of employment in MGNREGA programme. On the whole, there is a discrepancy in proportion of total registered workers and wage seekers under the programme. Of the 1.4 crore male individuals registered under the programme, 36 per cent are

working while of the 1.3 female individuals who registered, 44 per cent are working. The rest of the total registered workers are seeking wage employment. This means that altogether, 20 per cent of the workers in Andhra Pradesh, including both male and female, were yet to get employment during the 2009-10 financial year.

While a large proportion of male labourers are registered in Anantapur, Nalgonda, Mahabubnagar districts, etc., the least number of people are registered in the Ranga Reddy, Krishna and Nizamabad districts. Yet, considerable proportions of working individuals are reported in Visakhapatnam, Adilabad, Prakasam, Vizianagaram, Warangal, etc. Most these districts have a lower number of registered labourers, but in terms of utilising their job cards, they are in a predominantly better position than those districts with a greater number of registered persons. The data for female registered labourers too follow patterns similar to that of male labour. However, most of the female registered workers work in Karimnagar, followed by Warangal Prakasam, Visakhapatnam, Medak and Adilabad districts.

On the whole, the study reveals that more than 2.7 crore people are wage seeking workers under the programme, out of which 51 per cent are males and 49 per cent are female workers. Further, most of them are placed in Anantapur, Nalgonda, Mahabubnagar, Warangal and Kurnool districts. In this context, it is worth mentioning that there is a positive relationship between the registered and wage seeking workers, because most of the registered districts have large number of wage seekers as well. This can be explained in two ways: first, these registered labourers might not be provided employment, and second, since most of these districts are underdeveloped, there is a large demand for employment under this scheme.

Further, when we look into the gender aspect of wage seekers, male wage seekers are basically placed in East Godavari, Kurnool, Ranga Reddy, West Godavari, etc, and female wage seekers are mostly placed in Nizamabad, Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Chittoor, Karimnagar, etc (Table 5.7). It is important to note that the majority of the developed districts have a high proportion of male wage seekers. On

the contrary, backward districts have mainly female wage seekers. This could be very well explained in two ways: on the one hand, most of the female labourers could be accommodated in agricultural activities in the agriculturally developed districts, and as result, the male labourers may seek more wage employment, particularly in those districts where there is less out migration to other regions. On the other hand, male labourers in backward districts might be migrating out as part of household arrangement or livelihood strategy while women are left behind and may seek employment locally rather migrating out.

**Table 5.7: Classification of Number of Registered Persons and Wage Seekers by their Sex across Andhra Pradesh during the 2009-10 Financial Year**

District	No. of Male regd	% of Male Working	No. of Female regd	% of Female working	Total No of Wage seekers	% of Male	% of Female
Adilabad	529927	46	509151	52	1034370	51	49
Anantapur	986241	32	907307	36	1886630	52	48
Chittoor	727489	28	715760	32	1442758	50	50
East Godavari	837090	33	687186	33	1530957	55	45
Guntur	559559	13	521804	14	1059224	52	48
Kadapa	562726	32	540737	42	1103121	51	49
Karimnagar	671777	40	673866	61	1344327	50	50
Khammam	673485	38	652125	48	1317321	51	49
Krishna	493509	27	463815	28	956516	52	48
Kurnool	810418	36	730520	43	1538297	53	47
Mahabubnagar	861437	36	790779	50	1640199	52	48
Medak	575611	41	527805	55	1101008	52	48
Nalgonda	917134	32	873104	49	1785357	51	49
Nizamabad	496938	36	511765	48	1008520	49	51
Prakasam	528564	43	520367	56	1047080	50	50
Ranga Reddy	335818	39	303375	45	638562	53	47
S.P.S Nellore	539650	29	496682	33	1035839	52	48
Srikakulam	539185	38	570329	49	1111299	49	51
Visakhapatnam	501604	55	478696	56	978929	51	49
Vizianagaram	555235	43	567160	50	1120662	49	51
Warangal	796803	43	790408	59	1584509	50	50
West Godavari	545155	30	474116	30	1017333	53	47
Andhra Pradesh	14045355	36	13306857	44	27282818	51	49

Source & Note: Same as for Table 5.1.

The information on the number of person estimated days and persons completed days and their average wage per day across the districts reveals that the number of person estimated days was the highest in Chittoor, Karimnagar, Anantapur, Mahabubnagar and Nalgonda districts and the lowest in Guntur, Krishna, West

Godavari, Nellore and Visakhapatnam. This indicates that a greater number of persons estimated days are documented in economically backward districts where unemployment is quite widespread particularly during lean seasons. When we look into the proportion of persons completed days, the study shows that a substantial number of persons are documented in East Godavari, Visakhapatnam, Khammam, Prakasam and Adilabad, implying that most of these districts are either best or worst performing which paradoxically co-exists in terms of completed days. Further, the case is the same for the worst performed districts in this particular person completed days category (Table 5.8). On the other hand, information on average wage per day shows that the substantive rate of average wages was mostly reported in Ranga Reddy, Anantapur, Nizamabad, Visakhapatnam and Adilabad, while lower average wages were documented in Vizianagaram, West Godavari and Chittoor districts. Surprisingly some of the best performing districts received lower wage per day than other districts. In fact, such best performed districts witnessed average wages lower than that of overall state average. As the data on this is limited, such outcomes and patterns cannot be explained here and needs further detailed probe and study.

**Table 5.8: Classification of Number of Estimated Person Days and Person Days Completed across Andhra Pradesh during the 2009-10 Financial Year**

District	No. of Person Days Estimated	% of Person days Completed	Average Wage per Day(Rs)
Adilabad	113836257	39	88
Anantapur	179373897	33	90
Chittoor	196735676	29	81
East Godavari	85743575	49	83
Guntur	29923709	33	87
Kadapa	123881572	38	80
Karimnagar	186340268	24	87
Khammam	121313312	42	81
Krishna	21283922	25	83
Kurnool	155033312	35	88
Mahabubnagar	162402269	32	85
Medak	102032765	36	90
Nalgonda	159214264	31	84
Nizamabad	103648918	35	90
Prakasam	66866957	41	84
Ranga Reddy	68465953	30	98
S.P.S Nellore	60568682	38	83
Srikakulam	93000511	37	83
Visakhapatnam	56772862	37	89
Vizianagaram	104966612	47	78
Warangal	120553930	35	82
West Godavari	36533111	25	79
Andhra Pradesh	2348492288	35	85

Source: Same as for Table 5.1.

#### **5.4. An Appraisal of Work Status and Work Done under MGNREGA Scheme**

The MGNREGA's motive is not only to provide employment to the rural landless poor and marginal farmers in particular to SCs, STs and OBCs communities, but also to create basic infrastructure and generate sustainable assets in rural India. Thus the act tries to achieve its objectives through renovation of irrigation sources like tanks, ponds, and laying roads, levelling and cleaning of the waste land and land development works in small and marginal farms, etc. Therefore, it becomes interesting and imperative to know the kind of work that has been undertaken under the scheme and its current status in Andhra Pradesh for 2009-10 financial year. In this respect, the study revealed that out of total sanctioned works 27 per cent of the work was completed, 24 per cent of the work is still in progress and 49 per cent of work is in the shelf. It is to be noted that these works include both technology



and administrative sanctioned works in Andhra Pradesh state. The district level data records a large 'number' of sanctioned works in the Chittoor, Anantapur, Kurnool, Khammam and Karimnagar districts, and a marginal proportion of sanctioned works in the Ranga Reddy, Krishna, Visakhapatnam and Medak districts.

On the other hand, data on work in progress across the districts shows that the majority of the work in progress is in Vizianagaram, Khammam, Mahabubnagar, and work completed, largely placed in Nalgonda, East Godavari, Adilabad, Medak and Mahabubnagar districts. On the contrary, the less number of work in progress was reported in Guntur, Krishna and Nalgonda districts while less number of completed works was mostly in the Vizianagaram, West Godavari and Ranga Reddy districts. The proactive involvement of local political leaders, effective administration staff and less corruption could be the reasons for better outcome of work in progress and completed works.

In other words, greater amount of self of works and less number of work in progress works were predominantly documented in poor or worst performing districts such as Krishna, Guntur, West Godavari, Ranga Reddy and Nellore. In this category, one can find that if a district is placed predominantly in the works completed and work in progress category, then the probability of shelved works in those districts would become marginal. In contrast, if a district is predominantly placed in the category of work in progress then the probability of shelved work would increase. This implies that though work has sanctioned but an extensive shelving of work either could be on account of delay in execution of work or work in progress. The reason for this lack of implementation could be the apathy by shown administrative machineries (Table 5.9).

**Table 5.9: Proportion of MGNREGA Status of Works across the Andhra Pradesh during the 2009-10 Financial Year**

District	No. of Total Tech & Administrative Sanction	% of Works In Progress	% of Works Completed	% of Shelf of Works
Adilabad	110310	19	38	43
Anantapur	148730	24	22	54
Chittoor	210730	28	25	47
East Godavari	71689	18	41	41
Guntur	52376	13	27	60
Kadapa	101181	29	26	45
Karimnagar	112974	25	24	52
Khammam	116991	31	25	44
Krishna	36944	14	22	64
Kurnool	131524	19	27	54
Mahabubnagar	100540	31	29	40
Medak	50652	23	36	40
Nalgonda	84342	17	43	40
Nizamabad	50958	26	27	47
Prakasam	54628	31	21	47
Ranga Reddy	30651	24	18	57
S.P.S Nellore	54686	24	20	56
Srikakulam	52846	21	28	50
Visakhapatnam	39667	22	21	58
Vizianagaram	53456	34	16	50
Warangal	68631	26	24	49
West Godavari	57662	22	18	60
Andhra Pradesh	1792168	24	27	49

Source & Note: Same as for Table 5.1.

As discussed in earlier sections, providing hundred days of wage employment to unskilled rural labours in a financial year is one of the prime objectives of the MNREGA scheme. However, it is interesting to know the kind of work carried out under the scheme and the number of persons days under each category of work. In this regard, the data shows that out of total person days in Andhra Pradesh, a significant number of labourers (35 per cent) were engaged in irrigation related works, 30 per cent person days for renovation works, 19 per cent for water harvesting and conservation, and 14 per cent of person days for other works. Nonetheless, these proportions vary across the districts: firstly, in the category of irrigation related works a sizeable number of person days were documented in Nalgonda, Kurnool, Ranga Reddy, Prakasam and Anantapur districts. In renovation works, a significant proportion of person days were recorded in Srikakulam,

Vizianagaram, Visakhapatnam and Karimnagar districts. Then in water harvesting and conservation works, a large proportion of person days were reported in Adilabad, Anantapur, Medak and Ranga Reddy districts, and the in other works category, most of the person days were documented in Guntur, West Godavari and Mahabubnagar districts (Table 5.10). Here, it is worthwhile to mention that there is a discrepancy in person days under each category across the districts (labourers involved in each work). This implies that districts which are semi-arid and have trivial access to irrigation have actually witnessed a greater proportion of person days in the water harvesting, conservation and renovation works categories, whereas districts which have relatively better access to irrigation have a large proportion of person days for irrigation provision and associated works. This suggests that the allocation and sanction of works would have to be done keeping in mind the district and area specific characteristics, conditions and other basic prime features, such as nature and methods adopted for agriculture activities, occupations, non-farm activities, common resource pool in the villages or regions, etc. On the other hand, it is significant to point out that works such as drought proofing, flood control and person days of rural works were also carried out, but person days under such works is reported to be very marginal which could be due to their irrelevance in most of the districts in the state.

**Table 5.10: Distribution of Person Days under Different Work Category across the Andhra Pradesh during the 2009-10 Financial Year**

Districts	Total Per Days	Per. Days for water harvesting	Per Days for Droughts	Per Days for Irrigation	Per Days for Renovation	Per Days Flood	Per Days Rural	Others
Adilabad	16146607	51	0	34	0	0	0	14
Anantapur	20367691	32	1	53	1	0	0	13
Chittoor	18550737	18	0	21	50	0	0	11
East Godavari	15798532	15	0	14	46	0	2	22
Guntur	1790763	27	1	27	7	1	6	31
Kadapa	16711696	14	0	46	18	0	3	18
Karimnagar	19511191	16	1	12	53	0	5	13
Khammam	17804295	16	0	52	15	0	1	15
Krishna	3504659	5	0	16	51	0	0	28
Kurnool	21105603	25	0	65	1	0	3	6
Mahabubnagar	19775309	15	0	48	6	0	2	29
Medak	14129047	29	0	42	13	0	2	14
Nalgonda	19590551	8	0	71	1	0	2	19
Nizamabad	14068433	19	0	21	42	0	1	18
Prakasam	15753944	14	0	55	12	1	1	17
Ranga Reddy	8137504	29	0	60	0	0	0	10
S.P.S Nellore	9290323	25	2	40	12	1	0	19
Srikakulam	18517629	6	0	5	84	0	0	4
Visakhapatnam	16893291	13	0	21	59	0	0	6
Vizianagaram	21802566	8	0	8	78	0	1	5
Warangal	17271773	22	0	24	35	0	4	15
West Godavari	6257771	2	0	13	53	0	1	30
Andhra Pradesh	332779908	19	0	35	30	0	2	14

Source: Same as for Table 5.1. Note: Per indicates persons.

## 5.5. Summary and Conclusions

The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA, 2005) is perhaps one of the most progressive employment schemes and provides 100 days of wage employment. It aims to provide livelihood security to the rural poor and marginal farmers of the country. Further, it attempts to curb distress labour migration from rural areas to urban areas of the country by providing them employment in their own village. It allows labourers to claim the statutory minimum wage which was decided at Rs. 100 (currently Rs. 125) and there is no wage discrimination between male and female labourers. In this backdrop, this chapter tried to analyse the patterns of job card registration, employment and wage rates of MGNREGA workers in Andhra Pradesh. The analysis was carried out

primarily on three aspects, viz., employment patterns, caste/social group, and gender aspect across the districts of the state. The major findings of the study are given below.

The study exposed that the majority of the job cards were issued in East Godavari, Anantapur, Nalgonda, Mahabubnagar and Kurnool districts out of which, except for East Godavari, all are economically backward. Though there is discrepancy across the districts, OBCs are the predominant group that received job cards followed by SCs, STs and other upper castes. Among the registered households, working households constituted only 50 per cent. A large segment of working households was reported in Nalgonda, Warangal, Karimnagar, Mahabubnagar etc, and a marginal proportion of working households were located in Guntur, Krishna, Ranga Reddy and Nellore districts. It was found that there are certain communities which predominantly work in certain districts. Here, the SCs mostly worked in the Krishna, West Godavari, Guntur and Nellore districts. STs were seen to be working in tribal dominated districts such as Khammam, Visakhapatnam and Adilabad. The OBCs worked mostly in Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Mahabubnagar, and the upper castes in Kadapa, Prakasam, Chittoor and Guntur.

because of landless

Interestingly, there were more SHG working members in Adilabad, Karimnagar and Medak, while disabled workers were reported predominantly in Karimnagar, Adilabad and Visakhapatnam districts. With reference to gender, it is revealed that there were more male workers registered than female workers. However, in the working category, female workers outnumbered their male counterparts. Further, labourers who are seeking wage employment are mostly males, and of this, most are from relatively developed districts, whereas female wage seekers are mainly from the economically backward districts of the state. With regard to work days completed, it has been found that 60 per cent of the workers completed only less than fifty working days, and 17 per cent completed the full quota of hundred day employment under this scheme. In this, the districts with the best performance are Chittoor, Kadapa, Kurnool, Vizianagaram, Ranga Reddy and Srikakulam. In

female in backward areas  
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contrast Guntur, Krishna, West Godavari, East Godavari, Nellore, Warangal and Mahabubnagar were the districts with the worst performance. With reference to the number of estimated work days predominantly documented in Chittoor, Karimnagar and Anantapur districts, work was completed mostly in East Godavari, Vizianagaram, Khammam and Prakasam districts. The greatest number of works was sanctioned in Chittoor, Anantapur, and Kurnool, and the greater number of works that completed was in Nalgonda, East Godavari, Adilabad, and Medak districts. The proportion of person days for different works was predominant under irrigation, renovation and water harvesting/conservation, person days for other purposes respectively.

There are some interesting issues that emerge from the present analysis which needs further in-depth analysis. For instance, it was found that some of the backward districts performed and utilised job cards in better way and vice versa. Similarly, in the case of developed districts, some were doing well and some of them are not, which needs to be explored further to understand the phenomenon. There are many factors which determine the success or failure of the scheme. However, the success of the scheme depends on the proactive role of grass root political leaders who can influence the administrative and implementation agencies to act and work effectively. Then, awareness among the working labour class and active involvement and meticulous planning by the gram sabha could enhance the performance of the scheme. If a district lacks proactive and determined leadership, then programmes of this kind may not be implemented and the fruits of the scheme may not reach the poor labourers. On the contrary, if a district has an active leadership, there would be some results that can reach the rural poor. For example, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam are backward districts but they benefited more than any other district, and this could have not been possible without strong political leadership at the district level to positively influence the performance of the implementation agency. It should be noted that regardless of the developed and backward status of the districts, the lack of strong and proactive leadership from upper echelon to the

bottom level could prevent the effective implementation and working of the programme.

Apart from this, the scheme should be free from mismanagement, manipulation and corruption. This is possible only if government takes effective measures to improve the operation of the scheme. In doing so, it should conduct frequent and rigorous social audits and firm action should be taken against those who commit malpractices. The government should enhance its monitoring and vigilance system and prompt action initiated against corrupt officers and staff. Unhealthy and tainted political involvement should be curbed and there should not be any nexus between the local landlords, political leaders and implementation agencies. In fact, firm steps on the part of the government can eliminate all malpractices in the scheme and enhance its performance in the days to come ahead. This would sustain the scheme in the long run and deliver its fruits to the poor and needy rural labourers and marginal farmers.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE ROLE OF MGNREGA(S) IN SEASONAL LABOUR MIGRATION

#### 6.1. Introduction

Having examined the issues related to MGNREGS at macro level in Andhra Pradesh, this chapter intends to study the more specific issues related to MGNREGS in the study villages. It should be noted that at macro level information on MGNREGS is limited and scanty. As mentioned in the previous chapter the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) is one of the salient flagship employment programmes of the Government of India. It is, in fact, a unique and first of its kind programme. The NREG Act was enacted in the year 2005 and implemented for the first time in the month of February, 2006 in Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh. In recent times the programme was renamed the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA, 2005). The employment scheme guarantees 100 days of wage employment in a financial year to all rural households whose adult members are willing to participate in unskilled manual labour which will be provided within a period of 15 days of demand for such employment. Further, it aims at the creation of sustainable assets and rural infrastructure on the one hand, and ensures better quality of life and enhanced income for rural households by providing 100 days of assured employment in a staggered manner, on the other hand.

The scheme is intended to be utilized by the beneficiaries in a rational and judicious way to combat drought, distress seasonal migration, lean agricultural seasons, etc. In addition, it gives more priority to those landless, poor, small and marginal farmers and women, in particular, from the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe communities (IHD, 2009). Certainly, in recent years, distress labour migration from rural to urban areas is widespread and could be regarded as one of the prime factors



that motivated many organisations, academicians and intellectuals to persuade governments to introduce the employment scheme for the economic upliftment of the rural poor in the country (Dreze et al., 2009).

In this backdrop, it is vital to inspect the outcomes of the scheme in order to assess whether this employment scheme has achieved its goals, which in turn, is crucial to MGNREGS sustainability in the long run. In other words, the focus should be on exploring the impact of the employment programme on rural households in particular and on rural economy in general. In this respect, there are quite a number of micro field-based studies that dealt with the diverse and multiple issues concerning the programme. The overall focus of these studies could be divided into two major aspects. The first set of studies dealt with the issues related to implementation of the scheme, muster roll enrolment, administration, corruption, social audits, budget spent, asset created under MGNREG Scheme, etc. The other set of studies aimed mostly at assessing the improvement of the beneficiaries' living standards, livelihood security, poverty reduction, women empowerment, purchasing power, impact on children's education and health of family members, changes in agriculture sector and the effect on distress labour out-migration (Pankaj et al., 2010).

In this context, Jacob et al., (2006) argued that despite the positive response and outcome of the scheme, there are multiple problems involved in implementation as well as administrative obstacles. Inadequate and inefficient staff and corruption are issues found to be widespread in the scheme throughout the country. It is evident that there was excessive involvement of affluent local people (landlords) and political leaders in the implementation and selection of work sites. Their influence is evident in matters such as the number of job cards to be issued job card allocation, number of workers allowed from a household, number of work days, daily wages rates and work project allotment (Krishnamurthy, 2006). Moreover, there is a covert nexus between the political leaders and the implementation authority, resulting in the committing of malpractices and manipulations in the scheme (Dreze, 2009).

It has been found that although most of the adult members of a family are willing to work in the scheme, they are actually not provided work - only person is allowed to work and others are denied work. It is also apparent that the number of working days was shared between the family members and households (on a fifty-fifty basis) viz., sharing of hundred days of work (Naomi, 2008). Some studies point out that there was rampant manipulation of records pertaining to muster roles, accounts, number of worked days, wage payments and the number of works completed under the scheme (Chhabra et al., 2009). Similarly, it was found that wage delays, wage cuts and unpaid wages were common in many parts of the country (Adhikar et al., 2010). Likewise, it was found that there is huge demand for employment but most of the people who are seeking work were actually not provided/given employment (Hirway et al., 2008). Gopal (2009) points out that the employment scheme lacks basic supervision and falls short of transparency in its functioning.

On the other hand, studies brought to notice its positive effects on MGNREGS beneficiary households. In this respect, Dreze et al., (2009) commented that the 'hundred days' employment programme is changing the lives of the rural poor at a slow pace but steadily, and that beneficiaries at least could overcome their daily consumption problems, particularly during the lean agriculture periods thus enhancing their purchasing power. Thus, it could give a sense of hope to landless labourers with regard to their livelihood security for at least two to three months of distress periods (Sankaran, 2011). The other studies focused on women empowerment and argued that more women should be employed as there is a provision in the Act for women wherein 30 per cent of the total workforce should be women. This has indeed stimulated women's participation in the scheme, allowing them to use their wage earnings on food, children's education, healthcare and the purchase of durable household goods (Khera et al., 2009). Subramaniam (2009) pointed out that MGNREGS wage rates have enabled agricultural labourers to bargain for wages when they enter the open labour market. This in turn, not only

provides them with wage bargaining power but also gives choice of whether to work at lower wage rates or not (Pankaj, 2009).

A study by IAMR (2008) divulges that work done under various MGNREGS projects is sustainable in the long run. However, some studies point out that assets created under the scheme are in fact not sustainable, lack quality and do not last for long time. Hence there is the need for making MGNREGS works more productive and useful (Labour File, 2006). Some studies discussed the changes in the beneficiary household's socio-economic status, interactions between communities and alterations in labour market compositions since the inception of the employment scheme (Shah, 2008). Other studies talked about the drastic decline in seasonal or temporary migration from rural areas to urban destinations, more particularly when MGNREGS work is in progress in the villages (Naomi, 2008). Although there is a drastic reduction in internal labour migration mostly seasonal labour flow from rural to urban areas, there is no direct evidence on the quantum or magnitude of decline, i.e., decline of the migration rate. This is true because a large migratory outflow is taking place from rural to urban areas during the post-harvest agricultural season (Dreze, 2009).

Given this background, the current chapter tries to examine the impact and/or outcome of the MGNREGA scheme on the beneficiaries of the scheme. In order to probe this broad issue, the study first asks questions such as whether job card holders benefited from the scheme or not. If so, are there any differences among the beneficiaries in terms of advantage? What are the characteristics that distinguish the beneficiaries? Do household resources play any role in getting job cards? How many persons from a family are allowed to work in the scheme? Is there any discrepancy between MGNREGS and non-MGNREGS households in this regard? Further, it examines the distinction between migrant and non-migrant MGNREGS beneficiary households. In this perspective, the current chapter addresses these questions by using the information on MGNREGS collected from a field survey of the three study villages in Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. First, it employs information

pertaining to household resources, assets and their socio-economic status. Further, these aspects are addressed with reference to beneficiary and non-beneficiary households. The same exercise is carried out among the beneficiary households with reference to their migration status. Secondly, it addresses issues which are directly related to MGNREGS workers such as number of job card households, number of worked days, wage rates, wage payments, work done under the programme, patterns of income spending, and so on. In addition, it enquires about the problems involved in the scheme. Subsequently, it tries to bring out the perceptions of the workers on the scheme. This could help to assess the impact, outcomes, and success level of the scheme in the study region.

The chapter is divided into eight sections including the present introduction section. The second section deals with the characteristics of households by their MGNREGS and migration status. The third section talks about number of worked days and wage rates of MGNREGS labourers. The fourth section discusses the impact of the MGNREGS on beneficiary households and the assets created under the scheme. The fifth section is about problems associated with the implementation of the programme. The sixth section is regarding the perceptions of different beneficiaries on MGNREGS and the impact of these perceptions on them. The seventh section is regarding logistic regression. The final section is the summary and concluding remarks.

## **6.2. Basic Characteristics of Households by MGNREGS Status**

This section examines the characteristics of different households with respect to MGNREGS status by taking into account their basic features such as household, ration card, social background, literacy, occupation, land holdings, etc. Further, it explores the differences between MGNREGS beneficiaries and non-beneficiary households in terms of the above-mentioned characteristics. Examining these aspects become vital in order to get an idea of the sections of people who are more inclined to participate in the scheme. Moreover, this could give an idea about whether these

characteristics have any role in getting job cards and improving their economic wellbeing or living standards.

In this context, the present study reveals that 93 per cent of the MGNREGS beneficiary households are Below Poverty Line (BPL) families and 7 per cent were poorest of the poor families, viz., Anthyodaya Anna Yojana ration card holders. Notably, there was no single Above Poverty Line (APL) household in the surveyed villages. Among the BPL households, the majority possess MGNREGS job cards (74%) but the Anthyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY) households hold a larger number of job cards (81%) than the former category of households (Table 6.1). It should be noted that the latter category of households was more vulnerable and impoverished than the former. Hence, their probability of working in government-sponsored employment schemes like MGNREGS is greater than that of BPL families. In fact, providing employment to a disadvantaged section of the rural population such as the landless poor and small and marginal farmers is one of the prime objectives of the hundred days employment programme. These are the main targeted groups in the scheme. Indeed, AAY and BPL faces severe shortage of food grain and unemployment, in particular during the post-harvest agricultural season in the study villages. Working in the MGNREGA scheme could overcome such survival problems of such households and can also help them avoid distress out-migration. Distress migration is taking place under distress conditions wherein they are left with no option except to leave their villages for other regions for work and survival purposes and to escape semi-hunger and starvation situation in their village.

**Table 6.1: Distribution of Households according to MGNREGS Job Cards and their Ration Card Holdings in the Study Villages**

Type of Ration card	MGNREGS Households	Non-MGNREGS Households	Total Households	
BPL card	165 (74)	59 (26)	224 (100)	93%
Anthyodaya card	13 (81)	3 (19)	16 (100)	7%
Total	178 (74)	62 (26)	240 (100)	100%

Source: Field survey, conducted during the months of December, 2009 and January, 2010.

Note: Parentheses indicates their respective percentages.

With regard to dwellings, the study revealed that regardless their MGNREGS status, 62 per cent of the sample households in the study villages live in pucca houses, 20 per cent in tile house and 18 per cent in kuccha houses. Further, with reference to MGNREGA job card possession, the study reveals that the majority of the MGNREGS beneficiary households live in pucca houses. In fact, in all the categories of dwellings, MGNREGS households were predominantly greater in number than non-MGNREGS households (Table 6.2). It is noticed that a large number of MGNREGS beneficiaries belong to the farming communities who are at a greater advantage in terms of dwellings than their landless labour counterparts. On the contrary, the majority of the non-beneficiary households live either in pucca households or tile houses, and a marginal number of households reside in other types of dwellings. Here, the main distinction between pucca and tile house is the roof. Tiled houses have roofs made of clay tiles and pucca houses have roofs made of concrete. The rest of the building is by and large the same. Interestingly, a marginal number of non-MGNREGS households live houses that are in very poor condition. Though these households are actually poor, they had not registered in the scheme. This could have happened because they were away from home at the time of job card registration. This could also happen due to out-migration. This aspect will be explained in detail when we explore other characteristics such as the occupation and migration status of such households and will be addressed in the subsequent sections of the chapter.

**Table 6.2: Distribution of Households according to MGNREGS Status and Type of Dwellings in the Study Villages**

Typ. Dwellings	MGNREGA Households	Non-MGNREGA Households	Total Households	
Kuccha House	39 (93)	3 (7)	42 (100)	(18%)
Pucca House	106 (72)	42 (28)	148 (100)	(62%)
Tile House	33 (76)	16 (33)	49 (100)	(20%)
Thatched Hut	(0.0)	1 (100)	1 (100)	(4%)
Total	178 (74)	62 (26)	240 (100)	100%

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

It is argued in migration literature that colossal distress migrants belong to economically and socially backward Schedule Castes (SC) and Schedule Tribes (ST)

that largely live in remote rural areas. Similarly, the current study reveals that 45 per cent of the Schedule Tribe (ST) households received job cards, and that Other Backward Castes (OBC) and Schedule Castes (SC) communities form 22 per cent and 7 per cent of the job card holders, respectively. In contrast, 26 per cent of the households do not have job cards in the surveyed villages. Furthermore, STs are the predominant group among the job card holding households while OBCs outnumbered non-MGNREGS or non-beneficiary households (Table 6.3). In other words, the major beneficiaries of the hundred days employment programme were in fact STs and OBCs. Interestingly, there were only two households which belong to the general category where one household is a beneficiary of the scheme. As a matter of fact, the study district predominantly consists of OBCs, SCs and ST population. There is no doubt that the STs in the district are socio-economically the most backward communities. It seems that these sections of the people are in fact greatly in need of the MGNREGA employment scheme. The greater participation by poorer communities in the scheme gives a justifiable explanation for the government's motive behind the introduction of the scheme. However, the volume of the benefits always depends on the effective implementation of the scheme, and this will be discussed in subsequent sections of the chapter.

**Table 6.3: Distribution of Households according to MGNREGS Status and Caste in the Study Villages**

Castes	MGNREGS Households	Non- MGNREGS Households	Total Households	
SC	17 (68)	8 (32)	25 (100)	(10%)
ST	108 (81)	26 (19)	134 (100)	(56%)
OBC	52 (66)	27 (34)	79 (100)	(33%)
General	1 (50)	1 (50)	2 (100)	(1%)
Total	178 (74)	62 (26)	240 (100)	(100%)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

It is true that personal attributes such as education level play a significant role in the betterment of a person's life, more importantly with regard to choice of employment and occupations. In this regard, the study revealed that 60 per cent of the heads of the households were illiterates, 26 per cent were literates with primary education, 7 per cent have secondary level education and 5 per cent have studied up to lower

secondary schooling. When we examine the situation of MGNREGS and non-MGNREGS households, it is found that in all the education level categories, the proportion of MGNREGS beneficiaries is higher though it is more so in the categories of illiterates and those with lower educational qualifications. It is interesting to note that there was only one degree holder reported in the non-MGNREGS category which means that rural folks are still far lagging behind in terms of educational attainment (Table 6.4). When we look within the MGNREGS households, majority of the beneficiary households are illiterates followed by those with primary education, lower secondary and secondary education respectively. Further, similar patterns could be observed among the non-MGNREGS households. This implies that most of the heads of the households are illiterates, and this holds more in the case of the MGNREGS beneficiaries. This also means that there is not so much of a difference between beneficiary and non-beneficiary households in terms of their educational attainment. On account of the low level of educational attainment, a large number of households still depend on manual labour for income and livelihood. Needless to say that education is one of the major factors which influences not only a person's nature of employment and occupations but also has an impact on the acquisition of new skills and upgrading them. This, in turn, may expand their employment opportunities and income earnings further. It must be noted here that educational qualifications are presented only for head of the households who is in fact the main MGNREGA worker in the household.

**Table 6.4: Distribution of Head of the Households Education Attainment by MGNREGS Status in the Study Villages**

Education level	MGNREGS HH	Non-MGNREGS HH	Total HH	%
Illiterates	112 (78)	31 (22)	143 (100)	(60%)
Informal literates	2 (100)	0	2 (100)	(0.8%)
Primary level	42 (68)	20 (32)	62 (100)	(26%)
Up to lower secondary	10 (91)	1 (9)	11 (100)	(5%)
Secondary pass	9 (50)	9 (50)	18 (100)	(7%)
10 <sup>th</sup> but below 12 <sup>th</sup>	3 (100)	0	3 (100)	(1%)
Graduation (Degree)	0	1 (100)	1 (100)	(0.4%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>178 (74)</b>	<b>62 (26)</b>	<b>240 (100)</b>	<b>(100%)</b>

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.



The information on occupation and job card holdings reveal that on the whole the main occupation of 86 per cent of the surveyed households is cultivation, followed by 10 per cent in agricultural labour and a marginal proportion in non-farm employment. If we examine the status of MGNREGS households it is seen that 72 per cent of the cultivating households received job cards while 28 per cent did not. On the other hand, 92 per cent of the agricultural labour households possess government employment cards, while almost all the non-farm labour households received a job card. There are two households living in the study villages that reported main occupation as 'clerk who works in government office' (Table 6.5). These results imply that there is not much occupational diversification and majority of the households depend either on cultivation or agricultural wage labour for employment and livelihood purposes. This suggests a positive association between agricultural labour, poor farmers and MGNREGS beneficiary households. Besides, this greater dependency on MGNREGS brings out the grassroot realities that exist in the study region. Today, the reality in the study villages is that there is complete absence of employment opportunities outside the agricultural sector. Secondly, there is a lack of employment opportunities even in agricultural sector during the agricultural lean season. This dry agricultural lean season would continue up to next monsoon which takes almost six months or more. Meanwhile, the employment scenario becomes grim and dismal and they hence have to search for other alternatives such as migrating out for work in order to survive or wage earnings.

**Table 6.5: Classification of Households Occupation and MGNREGS Status in the Study Villages**

Occupations	MGNREGA Households	Non-MGNREGA Households	Total Households	
Clerks	0	2 (100)	2 (100)	(0.6%)
Construction	1 (100)	0	1 (100)	(0.4%)
Non-farm labour	7 (100)	0	7 (100)	(3%)
Agri-labourers	22 (92)	2 (8)	24 (100)	(10%)
Cultivators	148 (72)	58 (28)	206 (100)	(86%)
Total	178 (74)	62 (26)	240 (100)	100%

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

Moreover, occupations depend not only on educational level but also on the ownership of cultivable land. If we look at the land ownership patterns of sample households, it is revealed that on the whole, 83 per cent owned arable land and 17 per cent were landless households. Further, among the land-owning households, 71 per cent MGNREGS job cards, while 29 per cent were non-MGNREGA households. Among the landless households, 88 per cent hold job cards and 12 per cent do not possess job cards. This signifies that the landless households' probability of getting job card is higher than their land-owning counterparts (Table 6.6). Although landless households are given more priority in the scheme, factors like migration could have affected their registration in it due to absence at the time of registration. This aspect will be discussed elaborately in the next section. It seems that majority of the surveyed households own land and engage largely in the government-sponsored hundred days employment programmes. Since, they are assured hundred days of work/employment within their village which has an implication for the extent of seasonal out-migration. Migration from the villages is both towards economically viable rural areas and urban developed destinations.

**Table 6.6: Distribution of Land Owned Households by MGNREGS Status in the Study Villages**

Land ownership	MGNREGA Households	Non-MGNREGA Households	Total Households	
Land owned HH	141 (71)	57 (29)	198 (100)	83%
Landless HH	37 (88)	5 (12)	42 (100)	17%
Total	178 (74)	62 (26)	240 (100)	100%

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

Another significant aspect of household resources is access to irrigation. In fact, farmers with irrigation facilities could completely depend on cultivation, while those who do not have sufficient irrigation facilities might look for other alternatives to earn additional income due to low income from agriculture. It was found that 46 per cent of the households have access to irrigation facilities. Among them, 71 per cent were registered in the MGNREG scheme. Conversely, majority of the MGNREGS households (56%) do not have access to irrigation facilities, while it is 8 per cent among the non-beneficiary households that do not have irrigation facilities (Table

6.7). It is observed that large number of the households have access to irrigation through tanks which completely depend on rainfall. If rainfall is good, these tanks would be filled, otherwise they could dry up soon after rainy season. This uncertainty affects agricultural activities which results in meagre yields. Good monsoon and irrigation facilities play a major role in whether to migrate-out or work in the scheme. In the end, sufficient food grain and the extent of profitability of agriculture influences their decision to migrate-out or work in the scheme.

**Table 6.7: Distribution of Households according to Access to Irrigation and MGNREGS Status in the Study Villages**

Irrigation	MGNREGA Households	Non-MGNREGA Households	Total Households
Yes	79 (71)	32 (29)	111 (100) 46%
No	99 (77)	30 (23)	129 (100) 54%
Total	178 (74)	62 (26)	240 (100) 100%

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

### 6.2.1. Basic Characteristics of MGNREGS Households by Migration Status

As articulated in the earlier section, curbing distress seasonal labour migration from rural India to urban India is one of the prime objectives of the MGNREG scheme. This is very essential since most of the backward regions in rural India witness mass seasonal labour migration, in particular during the post-harvest season to economically viable and prosperous rural and urban destinations for work, higher wage earnings, better opportunities and survival purposes. In this context, the association between MGNREGS and migration status of the household becomes a significant variable to probe. This in turn could expose the impact and implication of the scheme on the beneficiary households. At this point, the study investigates whether migration flow has come down or continues in the same old manner even after the inception of the MGNREG Scheme. Secondly, the study looks at whether there is any association between the households' basic characteristics and migration with reference to their MGNREGS status in the study villages.

In this regard, the study revealed that out of total sample households, 28 per cent of the MGNREGS beneficiary households were reported to be witnessing out-migration in which 7 per cent did not register under this employment programme. In other words, out of the total MGNREGS beneficiary households, 38 per cent reported out-migration. However, on the whole, 74 per cent of the households were working under the umbrella of MGNREGA scheme. When we examine the migrant households, it is found that 81 per cent received job cards, while the corresponding proportion is 70 per cent in the case of non-migrant households. Further, it is found that 19 per cent of the migrant households and 30 per cent of the non-migrant households did not benefit from the scheme. This implies that households with migration prone are more able to register under the scheme and vice versa. However, despite being beneficiaries of MGNREGS, a moderate proportion of households reported that their family member(s) went to other regions for work and wage earnings (Table 6.8).

It should be noted that households without job cards were migrating out. It is observed that some households were stimulated to take up migration due to the lack of job cards. In addition, some households completely depended on migration because of issues in the scheme such as the limited number of work days, uncertainty of work availability and low wages. Hence, such households showed no interest in registering themselves under the employment programme. Here, it is worth mentioning that most the non-job card migrant households had already migrated and were staying at various destinations since the last few years. The major implication of the scheme is that though it could provide employment to a larger proportion of households at the same time, it could not stop a moderate number of households from migration despite their registering under the scheme. In addition, it is interesting to note that, in spite of having MGNREGS job cards, a moderate number of BPL and Anthyodaya ration card holders migrated. This indicates that such poor and poorest of the poor households cannot solely depend

on this scheme for their livelihood or survival or wage earnings. This will be discussed briefly in the subsequent sections.

**Table 6.8: Distribution of MGNREGS Households according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Typ. households	Migrant Households		Non-migrant Households		Grand total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Households	68 (81)	16 (19)	110 (70)	46 (30)	178 (74)	62 (26)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

On the other side, information on MGNREGS beneficiary households and their castes with reference to migration status divulges that out of the total beneficiary households, 61 per cent of job card households belong to STs, followed by OBC (29%) and SC (10%) communities. On the contrary, in the category of non-beneficiary households, OBC and ST households were predominant. This implies that the socio-economically better off communities are less likely to work in the MGNREGS programme although STs are exceptional in this case. At the same time, the economically deprived and vulnerable communities like SCs and STs are more inclined to engage in the employment programme. Similarly, when we examine the job card holding households according to their migration status, a large proportion of migration is documented among ST and OBC communities while SC households reported fewer movements towards other regions. Paradoxically, non-migrant households are predominantly those of the ST and OBC communities (Table 6.9). On the other hand, among the migrant households, most of the communities possess job cards, with STs outnumbering the other communities. It is more or less same for non-migrant households with MGNREGA job cards. It is important to recognise that non-MGNREGS households seem unwilling to leave their village(s), although SC households show a greater inclination to move out towards other regions. This indicates that households with basic resources and employment cards are less inclined to migrate out of the village and vice versa. However, in the case of poorest of the poor, the probability of migration tends to accelerate rather decline in spite of employment programmes such as MGNREGS. Though most of the landless, small and marginal farmers work under the employment programme, this could not stop

some of these beneficiary households from migration. This could be described as being due to many factors such as weak household resource base, poor economic conditions, poverty spanning generations, health problems, and sudden shocks which require immediate financial attention.

**Table 6.9: Distribution of MGNREGS Households by Caste and Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Social groups	Migrants Households		Non-migrants Households		Grand total Households	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Job card HH						
SC	7 (58)	5 (42)	10 (77)	3 (23)	17 (68)	8 (32)
ST	50 (86)	8 (14)	58 (76)	18 (24)	108 (81)	26 (19)
OBC	11 (79)	3 (21)	41 (63)	24 (37)	52 (66)	27 (34)
General	0	0	1 (50)	1 (50)	1 (50)	1 (50)
Total	68 (81)	16 (19)	110 (70)	46 (30)	178 (74)	62 (26)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

Overall, information on job card possession and migration status with reference to literacy reveals that a large number of heads of the households were illiterate and these were followed by those with primary education, lower secondary and secondary schooling. A great number of these households work in the MGNREGS scheme. A distinction between job card possession and migration status could give us more insight about who is at an advantage and who is worse off in terms of their education qualifications. First, in the case of migrant households, except for those with education up to the 10<sup>th</sup> standard and above, in rest of the categories majority the households have job cards and a very similar pattern is seen in the case of non-migrant households. However, in terms of literacy, non-migrant MGNREGA households are in a better position than the migrant MGNREGA beneficiary households in the study region (Table 6.10). This implies that the likelihood of migrant households' working in the scheme is greater than their non-migrant counterparts. Ironically, a similar pattern can also be seen in the case of non-MGNREGS households wherein the migrants' possibility of getting job cards is greater than that of their non-migrant counterparts. Thus, households with illiteracy and a lower level of education are more inclined to work in the scheme. Perhaps due to this very reason, the proportion of non-migrant beneficiary households is

reported be greater than that of migrant households, which means that households with low levels of education could have avoided or refrained from migration by working in a government-sponsored employment scheme. However, it is apparent that their MGNREGA and migration status depends not only on their educational status but also on other factors as explained in this chapter.

**Table 6.10: Distribution of Head of the Households Education Attainment according to MGNREGA and Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Education level	Migrant Households		Non-migrant Households		Grand Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Job cards						
Illiterates	46 (85)	8 (15)	66 (74)	23 (26)	112 (78)	31 (22)
Informal literates	2 (100)	0	0	0	2 (100)	0
Primary level	14 (67)	7 (33)	28 (68)	13 (32)	42 (68)	20 (32)
Up to lower secondary	4 (100)	0	6 (86)	1 (14)	10 (91)	1 (9)
Secondary pass	2 (67)	1 (33)	7 (47)	8 (53)	9 (50)	9 (50)
10 <sup>th</sup> but below 12 <sup>th</sup>	0	0	3 (100)	0	3 (100)	0
Graduation	0	0	0	1 (100)	0	1 (100)
Total	68 (81)	16 (19)	110 (70)	46 (30)	178 (74)	62 (26)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1. Education of head of the household has taken for analysis.

Further, information on occupation with reference to MGNREGA and migration reveals that, on the whole, the majority of households possess MGNREGA employment cards. Among these, cultivators were predominant (83%) followed by agricultural labourers (12%). On the contrary, among non-MGNREGA households (non-job card households) were greatly consisting of cultivators while it is very marginal in other occupations. When we look into their migration status, it is revealed that a greater proportion of cultivators did not migrate outside the villages (among the job card holders). Nonetheless, a moderate proportion from the same occupation are reported as having migrated towards other regions in search of work. Among the agricultural labourers, the majority of the MGNREGS job card holding households (58%) stayed in their respective villages and engaged in the 'summer employment programme' (as it is widely called locally), while 33 per cent of job card holders from the same occupation (agricultural labour households) are reported as having migrated to other regions (Table 6.11). In short, cultivators from both

beneficiary and non-beneficiary households are less likely to migrate-out and choose to work in the hundred days employment programmes. The migration rate would depend on diverse factors such as proper implementation, providing full 100 days of work, paying wages at right time and early inception of the work. In contrast, problems such as the lack of accountability and mismanagement in the implementation of the programme could have provoked some households to send their household members towards urban areas for higher wage earnings. This aspect would be discussed in detail in the subsequent sections of the chapter.

**Table 6.11: Classification of MGNREGA Households according to their Occupation and Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Job cards HH Occupations	Migrant Households		Non-migrant Households		Grand total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Clerks	0	1 (100)	0	1 (100)	0	2 (100)
Construction	0	0	1 (100)	0	1 (100)	0
Non-farm labour	4 (100)	0	3 (100)	0	7 (100)	0
Agri-labourers	8 (80)	2 (20)	14 (100)	0	22 (92)	2 (8)
Cultivators	56 (81)	13 (19)	92 (67)	45 (33)	148 (72)	58 (28)
Total	68 (81)	16 (19)	110 (71)	46 (29)	178 (74)	62 (26)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

Further, information about land ownership of different households according to job cards and migration reveals that 74 per cent of households own MGNREGS employment cards and 26 per cent do not. Among the land-owning households, 71 per cent possess MGNREGA job cards while among the landless households the corresponding proportion is 88 per cent. If we examine the situation among the migrant households, landless households are more likely to have job cards, as also non-migrant households. It is to be noted that within the migrant and non-migrant category, the likelihood of getting job cards is higher in the case of landless households than their land-owning counterparts. On the other side, among the job card households, landless households are more prone to migration than land-owning households. In other words, in the category of land-owning households, MGNREGS job card households are less inclined to migrate than migrant households. But, in this, the likelihood of migrant households is larger than non-



migrant households. Then, the likelihood of landless households was greater in non-migrant category than migrant's category (Table 6.12).

**Table 6.12: Distribution of MGNREGA Households by Land Ownership and Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Land ownership	Migrant Households		Non-migrant Households		Grand total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Job card HH	43 (78)	12 (22)	98 (69)	45 (31)	141 (71)	57 (29)
Landless HH	25 (86)	4 (14)	12 (92)	1 (8)	37 (88)	5 (12)
Total HH	68 (81)	16 (19)	110 (70)	46 (30)	178 (74)	62 (26)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

When we look into access to irrigation, the study on the whole divulges that 46 per cent of the households have access to irrigation facilities while a majority of them do not have the same (54%). Among the households with access to irrigation, 71 per cent of them are MGNREGS job card holding households who have access to irrigation facilities and a very marginal proportion of irrigated households do not have job cards. Among the non-irrigated households, 77 per cent are MGNREGA households and do not have access to irrigation. It implies that the lack of irrigation facilities could reduce area of cultivation, low production, crop loss/failure and high dependency on rainfall which forces such households sometimes into deep crisis. Hence, on account of inadequate output, such households are forced to depend on manual work either in rich farmers' fields or in non-farm employment for daily wage earnings. The other implication could be that certain households may completely depend on MGNREGS employment for daily wage earnings for survival and other purposes. On the other side, it is also important to examine the accessibility of irrigation with regard to the migration status of the households.

On the one hand, when we examine the irrigated households among migrants, it is seen that 85 per cent received employment cards, while the corresponding proportion is 79 per cent for non-irrigated households (among the job card households). On the other side, among the non-migrant households, 67 per cent of irrigated households have job cards, while this proportion is 75 per cent for non-irrigated households. Though the proportion of irrigated and non-irrigated non-

migrant households is lower than migrant households, but the corresponding proportion is far higher in absolute numbers (Table 6.13). Thus, this implies that the greater proportion of households with access to irrigation had less job cards (in proportions) and was likely to stay in the village. Further, it also suggests that despite the lack of access to irrigation, there are certain households with better resources that could be less inclined to migrate out. Another explanation could be that though they might have access to irrigation, utilisation depends on the condition/status of the irrigation source. If they got sufficient rain, they might cultivate. If they did not, then they may cultivate dry crops and choose to work in the scheme and thereafter prefer to migrate out. Thus, we conclude that, accessibility of irrigation might discourage such households from migrating out and would encourage them to participate in the employment scheme.

*The Supply  
of NREGS  
limited  
market  
job etc*

**Table 6.13: Distribution of MGNREGA Households according to Access to Irrigation and Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Access to irrigation	Migrant Households		Non-migrant Households		Grand total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Job card HH						
Irrigation HH	22 (85)	4 (15)	57 (67)	28 (33)	79 (71)	32 (29)
Non-irrigation HH	46 (79)	12 (21)	53 (75)	18 (25)	99 (77)	30 (23)
Total	68 (81)	16 (19)	110 (70)	46 (30)	178 (74)	62 (26)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

### 6.2.2. Individual MGNREGS Workers by Migration Status

Furthermore, if we examine the number of beneficiary persons who worked under the employment scheme, it is seen that there were a total of 247 persons that worked or were working in the programme during the study year. Of this, 54 per cent were male workers and 46 per cent were female workers. Besides, when we look into their migration status, it is revealed that 36 per cent of belong to migrant households, while the proportion of MGNREGS workers in non-migrant households is 64 per cent. It should be noted that individual workers and households are two different criteria. Further, when we look into the gender aspect, firstly, majority of the male and female workers were members of non-migrant households (more than 60%). Similarly, among the migrant households, 52 per cent were male workers, while 55

per cent were males in the case of non-migrant workers. This implies that in both categories, males outnumbered their female counterparts (Table 6.14). It is significant to point out that when regular or active MGNREGS worker move towards urban centres for work, then in his place, the next adult member, usually female (spouse of head of the household) would engage in the employment scheme in the village. Thus female workers may appear to be greater in proportion than their male counterparts within the migrant category. Secondly, there are households with more than one adult male member that migrated to other regions. Thirdly, households with less adult members predominantly worked in the employment scheme. This pattern of moving out or staying back by MGNREGS workers not only depends on family size, gender and age composition of family members, but also on other factors such as the time the MGNREGS work starts, number of possible working days, wage rates and number of family members allowed to work in the employment scheme. It is observed that these factors always vary, are volatile and create ambiguity in many minds of poor families. In fact, these factors play a major role in their decision on whether to migrate or stay back and work in the MGNREG Scheme for daily wage earnings. It is important to mention here that since the work has not started for the 2009-2010 financial year, in particular at the time of survey in the study villages, the information on the number of workers and worked days was taken from number of worked days during the last year. In fact, all the information on MGNREGA was obtained in the same manner.

**Table 6.14: Classification of Number of MGNREGS Workers according to Sex and Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Sex/Type of HH	Migrants Households	Non-migrants Households	Total Households
Male	47 (35)	86 (65)	133 (100) 54%
Female	43 (38)	71 (62)	114 (100) 46%
Total	90 (36)	157 (64)	247 (100) 100%

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

It is interesting when we look at the number of persons from a household who worked in the employment scheme according to their migration status. Here, it is found that 38 per cent of MGNREGS beneficiary households were reported to have

migrated during the survey year, while 62 per cent of them did not migrate from their villages. Further, the number of persons from a household who worked in the scheme shows that 63 per cent of the households have only a single member who worked in the scheme. The remaining 35 per cent of the households have two adult members who worked in the hundred days employment programme on the whole. However, there are only three households who reported that three of its family members worked in the scheme. If we look at all the three categories that participated in the scheme, it is seen that most of them belong to non-migrant families (Table 6.15). This reveals the non-migrant households' predominance in the scheme. Besides, some of the respondents opined that there were some older migrant households that stopped migrating when the hundred days work was in progress in the village. This aspect is addressed in last section of the chapter. On the other hand, among the migrants, most of the households consist of single workers. Although, single workers are predominant in the category of non-migrant households, the number of households with two adult persons that work in scheme is also quite large, especially compared to migrant households. In the case of single MGNREGS working households, the migration rate is around 41 per cent, while in the case of the two MGNREGS labour households, it is 35 per cent. It is also observed that there are households that sent their family members to other regions before the MGNREGS work started, and some households that sent their family members when the work was in progress. This is mainly because of delay in work, uncertainty in the number of working days and wage rates, but most of the registered households have at least one member who is working in the scheme. In this case, a large proportion of male members of a household try to move towards urban centres for work and earning an income. It should be noted that for this analysis, only MGNREGS beneficiary households have been taken and not total sample households.

**Table 6.15: Classification of Number of Persons Worked in MGNREGS according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

No. of person worked	Migrant Households	Non-migrant Households	Total Households
1 person	46 (41)	67 (59)	113 (100) 63%
2 persons	22 (35)	40 (65)	62 (100) 35%
3 persons	0	3 (100)	3 (100) 2%
Total	68 (38)	110 (62)	178 (100) 100%

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

In addition, the median age of job card holders (MGNREGS beneficiaries) according to their migration status reveals interesting results. Firstly, in the category of migrant households who working in the scheme, the median age is 36 years while it is 32 years for non-MGNREGS households. For non-migrant households, the median age is around 35 years (job card holders) and it is 39 years for non-beneficiary households. It is important to mention here that the main MGNREGS worker's age from a household was considered for this analysis (Table 6.16). The results indicate that migrants, both MGNREGS and non-MGNREGS, are younger than non-migrants in the study region. This also suggests that aged workers are more averse to migrating out, and prefers to work in the local labour market in schemes such as such as the government sponsored hundred days employment (MGNREGS). Here, most of the sample households reported that elders in the family were sent to work in MGNREGS work sites. This sort of strategy was adopted by many families, particularly by migrant households, simply because in the MGNREGS, the work load is relatively less and working conditions better than at the migration destination places. Thus, the younger members of the family were sent to other regions for work and wages as part of the household strategy.

**Table 6.16: Median Age of MGNREGS Workers by their Migration Status in the Study Villages (Main Worker)**

Type of HH	Migrant Households		Non-migrant Households	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Job card received				
Median age	36	32	35	39

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

### 6.3. Patterns of Worked Days and Wage Rates of MGNREGS Workers

In this section, the study addresses the MGNREGS labourers number of worked days and wage rates across the study villages with reference to their migration status. In this regard, it is argued that in many parts of rural India, the majority of beneficiaries could not get full hundred days of work and minimum wages under the scheme which was Rs. 100 during survey period. On the contrary, the government sponsored employment programme guaranteed hundred days of work and daily wage earnings of one hundred rupees. Thus, the scheme influenced the rural poor positively in more ways than one where it gave them assurances for livelihood security and women empowerment. In this context, examining the above-mentioned aspects becomes vital for the present study in order to know and assess the outcome, impact and effectiveness of the MGNREG Scheme. This would also throw light on the way in which the employment programme is implemented and thus bring out its drawbacks and loopholes. Besides, this would provide an idea of the extent to which the employment scheme benefited participants in particular and the village economy in general. It should be noted that uplifting the rural poor economically and developing the rural economy is the main idea behind introducing the scheme. This, in turn, can uplift the rural poor, free them from the shackles of chronic poverty and make rural India more economically viable.

In this context, the information on beneficiary households across the study villages disclosed that Akkaram accounts for a large number of job card holders, followed by Pata Kodangal and Chityala villages. Here, migration status of these job card holders revealed that in all the three villages, the majority of the workers belong to non-migrant households. On the other hand, a greater proportion of the non-MGNREGS households are in Chityala, followed by Pata Kodangal and Akkaram. At this juncture, it is worth mentioning that the first two villages are dominated by the OBC community and that it is at an advantage in terms of economic well-being compared to the SC and ST communities (Table 6.17). Most of MGNREGS beneficiary households migrated from Akkaram followed by those from the Pata Kodangal and

Chityala villages. However, the major difference between the villages is that as Chityala is geographically located near a town, labourers from this village usually commute every day to this town when they fail to find work in the local labour market. While the other two villages are not connected to any town, they either work in the MGNREGS or migrate when they do not find work in the local labour market. Therefore, the lack of availability of work/employment, alternative opportunities and absence of diverse livelihood options can stimulate migration (regardless location and connectivity of villages.)

Access  
to  
towns  
Migrants

**Table 6.17: Distribution of Households according to MGNREGS and Migration Status across the Study Villages**

Job cards	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand total	
Typ. HH	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Yes	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)
No	2 (13)	13 (87)	10 (40)	15 (60)	4 (18)	18 (82)	16 (26)	46 (74)
Total	31 (39)	49 (61)	28 (35)	52 (65)	25 (31)	55 (69)	84 (35)	156 (65)

Source: Same as for Table 6.1. Note: (i) Henceforth tables are presented along with villages, (ii) Mig and Non-Mig indicates Migrants and Non-migrants.

The data on the MGNREGS labourers' number of worked days shows that, on the whole, the workers that were predominantly engaged in the employment programme were male. Overall, regardless of gender, the minimum number of worked days for a majority of the worker is between 30 days to 60 days followed by between 61 days to 70 days and 71 days to 100 days respectively in the study villages. Further, the gender aspect reveals that, in all the categories of worked days, the male workers outnumbered their female counterparts. Nevertheless, female work participation was recorded in a moderate proportion in less number of worked days rather than more number of worked days in the study region. However, in the case of male workers, their participation tends to increase when the number of days worked increases. On the other hand, at the village level, similar patterns can be seen in all the three study villages (Table 6.18). This signifies that in all the villages, MGNREGS work participation exhibited more or less similar overall patterns. This suggests that there is no difference when it comes to the effectiveness of implementation of the programme in the region. In general, it is imperative to note

that Mahabubnagar district (study region) is one of the most backward districts in the state. Most of the MGNREGS workers got two months of worked days and a very dismal proportion of workers got up to 100 days of work. Due to the low and uncertain number of working days, meagre wage rates and late wage payment some eligible family members usually preferred to seek employment in the open labour market where they could expect higher wages and prompts payment. The low number of worked days could be attributed to improper timings of work, uncertainty in the number of working days, low wages and corruption in the programme. Overall, the study observed that the programme in fact lacks transparency, efficient administrative staff, proper planning, leadership and political will. Hence it is very essential to remove all these barriers to make the programme more effective, fruitful and successful (Dreze, 2009).

**Table 6.18: Proportion of MGNREGS Labourer's Worked Days according to Sex in the Study Villages**

Working days	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
30 to 60 days	28 (58)	20 (42)	16 (57)	12 (43)	22 (65)	12 (35)	66 (60)	44 (40)
61 to 70 days	9 (75)	3 (25)	5 (62)	3 (38)	8 (50)	8 (50)	22 (61)	14 (39)
71 to 100 days	4 (80)	1 (20)	17 (89)	2 (11)	7 (87)	1 (13)	28 (87)	4 (13)
Total	41 (63)	24 (37)	38 (69)	17 (31)	37 (64)	21 (36)	116 (65)	62 (35)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1. \*Number of worked days taken for main and active worker from a household.

Likewise, the data on the average number of worked days reveals that male and female workers worked in the employment scheme for an average of 61 days and 57 days respectively. If we look across the villages, the highest number of average worked days for both male and female workers was documented in Chityala, followed by Pata Kodangal and Akkaram villages. Interestingly, in Pata Kodangal, the average number of worked days of both male and female workers is the same (Table 6.19). The results suggest that MGNREGS workers were not provided the complete hundred days of work as guaranteed in the Act. This means most of the workers on an average were losing 40 working days, which in turn shows the inefficient implementation of the scheme in particular and the breach of workers'



legitimate rights in general in the study region. Significantly, it is evident that the low number of working days led a moderate number of households to send their family members to urban destinations for work, in the expectation that this would yield higher wages as well as continuous work rather than in the case of MGNREGS employment. Until and unless work is provided and guaranteed whenever the workers are in need, the labour exodus from rural to urban centres is not going to come down or cease.

**Table 6.19: Average Worked Days of MGNREGS Workers by their Sex in the Study Villages**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Mean (Working days)	58	55	68	59	58	58	61	57

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1. \*Number of worked days taken for main and active worker from a household.

The information on number of worked days by other family members (additional workers from a household) reveals that on the whole, only 69 individuals worked in MGNREGS projects along with their main and regular MGNREGS labour partner. The number of workers from non-migrant households is greater than from migrant households. If we look at number of worked days, 48 per cent of these workers were employed for 1-20 days (33 labourers) and 35 per cent were engaged for 26-35 days and the remaining 17 per cent worked between 21 to 25 days. However, when we look into their migration status, in all the above-mentioned number of worked days categories, labourers from non-migrant households dominated. The village-wise patterns also depict more or less similar patterns to that of the overall picture. However, the following major differences could be seen across the villages. Firstly, a greater number of labourers working between 1 to 20 days was documented in Akkaram, Chityala and Pata Kodangal Workers who worked between 21 to 25 days were reported predominantly in Chityala village. Interestingly, in the category 26 to 35 worked days, most the villages reported by and large similar patterns with regard to the number of workers (Table 6.20). It is noteworthy to mention here that though these workers are full-fledged MGNREGA workers, most of these workers worked just as a replacement in the absence of their main worker. It is also seen that if there

was no adult member who could replace the main MGNREGS worker in a household, it would end up losing work when the main worker was unable to attend work due to some reason or the other. Besides, it is evident that, most of the time, MGNREGS authorities were not allowed to provide employment to an additional adult member of a household. In some cases, a practice prevailed where officials allowed one person from a household and an additional member to work by sharing the number of working days allotted to the main worker. This discriminatory practice in the allocation of workers from a family varied from time to time and household to household. However, one should not forget that even main and regular workers were not provided full hundred days of work in the entire study region. It must be also noted that overall there were just 45 households out of the total 178 MGNREGS beneficiary households that were reported as having more than one member working in the scheme in the study region.

**Table 6.20: Classification of Number of Worked Days of Additional Member of the Household according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

W.days	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand total	
	Typ.worker	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig
1-20 days	9 (45)	11 (55)	6 (60)	4 (40)	1 (33)	2 (67)	16 (48)	17 (52)
21-25 days	2 (50)	2 (50)	1 (14)	6 (86)	0	1 (100)	3 (25)	9 (75)
26-35 days	2 (29)	5 (71)	4 (40)	6 (60)	2 (29)	5 (71)	8 (33)	16 (67)
Total	13 (42)	18 (58)	11 (41)	16 (59)	3 (27)	8 (73)	27 (39)	42 (61)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

Information on the wage rates of MGNREGS workers reveals that majority of the workers received daily wages between Rs. 60 to 70 (60% of the total number of workers). Up to 36 per cent of the workers received wages between Rs. 70 to 90 and a very marginal proportion received wages between Rs. 90 to 100 (4%) on the whole in the study villages. If we look at gender aspect, it can be seen that in all the mentioned wage categories, male workers got higher or better daily wages than their female counterparts. Although, law does not provide for any discrimination between male and female workers as far as minimum wages is concerned, paradoxically, there is a vast wage difference between male and female workers.

Here, wage discrimination was practiced because the implementation agency believes that female workers could be engaged only in light, 'soft' and less burdensome manual work when compared to male workers. Hence they were paid lower wages than their male counterparts. Similar results can be witnessed across the study villages with slight differences in proportions (Table 6.21). However, it is noteworthy to mention that in Pata Kodangal village, there is not a single labourer that received wages between Rs. 90 to Rs. 100, and the same applies to female labour workers in Akkaram village. In this respect, a positive association is noticed between open labour market wage rates and MGNREGS wage rates, where the former influences the latter. In general, the open labour market wage rates vary between Rs. 70 to 80 and sometimes goes up to Rs. 90 or 100. Accordingly, the implementation authority paid MGNREGS wages on par with agriculture wage rates. On the contrary, in Chityala which is located very close to one of the major towns, has witnessed higher wages not only in the agricultural sector but also in non-farm sector, with MGNREGS workers paid more wages. However, the fact that should not be ignored that agricultural wages rose due to MGNREGS wage rates, and this applied particularly to agricultural wages rather than non-farm employment wages in the study villages.

**Table 6.21: Distribution of MGNREGS Workers Wage Rates according to Sex in the Study Villages**

Villages	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Rs. 60-70	25 (60)	17 (40)	18 (69)	8 (31)	25 (66)	13 (34)	68 (64)	38 (36)
Rs. 70-90	14 (67)	7 (33)	17 (74)	6 (26)	12 (60)	8 (40)	43 (67)	21 (33)
Rs. 90-100	2 (100)	0	3 (50)	3 (50)	0	0	5 (62)	3 (38)
Total	41 (63)	24 (37)	38 (69)	17 (31)	37 (64)	21 (36)	116 (65)	62 (35)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

In addition, it is significant to look into the wage rates of MGNREGS workers by their migration status. The study disclosed that, on the whole, regardless migration status, a major segment of workers received wages between Rs. 60-70, Rs. 70-90 and Rs. 90-100. In this respect, at the village level, one could find similar patterns of wage

rates, viz., similar to the overall wage rates. Further, what is most important here is that, in all the three above mentioned wage rates categories, non-migrant households account for a large proportion of the workers, while the share of migrant households is much lower. This implies that though there is no wage discrimination in the Act, it is evident that some workers were paid less wages due to factors such as gender, class or social group or by their migration status. This wide prevalence of wage discrimination could be observed further between migrant and non-migrant worker households (Table 6.22). In principle, wages should be paid based on work done on that particular day. However, there a lot of complications prevail with regard to the measurement of the work done by workers and this could also results in the payment of lower wages. Further, the lack of awareness among MGNREGS workers allowed the implementing authority (local officers/leaders) to manipulate their wage payments. The other factors which contributed to wages discrimination in the region are weak/lack of household resources (economic backwardness), social background, and migration status of a household. Thus, by taking stock of their economic vulnerability and migration status, the implementing officers and local powerful political leaders exploited such households in more than one way. Indeed, this sort of corruption, manipulation and mismanagement stimulated many such poorer households not to take up MGNREGS employment and opt to migrate towards urban cities for work and wage earnings.

**Table 6.22: Distribution of MGNREGS Workers Wage Rates by their Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Wages	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Rs. 60-70	20 (48)	22 (52)	14 (54)	12 (46)	15 (39)	23 (61)	49 (46)	57 (54)
Rs. 70-90	8 (38)	13 (62)	3 (13)	20 (87)	6 (30)	14 (70)	17 (27)	47 (73)
Rs. 90-100	1 (50)	1 (50)	1 (17)	5 (83)	0	0	2 (25)	6 (75)
Total	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

#### **6.4. Impact of MGNREG Scheme on Beneficiary Households**

In this section, the study tries to explore the outcome or impact of MGNREGS on different beneficiary households. This could give us a basic understanding and knowledge about whether the employment scheme brought about any positive changes in the lives of the rural poor. Here, we raise questions as to the outcome of the scheme. What are major outcomes? Does the outcome of the scheme differ across the beneficiary households? What is its overall impact on the village economy, in particular on agriculture and labour markets? In order to get answers to the above questions, this study took opinions and perceptions of different beneficiary households during the survey period. Here, we cover issues such as assets created under the scheme, its benefits, livelihood security, agriculture wages, labour market and the spending patterns of MGNREGS households.

##### **6.4.1. Work Done or Assets Created under the Programme**

The information regarding work done or asset creation under the MGNREGS projects on the whole reveals that 10 per cent of the work done under the scheme was road laying in the villages. Of the work done, up to 8 per cent was farm land levelling on the cultivable land belonging to small and marginal farmers, 7 per cent was road repair, and 4 per cent was well repair. The share of work in jungle cutting, bush cutting, tank repair and well digging on poor farmers' land was 6 per cent each. It is significant to note here that 38 per cent of the beneficiary households did not respond to our question. Further, 4 per cent of them replied they did not know anything about assets creation under the scheme. Furthermore, when we look at the village level it is seen that in Akkaram, tank repair, road lying, canal digging and road repair works constituted a major proportion of the work. In Chityala, jungle cutting and well digging are the major activities executed, while in Pata Kodangal, it was clay work, farm land levelling and well digging that dominated. The work done or assets created under this employment programme are diverse and vary across the villages. This implies that though much work was done and assets created under the

employment programme, the proportion of work done was largely restricted to three to four major activities (Table 6.23).

It is observed that majority of the MGNREGS working households reported that a large of projects were completed. However, it was found that the quality and durability of such work was in fact very poor. This is mainly on account of failure of administration and supervision. In addition, some of them complained that this was partly due to low wages, wage cuts and the non-payment of wages during certain phases of the projects which discouraged workers from performing the job properly. Further, a few workers stated that corruption and the involvement of local political leaders resulted in the manipulation of records and many of the workers getting a fewer working days. In short, though the programme is very important to them, it has witnessed many setbacks, particularly corruption. It is imperative to remove these barriers so that fruits of the employment scheme reach the rural poor and thus sustain in the long run.

**Table 6.23: Proportion of Work done under the MGNREG Scheme according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Asset created	Akkaram	Chityala	Pata Kodangal	Grand Total	%
No Response	25 (37)	20 (29)	23 (34)	68 (100)	38%
Bush Cutting	4 (36)	5 (45)	2 (18)	11 (100)	6%
Canal digging	8 (100)	0	0	8 (100)	5%
Clay work	2 (29)	0	5 (71)	7 (100)	4%
Don't know	0	2 (29)	5 (71)	7 (100)	4%
Farm land level	0	5 (33)	10 (67)	15 (100)	8%
Jungle cutting	0	8 (73)	3 (27)	11 (100)	6%
Road Laying	12 (67)	6 (33)	0	18 (100)	10%
Road repair	7 (54)	2 (15)	4 (31)	13 (100)	7%
Tank repair	7 (70)	1 (10)	2 (20)	10 (100)	6%
Well digging	0	6 (60)	4 (40)	10 (100)	6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>65 (36)</b>	<b>55 (31)</b>	<b>58 (33)</b>	<b>178 (100)</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

When we look at the households that benefited from MGNREGS projects according to migration status, it is seen that, out of total MGNREGS households, 75 per cent expressed that they did not get any benefit, viz., no work was done on their land. On

the contrary, 13 per cent of MGNREGS working households opined that their agricultural land had benefited and that its fertility had improved. Up to 6 per cent reported that their farm land was levelled or evened out (from uneven, rocky, non-arable land). The proportion of work done is very dismal in some of the beneficiary tracts of land such as watershed projects and repairing of well. If we look into the households that benefited from MGNREGS by their migration status, it is seen that in some of the categories, the proportion of migrants outnumbered non-migrants, and vice versa. But the greater benefit went to non-migrant households. Further the same patterns can be seen in all the three villages, although it seems that a majority of the beneficiary households under the scheme was reported in Akkaram village (Table 6.24). This implies that a large number of households did not directly benefit from the scheme. In other words, this also suggests that the poor level of asset creation under the scheme reduced the benefit level of beneficiary households. More importantly, the work done under the scheme by and large lacks quality and sustainability. It is clear that there is a need to expand work done under the scheme in more productive and sustainable ways. Only this would serve the real purpose of the employment programme and also result in additional benefits apart from improving living standards, livelihood security and alleviation of poverty from rural India.

**Table 6.24: Distribution of Households Benefited under MGNREGS Projects by Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Benefits	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Typ. Of. HH								
No	15 (41)	22 (59)	13 (27)	36 (73)	14 (30)	33 (70)	42 (32)	91 (68)
Farm land level	4 (67)	2 (33)	2 (100)	0	3 (100)	0	9 (82)	2 (18)
Own land dev	8 (53)	7 (47)	3 (75)	1 (25)	3 (75)	1 (25)	14 (61)	9 (39)
Road Improved	0	3 (100)	0	0	1 (100)	0	1 (25)	3 (75)
Water shed	2 (50)	2 (50)	0	0	0	0	2 (50)	2 (50)
Well repair	0	0	0	0	0	3 (100)	0	3 (100)
Total	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

Information on livelihood security divulges that 89 per cent of the working households out of the total MGNREGS beneficiaries households reported that the government-sponsored hundred days employment scheme indeed gave them additional livelihood security. Only 10 per cent voiced the opinion that it did not provide them any extra livelihood security. If we look into their migration status, 64 per cent of the non-migrant working households opined that the employment programme did give them additional livelihood security, while the corresponding proportion is 36 per cent for migrant households. In contrast, an equal proportion of migrant and non-migrant households (50% each) expressed that they did not get any additional security. When we examine this across the villages, one could find similar patterns similar to the overall results. However, households that said that the employment did not give them any livelihood security were predominantly in Akkaram village (Table 6.25). This means that of the three villages, Akkaram seems more helpless and disadvantaged in terms of livelihood security and this could come from meagre participation in the government sponsored employment programme. It is observed that, despite multiple problems, most of the beneficiary households could obtain an additional assurance of livelihood security. This in fact helped them to overcome the shortage of food grain for at least two or three months during the post-harvest summer season. This has happened on account of the increase in their purchasing power which allowed them to spend their earned wage income not only on food but also on non-food durable goods. Nevertheless, this type of benefit (purchasing power) is restricted to only few households. In short, in spite of multiple problems associated in the programme, a majority of the beneficiary households still benefited. It gave them solace and employment assurance in particular during times of distress in the village economy.



**Table 6.25: Views of MGNREGS Households on Livelihood Security according to Migration Status in the Study Villages (in proportions)**

L.security Typ. HH	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
No resp	1 (100)	0	0	0	0	0	1 (100)	0
Yes	19 (40)	29 (60)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (37)	35 (63)	58 (36)	101 (64)
No	9 (56)	7 (44)	0	0	0	2 (100)	9 (50)	9 (50)
Total	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

On the other side, the information on effect of the MGNREGS on agricultural wages reveals that 60 per cent of the beneficiary households stated that, since inception of the employment scheme, agricultural wage rates in the study villages had gone up from Rs 50 to Rs. 100 which means they had almost doubled. Up to 35 per cent of the households reported an increment of Rs. 40 as agricultural wages, and a marginal number of households expressed that wage rates in the village had gone up to a maximum of Rs. 100, with an additional increase of Rs. 30. However, when we look at the pattern of wage hike or augmentation between migrants and non-migrants, it is found that non-migrant households were more concerned about wage hikes than their migrant counterparts. Moreover, the same pattern is observed for all the wage categories above mentioned. On the other hand, when we examine the pattern according to village, one finds nearly similar wage hikes or rise in all the three villages with differences in their proportions (Table 6.26). What is noteworthy here is that wage hike or rise took place as a result of MGNREGS and only after its inception. This attracted many labourers and small and marginal farmers to opt for working in the government-sponsored employment programme. This subsequently led to increase in agricultural wages to a greater extent in the study region. Similarly, it has also influenced the wage rates of rural non-farm daily wages. However, it is noticed that during the agricultural season, in open agricultural labour market, the wages paid were indeed not equivalent to MGNREGS wage rates due to excessive labour supply and non-availability of MGNREGA works. In this period, wage payments would be vary between Rs. 70 to Rs. 80 and in very rare cases, it may go up, depending on season/time and labour availability.

**Table 6.26: Proportion of Agricultural Wage Rate Rise due to MGNREGS according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Wage increase	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Rs. 30	0	0	0	1 (100)	2 (33)	4 (67)	2 (29)	5 (71)
Rs. 40	6 (35)	11 (65)	7 (33)	14 (67)	11 (44)	14 (56)	24 (38)	39 (62)
Rs. 50	23 (48)	25 (52)	11 (34)	21 (66)	8 (30)	19 (70)	42 (39)	65 (61)
Rs. 60	0	0	0	1 (100)	0	0	0	1 (100)
Total	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

In this respect, it is worthy to examine the view of the beneficiary households on wage affordability, keeping in mind the MGNREGS wages in the study villages. Overall, 37 per cent of MGNREGS households stated that agriculture wage rates and wages in open labour market in the region are in fact unaffordable or too high while 63 per cent of them expressed that the wage rates (current rates) are affordable or reasonable to them. If we look at this by migration status, in both categories of opinions, the proportion of non-migrant households outnumbered migrant households. When we look across the village, one can find very similar patterns of opinions expressed by beneficiary households (Table 6.27). Strikingly, in Akkaram village, the proportion of households that expressed wages are unaffordable is quite high in the migrant category. The general perception among a moderate number of MGNREGS working households, both migrant and non-migrant, is that given the price rise of agricultural produce and higher wages in MGNREGS, it is reasonable for them to pay higher wages rates. In other words, since they also get wages on par with MGNREGS wages, there is no problem in paying the same wage rates when they hire labourers for their own agricultural purposes. It is apparent that MGNREGS wage rate compelled rise in wage rates of open labour market in the study region. However, certain small and marginal farmers are unable to pay such 'high' wages when they hire labourers for their own cultivation purposes.

**Table 6.27: Views of MGNREGS Households on Wage Affordability according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Wg. unaffordable	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Typ. HH								
Yes	23 (41)	33 (59)	15 (47)	17 (53)	9 (36)	16 (64)	47 (42)	66 (58)
No	6 (67)	3 (33)	3 (13)	20 (87)	12 (36)	21 (64)	21 (32)	44 (68)
Total	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

Given this state of affairs, it is pertinent to check opinion of beneficiary households on wage bargain by MGNREGS workers. On the whole, 95 per cent of working households stated that the MGNREGS wage rates made it possible for them to bargain for higher wage rates when they entered the open agricultural labour market. This worked more during the peak agricultural season and the periods of MGNREGS work. However, we can also find a marginal number of households which stated that they did not bargain when they took up work in other farmers' fields and accepted the wage rates generally prevailing in the village. However, in both categories of opinions, the proportion of non-migrant households outsized that of migrant households. Further, parallel results can be seen in each of the study village (Table 6.28). This implies that since they had earned higher wages when they worked in the scheme, they continue to expect similar wage rates even in open labour market. However, it is also observed that there are instances where workers used to compromise and settle for lower wages, too but only for short periods. If this situation continued for a longer period, then they preferred to move out towards urban destinations. In fact, this holds more in the case of landless labourers and small and marginal farmers. In other words, since all the three villages predominantly consist of SC, ST and OBC communities, the economic condition of such households is more significant than their social background.

**Table 6.28: Views of MGNREGS Households on Labour Bargain by their Migration Status in the Study Villages**

L. Bargain	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Typ. HH	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig
Yes	28 (44)	35 (56)	18 (34)	35 (66)	19 (35)	35 (65)	65 (38)	105 (62)
No	1 (50)	1 (50)	0	2 (100)	2 (50)	2 (50)	3 (37)	5 (63)
Total	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

Information on the opinion on labour scarcity owing to MGNREGS as expressed by beneficiary households reveals on the whole that 72 per cent of the working households reported that even after introducing the scheme there was no problem pertaining to labour scarcity. In contrast, 28 per cent stated that they had observed cases where some farmers faced problems in getting labour during the peak period. Here, non-migrant households are outnumbered migrant households. Further, all the three study villages witnessed by and large similar patterns with respect to labour scarcity (Table 6.29). In this regard, the present study observed that farmers who grow crops in the Rabi season (second season) and are engaged in non-farm work frequently face labour scarcity. It is to be noted that MGNREGS work was not provided regularly and that there was a hiatus between phases of works. Consequently, the work would sometimes continue up to the beginning of the agricultural season when farmers started preparing their land for cultivation. At this juncture, the farmers required labour for working in their fields. Thus, simultaneous prevalence of MGNREGS works sometimes led to labour scarcity in the study villages.

**Table 6.29: Views of MGNREGS Households on Labour Scarcity by their Migration Status in the Study Villages**

L. scarcity	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Typ. HH	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig
Yes	11 (48)	12 (52)	5 (44)	6 (55)	5 (33)	10 (67)	21 (43)	28 (57)
No	18 (43)	24 (57)	13 (29)	31 (71)	16 (37)	27 (63)	47 (36)	82 (64)
Total	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

In order to understand or assess the impact of the MGNREGS on beneficiary households, it is imperative to examine the patterns of income spending that resulted from the wages earned by working in the scheme. On the whole, 46 per cent of the beneficiary households spent the income earned from MGNREGS on daily food consumption, 23 per cent invested in the agricultural sector, 11 per cent for health purposes, 10 per cent for repayment of their old debts and 7 per cent spent it on their children's education. However, what is most striking here is that the proportion of non-migrant job card holders was greater than migrant job card holders. Additionally, within the migrant households, a higher number of MGNREGS working households predominantly spent their income on daily food consumption while other categories spent less for this. Non-migrant job card households spent mostly on their family health needs, education, agriculture and finally, repayment of debts (Table 6.30).

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The pattern of income spending between migrants and non-migrants discloses that non-migrant households spent their income on productive purposes and food, while migrants spent mostly on daily food consumption. This implies that the non-migrant household's earnings supplemented their total household income while it is quite reverse in the case of migrant households. The migrants spent on unproductive purposes due to the paucity or lack of economic resources. On the other hand, when we look at village level, patterns are almost similar to the overall pattern of MGNREGS income spending. Nonetheless, MGNREGS workers from Pata Kodungal largely invested in agricultural activities, while in the other two villages, it was predominantly on daily food consumption. This implies that income spending patterns of MGNREGS beneficiaries varies across the households, and for that matter, across the villages. This pattern depends on the kind of resources they possess and have access to. In fact, it is noticed that in the study region, households with better access to economic resources, particularly land, and access to irrigation and livestock spent their earnings more productively than those with poor and weak economic resources.

**Table 6.30: Classification of Income Spending Patterns of MGNREGS Workers according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

NREGA income spent	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Consumption	21 (49)	22 (51)	12 (48)	13 (52)	4 (29)	10 (71)	37 (45)	45 (55)
Education	0	0	2 (22)	7 (78)	1 (33)	2 (67)	3 (25)	9 (75)
Health	2 (33)	4 (67)	2 (22)	7 (78)	0	4 (100)	4 (21)	15 (79)
Agri-invest	3 (23)	10 (77)	2 (17)	10 (83)	8 (50)	8 (50)	13 (32)	28 (68)
Repay debts	2 (100)	0	0	0	4 (27)	11 (73)	6 (35)	11 (65)
Others	1 (100)	0	0	0	4 (67)	2 (33)	5 (71)	2 (29)
Total	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

### 6.5. Problems Involved in the MGNREG Scheme

In this section, the study tries to present problems related to the implementation of the employment programme on the one hand, and problems faced by MGNREGS workers at different work sites on the other. This examination is vital in determining the way the programme is implemented, its effectiveness and the safeguards taken for workers under the programme. In this respect, we probe as to whether the scheme is properly implemented or not and the problems involved in the scheme. Subsequently, we enquire as to whether the MGNREGS workers faced any problems at the work sites and if any safeguards are provided at the sites.

Information on the problems associated with the implementation of the programme reveals on the whole that 18 per cent of the working households reported manipulation in number of working days and 17 per cent complained about the cutting down of the number of working days. Subsequently, 15 per cent said that they did not get wages for certain phases of work (for up to one week), 14 per cent of them complained about lower wage payments than the usual Rs. 100 per day, 10 per cent saw a lot of corruption in programme implementation and 7 per cent found faults in account and record maintenance (Table 6.31). Besides, in all the categories, the proportion of reported problems is greater in the case of the non-migrants than the migrant beneficiary households. Further, most of the beneficiaries stated that there was corruption in almost in all aspects of the employment programme in the

villages. If we look at the issue village-wise, it is found that the pattern of results is similar with only slight differences in their proportions. However, this is not same in all the categories. For instance, in Pata Kodangal, there were no complaints about the lower number of work days and the ineffectiveness of the programme. Likewise, no problems relating to account manipulation, supervision and quality of work done was reported in Akkaram village. Contrary to this, in Akkaram and Chityala, the workers faced more problems related to the manipulation of the number of worked days and provision of a lower number of working days (Pata Kodangal also witnessed the same issues). This implies that, by and large, most of the beneficiary households faced problems one or other way.

In this respect it is worth mentioning that owing to these manifold problems, most of the MGNREGS workers pointed out two noticeable facts: firstly, a lower number of working days and low wages (less than statutory wage rate Rs. 100) are very common issues; second, if these problems are not either resolved or minimised and continue to exist, then the benefit of the programme will not reach the poor working households. Solving these issues would make the scheme more sustainable later and ensure the livelihood security of the masses of rural poor. The importance and positive implication on such households therefore underlines the importance of improving an employment programme like the MGNREGS and implementing it transparently and in the right spirit.

**Table 6.31: Classification of Problems Voiced by MGNREGS Households according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Problems	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Corruption	1 (50)	1 (50)	1 (33)	2 (67)	2 (14)	12 (86)	4 (21)	15 (79)
Ineffective	0	0	4 (50)	4 (50)	0	0	4 (50)	4 (50)
Less work days	8 (53)	7 (47)	3 (20)	12 (80)	0	0	11 (37)	19 (63)
Account Manip	0	0	1 (14)	6 (86)	2 (33)	4 (67)	3 (23)	10 (77)
Manip-work days	8 (42)	11 (58)	0	2 (100)	6 (55)	5 (45)	14 (44)	18 (56)
No supervision	0	0	0	0	1 (20)	4 (80)	1 (20)	4 (80)
Paid less wages	8 (50)	8 (50)	3 (75)	1 (25)	0	5 (100)	11 (44)	14 (56)
Politics in wages	1 (17)	5 (83)	2 (100)	0	1 (20)	4 (80)	4 (31)	9 (69)
Wages not paid	3 (43)	4 (57)	4 (29)	10 (71)	5 (83)	1 (17)	12 (44)	15 (56)
No quality work	0	0	0	0	4 (67)	2 (33)	4 (67)	2 (33)
Total	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)

Source: Same as for Table 6.1. Note: (i) Percentages calculated only for MGNREGS households, (ii) Manip - Manipulation.

As for the problems faced by workers at the work site, it is seen that 34 per cent of the households suffered from lack of shelter. Up to 21 per cent complained about long working hours, 15 per cent about heavy duties, 13 per cent about lack of rest between works, and 7 per cent about verbal abuse (verbal scolding faced by both men and women). The remaining 10 per cent said they had to put up with some of the above-mentioned problems. In all above-mentioned categories of problems, MGNREGS workers who belonged to non-migrant households constituted a far greater proportion than their migrant counterparts. Nevertheless, in some of the category of problems, migrants constituted a greater proportion. Further, when we look at the migrant category, a large section of the MGNREGS workers complained about the lack of shelter and most of these issues, while the non-migrants mostly complained about heavy work and lack of rest. Very similar patterns are seen in all the three study villages (Table 6.32). However, it should be noted that, for MGNREGS works executed every year before summer season began, the workers had to work under the scorching sun, and so most of them complained about experiencing more problems than usual during this time. It is evident that proper shelter, drinking water and rest should be given particularly during the summer



periods. Ironically, when asked informally about medical aid/kits at the work site for use in an emergency, almost all the workers reported that there were no such facilities. This suggests that the workers in the study regions face many work-related problems, and hence there is the need to provide them with basic facilities, especially for work carried out during the summer time.

**Table 6.32: Classification of Problems Faced by MGNREGS Workers at Work Site according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Work problem	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand Total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Long hour	4 (36)	7 (64)	3 (27)	8 (73)	7 (47)	8 (53)	14 (38)	23 (62)
Heavy duty	4 (31)	9 (69)	2 (25)	6 (75)	2 (33)	4 (67)	8 (30)	19 (70)
Lack of rest	3 (30)	7 (70)	2 (22)	7 (78)	1 (20)	4 (80)	6 (25)	18 (75)
Verbal abuse	2 (67)	1 (33)	1 (20)	4 (80)	1 (25)	3 (75)	4 (33)	8 (67)
No shelter	11 (52)	10 (48)	7 (41)	10 (59)	8 (36)	14 (64)	26 (43)	34 (57)
Some of them	5 (71)	2 (29)	3 (60)	2 (40)	2 (33)	4 (67)	10 (56)	8 (44)
Total	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

## 6.6. Perceptions of the MGNREGS Workers on the Scheme

This section attempts to discuss the perceptions of MGNREGS beneficiary households on the diverse aspects of the employment programme. It looks at their views by taking into account aspects such as changes that the scheme needs, its continuation, and extension of job cards. It considers questions such as whether they stopped migrating due to the scheme and whether they were planning to migrate again after the completion of work during the study year. In fact, this examination would provide an additional idea and understanding about whether the programme achieved its basic goal/targets in assuring employment, raising living standards, providing livelihood security and lifting the rural poor out of the generational poverty cycle by giving them hundred days guaranteed employment. On the other hand, it also seeks to expose the impact of MGNREGS on migration by different beneficiary households.

The information on possible changes that the scheme needs reveals that on the whole, 66 per cent of MGNREGS working households stated that the present form of the scheme requires some changes to improve its implementation and performance. On the contrary, 33 per cent felt that there is no need to bring any new or additional changes in the programme. It is found that the proportion of non-migrant households were predominant in both categories of views. However, the variation in the proportions between these two types of households is far wider. Nonetheless, it was mostly the migrant households that opined that the programme needs changes while non-migrants held the opposite view. Similar results are seen in all the three study villages. Interestingly, in Pata Kodangal, the extent of non-migrant households that believed that the employment programme needs no changes is lower than in other two villages (Table 6.33). In short, the study observed that majority of the non-migrants households were better off in terms of resources than the migrant households, and hence prefer to work in the scheme and settle with MGNREGS earnings rather than migrating out for work or earnings. And such, these households did not complain much about the scheme.

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**Table 6.33: Classification of MGNREGS Workers Views on Changes Required in the Scheme according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Changes in NREGA	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
No response	1 (100)	0	0	1 (100)	0	0	1 (50)	1 (50)
Yes	21 (46)	25 (54)	13 (36)	23 (64)	12 (33)	24 (67)	46 (39)	72 (61)
No	7 (39)	11 (61)	5 (28)	13 (72)	9 (41)	13 (59)	21 (36)	37 (64)
Total	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

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The information with regard to the continuation of the employment programme reveals interestingly that all the beneficiary households expressed that the hundred days employment scheme should continue in future also. It implies that since it is the only source of work/employment and wage income in the village, particularly during the post-harvest agriculture season, they obviously needed this scheme to continue their existence in the villages. Similar results can be observed in each of the

study villages as well as between migrant and non-migrant beneficiary households (Table 6.34). Further, the results suggest that landless poor and small and marginal farmers are more need of such work during periods of unemployment in the village. This also shows how important the employment programme is for them. It should be noted that in the study region, agriculture is predominantly rain fed and dry in nature with dismal irrigation facilities. This rain-fed cultivation is also single season-cultivation (khariff season), that is, with a one season-one year cropping pattern. Most of the agricultural activities come to an end in the months of December or January. The workers then face a severe employment crisis and thus require work not only to earn an income but also for survival, viz., for daily food consumption. In this respect, MGNREGS comes as a great relief to them.

**Table 6.34: Classification of MGNREGS Households Views on Continuation of the Scheme by their Migration Status in the Study Villages**

NREGA continue	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Yes	29 (44)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)
Total	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

However, when we asked about extension job cards to other left out non-job card family members and households, it was found that 85 per cent of the MGNREGS beneficiary households stated that job cards could be given or extended to those who did not get them. Following this, 15 per cent opposed the idea of extension to left-out households and felt that since most of the deserving poor families are working in the scheme, there is no need for extension of job cards to other better-off land owning households. Non-migrant households outnumbered migrant households in this view, which means that compared to migrant households, a large proportion of non-migrants opposed the idea of job card extension. If we look at the village level, in Akkaram, there was not a single household that opposed extension of job cards. In Chityala, migrants did not oppose it, but non-migrant households said no to additional job card distribution (extension), though in Pata Kodangal, the opposition of non-migrant households to this was greater than that of their migrant

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counterparts (Table 6.35). This implies that migrant households are more in favour of extension of job cards, although it varies across the village. The reason behind their opinion is complicated and mostly comes from economic, social and personal calculations of the respondent households in the villages.

**Table 6.35: Classification of MGNREGS Households Views on Extension of Job Cards by their Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Extension of job cards	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Yes	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (41)	26 (59)	15 (35)	28 (65)	62 (41)	90 (59)
No	0	0	0	11 (100)	6 (40)	9 (60)	6 (23)	20 (77)
Total	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)

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Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

The information on whether MGNREGA beneficiary households stopped migration because of the hundred days employment programme when the scheme is in progress in the village reveals that, overall, 66 per cent said they stopped migrating out to other regions on account of MGNREGA employment/work. The remaining 34 per cent stated that they did not stop migration even after working in the scheme on the whole. If we look into these aspects by migration status, 62 per cent of the households said they could stop migrating out due to the present employment scheme, while the corresponding proportion was 38 per cent for migrant households. However, when we look among migrant categories, 66 per cent said they stopped migration due to the availability of work in the village, while the remaining 34 per cent still continued to move out of the village to other regions for employment-related reasons. Interestingly, the case is the same with non-migrant households. Except for Akkaram village, a very similar pattern can be seen in the two villages, with slight differences in proportion (Table 6.36). It should be noted that in Akkaram, the proportion of households in both categories is much greater than in the other two villages. On the one hand, this study observed that there is moderate number of households which reported that one or more members of their family migrated when the MGNREGS work was in progress. In their absence, the older member of the family worked in the scheme. Besides, there are households

that did not participate in the hundred days employment programme and migrated to other regions. These migrant households completely depended on migration earnings rather than the scheme during the surveyed year. Ironically, it was noted that some of the migrant households from Pata Kodangal who possessed job cards were selling their cards to others and preferring to migrate to Mumbai city for better employment and higher wage earnings. However, during non-MGNREGS period, labour out-migration flow usually took place without any drop in the intensity.

**Table 6.36: Classification of MGNREGS Households Views on Discontinued Migration due to Scheme according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Stop migration	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Yes	21 (46)	25 (54)	13 (32)	28 (68)	11 (35)	20 (65)	45 (38)	73 (62)
No	8 (42)	11 (58)	5 (36)	9 (64)	10 (37)	17 (63)	23 (38)	37 (62)
Total	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

In addition, we look at information on the plan of migration after the MGNREGS works came to an end in the villages. Up to 39 per cent of beneficiary households said they planned to migrate out again once after the hundred days employment come to an end. The rest (61%) stated that they would not migrate even after MGNREGS work came to an end. If we look at those who said they would migrate, migrant households were more in number than non-migrant households. Non-migrant households outnumbered migrant households in the category of not planning to move out. However, within the migrant category, the majority informed that they would migrate once the work was over or if they do not get regular work under the programme. In the case of non-migrants, it is observed that the majority of them were not interested in moving out of the village (Table 6.37). It is observed that the monsoon agriculture season starts soon after the MGNREGS work, and as a result, the proportion of non-migrant households in the villages is greater than migrant households. It was also noticed during the survey period that households with both weak and inadequate resources and past experience of migration were more inclined to move out. In contrast, households with no past experience and poor

social network are less likely to migrate out of the village. The intention of migration depends on diverse factors such as the presence of able-bodied family members, land holding, availability of work in agriculture sector and in the MGNREGA scheme and many other factors.

**Table 6.37: Classification of MGNREGS Households Views on Intent of Migrating after end of the MGNREGS Works according to Migration Status in the Study Villages**

Plan to migrate	Akkaram		Chityala		Pata Kodangal		Grand total	
	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig	Mig	Non-mig
Yes	24 (63)	14 (37)	9 (43)	12 (57)	3 (27)	8 (73)	36 (51)	34 (49)
No	5 (19)	22 (81)	9 (26)	25 (74)	18 (38)	29 (62)	32 (30)	76 (70)
Total	29 (45)	36 (55)	18 (33)	37 (67)	21 (36)	37 (64)	68 (38)	110 (62)

Source & Note: Same as for Table 6.1.

## 6.7. Logistic Regression

In determining the migration status of a household, factors like MGNREGA status, caste, land ownership, occupation etc. could play a vital role. For instance, a household with an advantage in above-mentioned factors may be less likely to prefer to migrate and vice versa. Also, households from lower socio-economic background may take up migration for survival or in order to find employment. Here, the study has applied an appropriate model namely binary logistic regression. The model constructed by taking some of the vital characteristics of households such as MGNREGA status, caste, land ownership and occupation with regard to migration. This in fact would provide not only the association between such characteristics and migration but also presents the likelihood of migration of a household.

### 6.7.1. Hypothesis

It is widely argued in migration literature that landless poor, SC, STs, artisan and non-MGNREGA households are most likely to migrate to urban and semi-urban areas for employment (de Haan, 2006; Smita, 2007; Deshingkar, 2009). On the other hand, households with own cultivable land, from upper social stratum and

MGNREGA job card may not or less likely to migrate while their economic and employment opportunities are placed in better position (Rani, et al., 2003; Sharma et al., 2003). In this context, this study presumes that households with own land, MGNREGA job cards, non-SC and STs and cultivating households may not resort to migration in search of employment and/or daily wage earnings in other areas and vice versa. The potential explanatory variables for being a migrant household are explained as below. If a household lacks own land, MGNREGA job cards and belongs to non-farm agriculture and SC and ST households are expected to migrate more than usual.

### 6.7.2. Results of Logistic Model

Like mentioned above household's decision to migrate to other regions is influenced by number of factors such as MGNREGA status, caste, land ownership and occupation of a household. These factors play a major role in the rural poor's decision to migrate therefore the study has considered them as independent variables while migration is taken as a dependent variable to carry out a logistic regression analysis. Here, MGNREGA status of a household reflects (N), caste (C) indicates their social background, and land ownership (L) represents own land holdings and occupation (O) reflects their main economic activity in the village.

$$P_i = E(M = 1 | N, C, L, O) = \beta_1 + \beta_2 N_i + \beta_3 C_i + \beta_4 L_i + \beta_5 O_i$$

Where M denotes migration status of a household

N is the MGNREGA status of a household

C is the caste

L is the land ownership and,

O is the occupation of a household. Note here that these variables refer households rather than individuals.

The estimated logistic regression model reveals a significant association between caste and migration. Similarly it is found a significant relationship between land

ownership and migration. This further explains that if a household who belongs to SC and ST communities are more inclined to migrate than non-SC and ST households. Likewise, a household with land ownership is significantly affected by migration than their landless counterparts. On the contrary, there is an insignificant association between MGNREGA household and migration. In the same way, it is observed an insignificant association between occupation and migration. The former suggests that if a household works in MGNREGA scheme then such households are less affected by migration than their non-MGNREGA counterparts. The later suggests that the farming households are insignificantly affected by migration than landless households. The likelihood odd ratio reveals that a household with MGNREGA job card is 1.20 times more likely to migrate-out than that of non-MGNREGA households. Following SC and ST households are 5.11 times more inclined to migrate than non-SC and ST communities. Similarly, cultivating households are 1.19 times more intend to move-out of the village than their non-cultivating households. On the contrary, it is observed that land owned households are less likely to migrate than landless households (Table 6.38). It should be noted that the base unit value here is 1, and above 1 unit value indicates more likelihood of being a migrant household and less than 1 show less likelihood of being a migrant household.

**Table 6.38: Logistic Regression of Migration Status of Households on Selected Characteristics**

Characteristics	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	P>z
NREGA Status	1.202803	-4414069	0.615
Caste	5.119615	1.974077	0.000
Land Ownership	-1229693	-0542979	0.000
Occupation	1.199783	-9851055	0.824
LR chi2 (4) = 48.23			
Prob > chi2 = 0.0000			
Log likelihood = -131.27141		Pseudo R2 = 0.1552	

Source: Same as for Table 6.1. Note: Base value is 1, < 1 & > 1 reflects best and worse values.

### 6.7.3. Re-Examination of MGNREG Scheme after the Main Survey

The current study revisited the study villages in May, 2011, eighteen months after the main survey in order to assess the changes in MGNREGA programme. The



purpose of the revisit was to assess the prevailing condition of the programme, which in turn, is completely based on qualitative information obtained from various stakeholders such as MGNREGA and the migrant households. The information was obtained through interviews, informal conversations and focused group discussions with the villagers. It was noticed that till 4<sup>th</sup> of May, 2011, work had not started in all the three villages owing to various technical problems and changes in the programme. However, many respondents stated that there was no information or prior notice either on commencement of the work or why the scheme had not been executed so far. The majority were, in fact, unaware of nitty-gritty of the scheme and the changes made in it. As a result, there was a widespread confusion among the beneficiaries. The major revelations of the qualitative survey are given below.

The major changes that took place during the last one and half years are: the Shrama Shakti Sangham (SSS) was introduced, as a result of which there was delay in execution of the work during the year. Wages were revised and were now around Rs. 125 per day. The delay in the execution of work resulted in increase in out-migration. This implies that if there is delay of MGNREGA works or no work in the village, then people start to migrate early to other regions for employment and vice versa. Additionally, sudden shocks affected some poor families which augmented out-migration along with delay of MGNREGA works. In this context, it is imperative to mention the newly introduced SSS group in which workers were divided and formed into groups, with each group consisting of 20 MGNREGA workers. The problem lies in the allocation of work sites or projects to SC and ST farmers. Some of the farmers were not ready to take up such projects on account of family and other problems. Hence, it became difficult to implement the work which ultimately affected the employment of the beneficiaries. Besides, work has not taken place in the villages due to the thin presence of the group members.

On the other hand, it is imperative to note that there was a social audit in Chityala village which was conducted just two days before the present study's visit. The social audit was carried out in front of the gram sabha by officers from other districts

and some civil society members. The major findings of the social audit are that there was a certain extent of mismanagement, fake wage bills and manipulation in the number of working days. There was no proper documentation of number of working days and wage payment details. Besides, most of the beneficiaries complained before the social audit team that they did not get either full hundred days of work or full wages. A few complained that they did not get wages for certain phases of the work. It was also found that the 100 days of work were actually divided between family members. Although these observations were made in Chityala, the situation is not very much different in other two villages which face similar sort of problems.

On the other hand, the allocation of work sites was done by block level officers without consulting the farmer and field officer. There is lack of co-ordination between the various levels of implementation agencies. The other complaints were that a large number of beneficiary households are in fact not working in the scheme on account of lower wage rates and uncertainty in the number of working days. It was evident that people expected higher wage earnings which were virtually not happening. Thus, some households resorted to migrating-out. In short, people want to improve and raise their income, living standard and social status and did not want to remain poor. Unless these issues are addressed, nothing is going to change in the lives of the rural poor and the scheme might not sustain in the long run. //

#### **6.8. Summary and Conclusions**

The present chapter focused on the outcomes and impact of the MGNREGS in three of the study villages in Mahabubnagar district of Andhra Pradesh. It mainly dealt with MGNREGS households and the various aspects that affect them. A characteristic comparison was made between MGNREGS beneficiary and non-beneficiary households, and furthered with reference to their migration status. This examination provided a kind of brief assessment and thoughts about the impact of the MGNREG Scheme on beneficiary households in particular, and on the village

economy in general. In this perspective, the broad findings of the study can be summed up as follows.

Overall, it was found that all the MGNREGS job card households are either BPL or Anthyodaya Anna Yojana ration card holders, and that the majority hails from STs and OBC communities. Most of them live in pucca houses, with beneficiary households outnumbering their non-beneficiary counterparts. Further, most of the household heads are illiterate, more so in the case of MGNREGS households. In fact, it is found that there is no occupational diversification and most of the households depend largely on either cultivation or manual daily wage labour for employment, earnings and livelihood purposes. A large proportion of the households seem to possess their own arable land and are more inclined to work in government-sponsored employment programmes. Besides, most of the non-MGNREGS households have more access to irrigation than MGNREGS households. On the other hand, village-wise results reveal a large number of job card holders in Akkaram, followed by Pata Kodangal and Chityala. The majority of the non-MGNREGS households are located in Chityala followed by Pata Kodangal and Akkaram. Significantly, it is found that a moderate proportion of MGNREGA households reported migration (38%) wherein STs and OBCs were dominant groups. Moreover, most of them are illiterates followed by those with primary, lower secondary and secondary education. Most of the beneficiary households are cultivators who predominantly belong to non-migrant households. In the case of land ownership and access to irrigation, non-migrant MGNREGS households are better placed than their migrant counterpart. Further, the median age of most of the migrant beneficiary workers is greater than that of the non-MGNREGS workers and non-migrant MGNREGS workers. In addition, a greater proportion of the households have only single working member. Up to 247 persons participated in the programme during the study year, and the number of male workers outnumbered the female workers, with most of workers being non-migrants.

In spite of gender, most of the workers worked for a minimum of 30 days to 60 days, followed by 61 days to 70 worked days. Male workers worked for a greater number of days than female workers. The highest average number of worked days was reported in Chityala both for male and female workers, followed by Pata Kodangal and Akkaram villages. Overall, a large number of workers received wages between Rs. 60 to 70, with males getting more wages than females, and there was no difference in this aspect between migrant and non-migrants. Further, most of the workers opined that the roads laid under the scheme were useful to the village and farm land levelling and preservation works in the small and marginal farmers increased fertility. Few personal benefits are obtained by MGNREGS workers from the projects. Besides, a major part of the beneficiary households opined that the hundred days employment programme has in fact improved their livelihood security. This is same for both migrant and non-migrant households. They also said that agricultural wages were raised drastically yet they have informed that wages are still affordable to them.

The predominant beneficiaries of the scheme were able to bargain for wages in the open agricultural labour market in their villages. Further, there was no problem of labour scarcity even after commencement of the scheme. On the other hand, the majority spent their earnings on daily food consumption, investment in agriculture, health, repayment of old debts and their children's education. The major problems they complained about in the scheme were manipulation in working days, low working days, non payment of wages, payment of low wages and corruption. In addition, most of the workers faced lack of shelter at the work site, long working hours, heavy duties and lack of rest. Conversely, they stated that there should be changes in the scheme in order to make it more transparent, effective and outcome-oriented. Further, all the beneficiary households felt that the employment scheme and job cards should be extended to non-MGNREGS households too. Although a moderate number of beneficiaries migrated, it is mostly the non-migrants that dominate. In contrast, most of them expressed they are planning to move out once

the hundred days' work/employment come to an end, herein migrants were predominant than that of non-migrants.

In a nutshell, the MGNREGS resulted in generating mixed outcomes in the study villages. The employment scheme has influenced and brought about changes in the beneficiaries' lives as well as in the rural economy as a whole. However, there are serious apprehensions that these outcomes and positive impact/changes are partial, limited and cannot be sustained in the long run owing to various implementation issues, administrative lapses and corruption in the scheme. In order to make the scheme more transparent, beneficial, effective, outcome-oriented and sustainable, the focus should be on proper implementation and performance enhancement. This may be possible only when corruption and all sorts of manipulation in the scheme is brought down. Only then would the real benefits and fruits of the scheme reach the needy rural poor. This in turn would improve the living standards of the rural poor and assure their livelihood security and enhance their economic status. This, in fact, could empower the rural poor, particularly women, and boost the rural economy as a whole. Thus development activities in rural areas through the MGNREGS could continue and in the long run, the sustenance of the scheme could change the face of rural India.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Human mobility from economically unfavoured regions/locations to more favoured areas is a common occurrence in human history. Some people migrate-out to settle down and others, for employment and to earn a livelihood. In the former instance, the future economic implications of migration would be confined to only the destination place, while in the latter case, the consequences would prevail in both the place of origin and the destination on account of frequent movement of the migrants between the regions. The migrant's duration of stay decides whether the nature of migration is a permanent or temporary. More importantly, temporary migration is closely related to employment purposes where people stay for short periods at the destinations and return to their place of origin. In recent times, labour migration in the country has spiralled as never before. The escalating labour exodus, of which seasonal labour migration forms a large part, is in fact the result of frequent distress in the agricultural sector. On the other hand, greater employment and earning opportunities in the urban centers have urged colossal sections of the rural labour force to move towards urban areas. In other words, stagnant and uncertain agriculture growth in the rural areas and the rapid growth of development activities in the urban sector have changed the labour supply and demand equations. Seasonal labour migration constitutes a major part of temporary migration and it is on a growth path. Further, it is primarily concomitant to agriculture and its allied activities. This sort of migration takes place mostly during the lean agricultural period and it is predominantly the agriculture labourers and small and marginal farmers that migrate. In such seasonal movements, both out-migration and return-migration is concurrently associated with the agricultural season of either the place of origin or destination.

However, over time, migration process, magnitude, patterns and their characteristics have changed gradually. The commencement of globalisation and liberalisation has further augmented the labour migration flow in the country. This has brought alterations in labour market compositions not only just in the urban areas but also in the rural areas. In addition, the mode of migration, nature of employment, wage rates, nature of destinations, earning patterns, remittances, and working and living conditions are changing as a response to changes in economy. Further, seasonal labour migration is inadequately captured at an aggregate level and thus less explored at the macro level. However, it was studied at the micro level at different point of time and in different parts of the country which are in fact region-specific rather than aggregate. In this changing scenario, the present thesis set the objective to examine the magnitude of seasonal labour migration at the aggregate level for all-India from recent NSS round surveys. Through a field survey, it tried to examine the determinants, magnitude, characteristics and patterns of seasonal labour migration. Further, it attempted to find the linkages between household resources, rural markets and seasonal labour migration. Finally, it aimed to observe the impact of the MGNREGA scheme on seasonal labour migration. These objectives are critical, relevant and vital particularly in the case of Mahabubnagar which is one of the most backward districts of Andhra Pradesh and one of the major labour supplier districts in the country.

### **7.1. Major Findings**

The second chapter revealed that the overall rate of seasonal short-term migration in rural India is just below two per cent and less than one per cent for the urban areas. In both the rural and urban areas, male migrants outnumbered their female counterparts. Most of them are from low MPCE groups, and migration drops as their MPCE class soars. Added to that, the majority are casual labourers and self-employed workers. In fact, casual workers from rural areas are mostly female, while male workers outnumbered them in the urban areas. Besides, up to 90 per cent of the total employed working class was found in the rural areas whereas the

corresponding proportion was eighty per cent in urban areas. There were more unemployed in the urban areas than in the rural areas. Most of the self-employed migrants are from rural areas and belong to the bottom MPCE groups, both in the agricultural and non-agricultural sector. Moreover, with regular salaried workers, the likelihood of migration increases when their MPCE level soars. Whilst casual labourers were found in the bottom MPCE, their share declines when MPCE goes up. Ironically unemployed migrant labourers also placed in low MPCE groups. In the same way, urban areas showed patterns similar to the rural areas. In addition, a large number of self employed workers had primary/middle school level education and were not illiterates. Regular salaried labourers had primary/middle and secondary/higher secondary education. Casual labourers were mostly illiterates though some had primary/middle schooling. However, the unemployed were also educated up to the primary/middle and secondary/higher secondary school level. Interestingly, student migration was high in this category. In the urban areas, self-employed and casual workers were either illiterate or had primary schooling. Regular salaried workers had primary/middle and secondary/higher secondary schooling. There were more unemployed migrants among the graduates/above and secondary/higher secondary schooling categories.

The majority of the rural migrants migrated within same State, to other districts and within the same district. Urban migrants migrated towards other States and within same State but to another district. The rural self-employed, regular wage/salaried workers and casual workers overflowed towards urban areas of other States and also within State but to other districts. Rural migrants faced greater unemployment in the urban areas than in the rural areas. In the case of urban areas, similar patterns were observed in all employed categories except with regular salaried workers. As regards seasonality (time of migration) there was not much difference between all the four sub-rounds of NSS survey. Nevertheless, on the whole, in rural areas, the July-September and April-June sub rounds seem to be the predominant season for migration, with male migrants outnumbering female migrants. During the same



period, migrants from agriculture and the manufacturing sector migrated in a large way. Construction workers migrated during the January-March, April-June and October-December sub-rounds. However, the proportion of unemployed migrants was greater during the first two sub-rounds. In urban areas, more migration took place among agricultural workers during October-December and April-June. In the case of the workers in the manufacturing sector, the migration period was July-September and January-March, while construction workers mostly migrated in April-June and October which is the lean agriculture period. Unemployed migrants predominantly migrated in first and third sub-rounds.

The gender-wise picture in the rural area revealed that in the agricultural sector and other services females outnumbered males, and this applied for both rural and urban areas. The manufacturing, construction and transport sectors were dominated by male migrants. At state level, it was seen that Bihar, Gujarat, Jharkhand, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh were the major pockets of seasonal labour migrants. On the contrary, Kerala, Uttarakhand, Punjab and Maharashtra were documented as marginal seasonal migrant States in the country. In all the States, male migrants outnumbered their female counterparts. The rural areas also witnessed very similar patterns and Gujarat has emerged as a major State for seasonal labour migrants. In the case of the urban areas, Assam emerged as a major seasonal labour migrant State. Interestingly, Bihar witnessed only a modest rate of urban seasonal migration.

The third chapter reveals that of the 22 per cent migrants from the study villages, there were more males than females, and that the majority of them are married. Most of the migrants belong to the Lambada community (ST) followed by the OBC and SC communities. Most of them moved out with at least three or above families members to the destinations. The major age group of migrants is 31-40, and in this, the number of male migrants was greater than females. The dominant number of migrants belongs to farming communities and most of them are illiterate. They migrated for earnings, survival and in search of employment. Lambadas were greater in number than other communities. Migration took place in the month of

December and then in November. Most of the migrants travelled towards urban cities/towns for employment, with Hyderabad and Mumbai being the major urban destinations. The rural migrants went to Nalgonda and Guntur districts. They migrated with their family or co-villagers to different destinations. Urban migrants engaged in the construction building sector followed rural agricultural activities. Migrants find work through co-villagers/migrants followed by at *Labour Addas* or labour market. There is wage differential between rural and urban destinations. In the rural destinations, there is no wage discrimination between male and females whereas this prevails in the urban destinations. The mode of payment differs for both rural and urban migrants, though most of them received wages in cash. The large proportion of migrants (90%) stayed for less than one year at destinations before their return to the villages. Many migrated only once during the survey period and a few travelled more than one time (males only).

Some migrants spoke about problems faced at the destinations such as heavy duty, long working hours and lack of sanitation and shelter. They stayed in slum dwellings (makeshift sheds), tents and at roadside open places. Most of the urban migrants returned in the month of May and June, and rural migrants in the month of April. They returned to carry out their own cultivation, and to work in village labour market during the monsoon season. In terms of earnings, urban migrants earned more than rural migrants. Nevertheless, a large number of migrants spent their earnings on daily consumption, repayment of old debts, agricultural investment, house construction and on health. Finally, a large proportion of them expressed the hope of being able to migrate the following year or season.

The fourth chapter reveals that migration from the study villages was predominantly resorted to by socially and economically backward SC & ST communities. Around 96 per cent of the households across the villages depend on farming for their livelihood. It seems dismal that there is no occupational diversification. All the sample households belong to BPL households, and all the Anthyodaya card holders are landless families. Most of these households (94%) have

basic amenities such as pucca dwellings, electricity connection, and drinking water but a large number still depend on firewood and have no sanitation facilities. Most of the households possess land. The landless households are those of the migrants. Among the villages, Chityala had a large number of landless households. Amongst the land owning households, most of the land (72%) was possessed by non-migrant households. The average area of a plot of land is three acres and largely owned by non-migrant households. Yet, they have limited access to irrigation facilities. There were very few households that sold off their land during the last five years, but interestingly all these transactions were made by non-migrant households. Similarly, there were a few households that had purchased land and this transactions equally made by both migrant and non-migrant households. It is noteworthy that all these transactions - both land sale and purchase - took place only in Pata Kodangal village. It is evident that there are few households who lease-in land for cultivation, most of them non-migrant households. In the same way, lease-out households are also few in the number in the study villages. However non-migrants outnumbered migrant households among the leased-out households.

Most of the households were engaged in the local labour market as daily wage earning workers with non-migrant households outnumbering migrants. As a result, the movement of such households fell owing to their active participation in local employment or labour market. Subsequently, migrant households were more likely to work in the MGNREGA than their non-migrant counterparts. Most of the MGNREGA workers were either heads of the household or his/her spouse. There were few households that worked in the nearby villages for daily wage earnings. Most of the households (65%) had taken credit/loans. Migrant households are less likely to take loans compared to non-migrant households. Furthermore banks and moneylenders are the main credit providers in the study villages. Non-migrants took more loans from banks, while migrants borrowed from moneylenders. Overall, most of the households possess agricultural implements and livestock with non-migrant households taking the lead. It was established that most of the non-migrant

households are better off in many aspects when compared to migrant households. Households with weak resources/assets are more inclined to migrate than better-off households. It is common practice in the study region that migrants cultivate their own land and work in other farmers' fields during the agricultural season. In the absence of work during the post-agricultural lean season, they are inclined to migrate for a short duration/stay to various areas. This process occurs year after year.

The fifth chapter showed that job cards are predominantly issued in East Godavari, Anantapur, Nalgonda, Mahabubnagar, Kurnool, etc, and except for East Godavari, all the districts are either backward or semi-backward in terms of development. OBCs are the predominant group that received job cards, followed by SCs, STs and Other upper castes. Out of the total registered households only 50 per cent of them were working in the scheme and most of them were from Nalgonda, Warangal, Karimnagar, and Mahabubnagar districts. SC beneficiaries were predominantly documented in Krishna, West Godavari, Guntur and Nellore, STs in tribal-dominated districts like Khammam, Visakhapatnam and Adilabad, and OBCs in Srikakulam, Vizianagaram and Mahabubnagar. Interestingly, there are more SHG working members in Adilabad, Karimnagar and Medak, and more disabled members in Karimnagar, Adilabad and Visakhapatnam. On the whole, more male workers had registered than female. However, in the working category, female workers outnumbered their male counterparts.

Labourers seeking wage employment are mostly male workers than female workers. Most of these male workers are from relatively developed districts whereas female workers are mainly from backward districts of the state. The best performing districts are Chittoor, Kadapa, Kurnool, Vizianagaram, Ranga Reddy and Srikakulam districts. In contrast, Guntur, Krishna, West Godavari, East Godavari, Nellore, Warangal and Mahabubnagar were the worst performing districts in the state. Regarding the number of estimated days predominantly placed in Chittoor, Karimnagar and Anantapur and estimated work completed mostly in East

Godavari, Vizianagaram, Khammam and Prakasam. A large number of works were sanctioned in Chittoor, Anantapur, and Kurnool and most works were completed in Nalgonda, East Godavari, Adilabad, and Medak districts. The highest proportion of person days for different works was under irrigation, renovation and water harvesting/conservation.

The sixth chapter demonstrated that all MGNREGS job card households belongs to the BPL category and most are ST and OBC households. In terms of basic amenities and resources, non-MGNREGS households are well ahead of MGNREGS households. The same holds for other associated characteristics such education, occupation, land possession, irrigation, etc. Significantly, a moderate proportion of beneficiary households (28%) migrated during the year. Most of the households have only single working member, with male workers being more than female workers, and most of them were non-migrants. Regardless of gender, majority of the workers worked from 30 days to 60 days followed by 61 days to 70 days. However, male workers worked more than female workers. The highest average of worked days was reported in Chityala village. Overall, a large proportion of workers received wages between Rs. 60 to 70. In this also, males got more wages than females, and there is no difference between migrant and non-migrants.

Most of the workers opined the roads laid under the scheme were in fact useful to the village and farm land levelling in the small and marginal farms increased fertility. However, MGNREGS workers gained little personal benefit from the projects. Many beneficiary households, both migrant and non-migrant, stated that the hundred days' employment programme actually improved their livelihood security. On the other side, they also expressed that agricultural wages were raised double, yet, informed wages are still affordable to majority of the households. Most beneficiary households were able to bargain for higher wage rates in the open agricultural labour market in the villages. They also opined that there was no problem of labour scarcity even after commencement of the scheme. It is noticed that most of them spent their earnings on daily food consumption, and invested in

agriculture, health, repayment of old debts and children's education. The major problems in the scheme are manipulation of working days, low wages, low number of working days, non-payment of wages, wage cuts and corruption. Most of the workers faced lack of shelter at work site. Many felt that there should be changes in the scheme in order to make it more transparent, effective and result-oriented. Further, all the beneficiary households stated that the continuation of the employment scheme and job cards should be extended to non-MGNREGS households too. In contrast, many, (mostly migrants) reported they were planning to move out once the hundred days' work/employment came to an end.

## **7.2. Policy Implications**

The current study raises some important issues pertinent to policy implications. At the outset, the study results vindicated the fact that major pockets of seasonal short-term migrant are primarily from economically backward states. It is true that a large part of rural India lacks both agriculture and non-farm employment opportunities, thus facing a severe unemployment problem particularly during the post-harvest agricultural season. This has in fact resulted in colossal migration from backward rural areas to developed urban areas. Consequently, large numbers of rural migrants depend equally on their own cultivation as well as on out-migration. This has become common practice for most landless labourers and small and marginal farmers and is a part of their livelihood and coping strategy. In fact, distress conditions in rural agriculture sector further augment distress seasonal labour migration which is growing over time. Therefore, there is a call for government's intervention to develop such backward states and regions of the country and avert the distress conditions in the rural areas. This in turn would help to encourage the distressed seasonal labour migrant population to stay back.

The development of the rural areas should be given priority in planning and the setting up of small and medium industries, agro based industries, and infrastructure development projects in rural areas must be urgently initiated. Simultaneously,

attempts must be to revive and make agriculture as a profitable and viable an activity as possible. This would expand employment opportunities, alternative options and better livelihood prospects for the economically vulnerable and depressed population. Steps should be taken to bring down the regional imbalance in the country which is paramount for countries like ours to maintain growth, integrity and unity. In fact, such initiatives can stamp out the widespread poverty and prolonged economic backwardness in the country.

It should be noted that migration *per se* is an indicator of better opportunity both in economic and social terms. Hence, governments should facilitate free and unrestricted movements from one region/state to another in the country. This would provide equal opportunities to the people of India to work, earn and stay at anywhere in its territory. In fact, this would do away with conflicts and violent attacks on migrant workers in the country. The Government's migration policy should be aimed at protecting and safeguarding the migrant population. Further, it should be ensured that the migrants are ensured basic rights at work and at living sites. Besides, measures should be taken to guarantee minimum wage rates (statutory wage rates), basic amenities and sanitation and medical provisions for the migrant work force at destinations. In order to purge labour exploitation, the policies ought to aim at removing obstacles such as contractor and middlemen practices in migrant labour recruitment. Finally, the migrant population should be covered under the umbrella of social security schemes and labour insurance packages. Most importantly, migrants should be allowed to avail government benefits and schemes at the destination places too.

The MGNREGA scheme has garnered mixed response among beneficiary households in the study region. The employment scheme has influenced and brought about changes in the rural households as well as in the village economy as a whole. The study villages witnessed a moderate proportion of migration in spite of the programme. However, the extent and intensity of seasonal out-migration has come down. Nonetheless, the overall outcome of the programme is partial and

limited. There are serious apprehensions that the limited positive outcomes will not be sustained in the long run if inefficient implementation and administrative lapses continue further. The scheme can be made more beneficial, effective, result-oriented and sustainable, if focus is given to improving the performance of the scheme. This is possible only when the all sorts of manipulation, corruption and apathy by the administration are ended. On the contrary, priority should be given to create sustainable rural infrastructure such as transportation, building new watershed projects, new tanks, afforestation and land development works. This would enhance the area of cultivation and productivity, thus augmenting employment and income generation in the agriculture sector through the scheme.

In addition, transparency, accountability, gram sabha level planning and guaranteed hundred days of work and wages should be ensured, and strengthened in order to improve the performance of the scheme. Only then will the real benefits of the scheme reach to the needy rural poor, thus helping them raise their living standards and livelihood security. This would not only help individual households but also the whole village economy. Further, development activities in rural areas through MGNREGS should continue and its sustenance should be ensured in the long run, which in turn, could change the face of rural India. Finally, in order to make the scheme more effective and successful, the proactive involvement of political leaders and administrative machinery from bottom to top level is crucial.

### **7.3. Limitations of the Study**

- Though the study attributed seasonal migration to unemployment and the need for survival, nonetheless it could not analyse the direct impact of agrarian distress in households' decisions or strategy.
- The study indirectly established a linkage between household resources, various rural markets and seasonal migration. However, it could not provide



a straight connection between them owing to nature of these factors and also other manifold factors involved.

- It is found that MGNREGS affected the magnitude of seasonal migration from the study villages. However, it was unable to provide the choices and strategies adopted by various beneficiary households in the wake of commencement of the programme.

#### **7.4. Issues for Further Research**

There is a great scope for further research in the field of migration studies. The continuing process of globalisation process obviously affected the agriculture sector also and brought about changes in the rural labour market. Since the macroeconomic scenario is getting altering overtime, the whole course of labour migration is influenced accordingly. As a result, there are issues and aspects that are newly emerging which need to be addressed for a better understanding of the labour migration process. Indeed, these issues are very pertinent in the case of Mahabubnagar district in Andhra Pradesh where not much research has been done. In this respect, the current study raises some important issues related to seasonal migration. Here are some of the emerging issues that can be studied in further research:

- Why are the seasonal migrants unable to settle at the destinations? What are the major impediments they face?
- Why are most of the seasonal labour migrants unable to enhance their living standards? What actually prevents them from doing so?
- Does duration matter in enhancing their economic status and therefore, living standards?
- Is there any new class or social groups joining the migration labour force?

- Does seasonal labour migration differs across classes and social groups?
- How does agrarian distress influence the decision to migrate?
- Do employment and development projects in rural areas curb labour migration to other regions?
- Do the present labour laws address the problem faced by temporary migrants, particularly seasonal and circular labour migrants?

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## ANNEXURE 1

CONFIDENTIAL & FOR RESEARCH PURPOSE ONLY



**Centre for Development Studies**  
Doctoral Programme in Economics  
*Affiliated to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi*

Schedule No

Primary Survey on

Seasonal Labour Migration and Role of NREGA(S)

For PhD Study

**SEASONAL LABOUR MIGRATION AND ROLE OF MGNREGS: A CASE  
STUDY OF MAHABUBNAGAR DISTRICT IN ANDHRA PRADESH**

**BY VIJAY KORRA**

Supervisors: Prof. S.Irudaya Rajan & Dr. U.S. Mishra

**Households Questionnaire**

### GENERAL

#### I. Identification of the Household

1	Country Name	India					
2	State's Name	Andhra Pradesh					
3	District	Mahabubnagar					
4	Mandal						
5	Panchayat						
6	Village						
7	Ward No.						
8	House No.						
9	Name of the Respondent						
10	Sex of the Respondent	Male-1		Female-2			
11	Head of the Household	Male-1		Female-2			
12	Caste (please specify)	SC-1		ST-2		OBC-3	GEN-4
13	Name of the caste						
14	Religion	Hindu-1		Muslim-2		Cristian-3	Others-4
15	Have Ration Card	BPL-1		APL-2		Anthodaya-3	None-4

## II. 16. Household profile/details

Member No	Name of members of households	Sex	Age	Relation with head	Marital status	Educational status	Employment status	Industrial classification	Occupational status (10 years & above)	Annual income
1										
2										
3										
4										
5										
6										
7										
8										
9										
10										

**Codes: Sex:** Male-1, Female-2. **Relationship:** Head of the household-1, Husband/Wife-2, Son-3, Daughter-4, Daughter in law/Son in law-5, Grand Children-6, Father-7, Mother-8, Brother-9, Sister-10, Father in law/Mother in law-11, Grand Parents-12, Other relatives-13, Others-14. **Marital Status:** Unmarried-1, Married-2, Widow/Widower-3, Divorced-4, Separated-5. **Education Status:** Illiterate-1, Literate without school education-2, Primary-3, Up to lower secondary-4, Secondary pass-5, 10<sup>th</sup> but below 12th standard-6, Intermediate pass-7, Degree holders-8, Post graduation-9, Professional Diploma holder-10, Above PG & Professional Course-11, **Employment Status:** Employees-1, Employers-2, Own Account worker-3, Unpaid family labour-3, Workers not classified by status-5. **Industrial Classification:** Agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing-1, Mining & Quarrying-2, Manufacturing-3, Electricity, Gas & Water-4, Construction-5, Wholesale & Retail trade and Hotels & Restaurants-6, Transport, Storage & Communication-7, Financing, Insurance, Real estate & Business services-8, Community, Social & Personal Services-9. **Occupational Status:** Legislators, senior officers & Managers-1, Professionals-2, Technicians & Associate Professionals-3, Clerks-4, Service, shop & Market sales workers-5, Skilled agricultural & Fishery workers-6, Craft related trade workers-7, Plant & Machine operators & assemblers-8, Elementary occupations-9, Armed forces-10. **Annual Income:** Below 5000-1, 5000-10000-2, 10000-20000-3, 20000-30000-4, 30000-50000-5, 50000-100000-6, 1-2 lakhs-7, Above 2 lakhs-8.

## III. Household asset particulars

17	Type of dwelling? (Kuccha house-1, Pucca house-2, Tile-3, Others-4)	
18	Ownership of dwelling? (Owned-1, Rented-2, Others-3)	
19	Electricity connection? (Yes-1, No-2)	
20	Major source of drinking water? (Own well/tube well-1, Public tap-2, Public well/tube well-3, Others-4)	
21	Major source of fuels for cooking? (Fire wood/coal-1, Kerosine-2, LPG-3, Electricity-4, Others-5)	
22	Toilet facilities? (Own-1, Community-2, Open places-3)	
23	Radio (Yes-1, No-2)	
24	Tape recorder (Yes-1, No-2)	
25	Television (Yes-1, No-2)	
26	VCR/VCD/DVD (Yes-1, No-2)	
27	Mobile phone (Yes-1, No-2)	

28	Land phone (Yes-1, No-2)	
29	Scooter/bike (Yes-1, No-2)	
30	Land (Yes-1, No-2)	

### 31. Owned Land Particulars

Type of land	1. Dry land in acres	2. Wet land in acres	Total Land in acres	
32. Do you have access to irrigation (Yes-1, No-2)				
1. Tank	2. Well	3. Tube well	4. Canal	5. Others

### 33. Land Transactions (from last five years)

33.1. Did you sell your land to others? (Yes-1, No-2)	
33.2. Did you buy land from others? (Yes-1, No-2)	

Sold land	Acres	Year	Price	Reasons	Sold to
Dry Land					
Wet Land					
Total land					
Purchased land	Acres	Year	Price	Source of income	Purchased from
Dry land					
Wet land					
Total land					

**Codes: Reasons for Sale:** Household expenditure-1, Repayment of debts-2, Failure of bore well-3, Health problem in family-4, Daughter(s) marriage-5, Education-6, Unable to cultivate-7, Others-8. **Source of Income:** Income from agriculture-1, Sold livestock-2, Sold Ornaments-3, Income from migration-4, Income from labour-5, Bank loan-6, Moneylender-7, Friends/relatives-8, Others-9. **Sold To & Purchased From:** Brother/sister-1, Relatives/friends-2, Landlords-3, Moneylenders-4, From/To other villager-5, Others-6.

### 34. Lease Transactions

34.1. Did you leased-out your land to others? (Yes-1, No-2)	
34.2. Did you lease-in land from others? (Yes-1, No-2)	

Lease in land	Mode of payment (Cash-1, Kind-2, Exchange/ Free labour-3, Above all-4)			Period /Year	Crop grown	Output	Whom	Reason
	Acres	Amount	Kind (50 kg bag)					
Dry land								
Wet land								
Lease out land								
Dry land								
Wet land								

**Codes: Mode of Payment:** Fixed amount-1, Fixed kind-2. Both-3, Share crop-4, Under mortgage-5, Others-6. **Lease in/out whom:** Brother/sister-1, Relatives/friends-2, Landlords-3, Migrant household-4, From/To other villager-5, Others-6. **Lease in Reasons:** Landlessness-1, Insufficient land-2, Brother/sisters



land-3, Relatives-4, Under debts-5, Stop migration & Cultivate lease land-6, Others-7. **Lease out Reasons:** Unable to cultivate-1, Lack of livestock-2, Lack of instruments-3, Lack of investment-4, Took as mortgage-5, Health problem-6, Old age-7, Migration-8, Others-9.

### 35. Cropping Pattern

Type of land	Acres	Name of crop	Season	Output	Own use	Sale	Sold whom	Price
Dry land								
Wet land								

**Codes:** Season: Kharif-1, Rabi-2. Sold whom: In Market-1, Middle man-2, Trader-3, Land lord-4, Money lender-5, Others-6. **Note:** Output in 50 kg Bag.

### 36. Labour Market (In the Village)

Code of the labour	Nature of the work	Wage rate	Mode of payment		Work days	Time of work	Do you work in nearby villages? Yes-1. No-2.	Any plan to migrate? Yes-1. No-2.
			Cash-1	Kind-2				

**Codes:** Nature of the work: Agriculture labour-1, Attached labour-2, Work in land lord house-3, Construction -4, NREGA worker-5, Piece/contract labour-6, Others-7.

### 37. Credit Market (In the Village)

Source of credit	Amount	Interest rate	Purpose

**Source of credit:** Bank-1, Co-operative bank-2, Money lender-3, Traders-4, Relatives/Friends-5, Others-6. **Purpose:** Agriculture investment-1, Dug tube well/well-2, Repayment of debts-3, Bought land-4, Self business-5, House build-6, Marriage-7, Health problem-8, Education purpose-9, Others-10.

### 38. Agricultural Implements and Livestock

Type of implements	Implements			Livestock		
	Name	Number	Value	Name	Number	Value
Traditional						

Modern						

#### IV. Migration Particulars

39	Have you been a migrant (Yes-1, No-2)								
40	When did you migrate? (Date/Month/Year)								
41	Destination of migration?	Place	District	State					
42	How many of your family members migrated during the year? (Yes-1, No-2)								
43	Nature of destination? (Rural-1, Urban-2)	Number of migrants & codes as from column 17.			1	2	3	4	5
44	Work/employment status at destination? Agricultural labour-1, Construction worker-2, Brick kiln worker-3, Poultry worker-4, Cable trench labour-5, Loaders&unlodear-6, Worker in hotel/restaurants-7, Auto/taxi/ driver-8, Casual labour in factory-9, work in shop-10, Housemaids-11, Office boy-12, Domestic helper-13, Others-14.								
45	Reason for migration? (Survival-1, Lack of employment-2, Earnings-3, Debts-4, Crop failure-5, Other-6) (Main specified reasons)								
46	What is your status before migration? (Farmer-1, Farm labour-2, NREGA labour-3, Non-farm labour-4, Land lord-5, Tenant-6, Share cropper-7, Self employed-8, Student-9, Others-10)								
47	Year of your first migration?								
48	How did you migrate? (Individual-1, Group-2, Family-3)								
49	How did you find work? (Relatives-1, Friends-2, Co-villagers-3, Fellow migrant-4, Labour market-5, Self-6, Contractor-7, Employers-8, Others-9)								
50	Who provided transportation? (Employer-1, Contractor-2, Own-3, Others-4)								
51	Mode of payment (Cash-1, Kind-2, Both,3)								
51.1	Kind value in Rs.								
52	Wages per day								
53	Wage paid (Daily-1, Weekly-2, Monthly-3, End of the work-4)								
54	Work starts at:								
55	Work ends at:								
56	Working hours per day?								
57	Total working days during the year?								
58	Total duration of stay at destination? (0-4 months-1, 4-6 months-2, 6-10 months-3, 10-12 months-4, 12-18 months-5, 18-2 years-6, 2-5 years-7, Above 5 years-8)								
59	Children's are provided schooling at destination? (Yes-1, No-2)								
60	Transportation provided to work site? (Yes-1, No-2)								
61	Accommodation provided by? (Employer-1, Contractor-2, Self made-3, Rented-4, Slum dwellings-5, Open places-6, Others-7)								
62	Type of accommodation? (Shed-1, Tent-2, Kuccha-3, Pucca-4, Open place-5, Some of above-6)								

63	Any facilities provided by employers/contractors at living site? (Yes-1, No-2)					
63.1	If yes what are they? (Food-1, Transport-2, Cloths-3, Health facility-4, Extra allowenc-5, Some of them-6, All of them-7)					
64	Any problems faced at destination? (Yes-1, No-2)					
64.1	If yes what are they? (Long hour of work-1, Heavy duty-2, Low pay-3, Lack of rest-4, Harrasment-5, Lack of sanitation-6, Some of them-7, All of them-8)					
65	How was your relationship with employer? (Normal-1, Average-2, Good-3, Bad-4, Worse-5, No complaints-6)					
66	Did you ever get cheated by employer in wage payments? (Yes-1, No-2)					
67	Did you face any resistance from local labourers? (Yes-1, No-2)					
68	Did you acquire any new skills? (Yes-1, No-2)					
69	When did you return to your village? Month:	Year:				
70	Why did you return? (No work at destination-1, Contract is over-2, Own cultivation-3, Work available at origin-4. Lease settlement-5, Festivals/social ceremonies-6, Others-7)					
71	How many times have you migrated during the year?					
72	Did you send money to your family? (Yes-1, No-2)					
72.1	If yes how much?	Total				
73	How did you send remittances? (Contractor-1, Fellow-worker/villager-2, Friends-3, Self-4, Post office-5, Bank-6, Others-7)					
74	Purpose of remittance? (Consumption-1; Children education-2, Repayment of debts-3, Health expenditure-4, Festivals-5, Other-6)					
75	How did you spend your earning/income from migration? (Consumption-1, Repayment of debts-2, Investment in agriculture-3, Houseconstruction-4, Health expenditure-5, Purchase cattle/implements-6, Most of the above-7, Other-8)					
76	Do you feel migration has helped you to improve living standard? (Yes-1, No-2)					
77	If you get work in the village do you prefer to migrate? (Yes-1, No-2)					
77.1	Any plan to migrate again? (Yes-1, No-2)					

#### V. NREGA(S) Program in the Village

78	Is the respondent aware of NREGA? (Yes-1, No-2)		
78.1	If yes, how did you know about it? (Village secretatary-1, Sarpanch-2, Gram Sabha-3, Co-villagers-4, Friends-5, News paper-6, Television-7, Others-8)		
79	Has this household applied for a Job Card? (Yes-1, No-2)		
80	Has the household received a job card? (Yes-1, No-2)		
81	Job card holder (Code no. as in column 5)		.
82	Did you participate in NREGA works? (Yes-1, No-2)		
82.1	If no, why?	1. 2.	3.
83	NREGS wage per day?		
84	Wage paid ( Daily-1, Weekly-2, Fifteen days-3, Monthly-4)		
85	How did you get wages (Village secretary-1, Post office-2, Banks-3, Contractor-4, Gram sabha/Sarpanch-5)		
86	Did you ever paid less than the minimum wage (Yes-1, No-2)		
87	Any problem faced in getting wages (Yes-1, No-2)		

87.1	If yes what are they? (Wage cuts-1, Low paid-2, Delay-3, Account manipulation-4, Cheating-5, Others-6)		
88	How many days you worked during the year?		
89	Are you working from beginning of NREGA? (Yes-1, No-2)		
89.1	If yes, from when? (Month and Year)		
90	How many days you worked last year?		
91	Did you get compensation for unemployment period? (Yes-1, No-2)		
92	Any of other family members ever worked on NREGA worksites during the year? (Yes-1, No-2)		
92.1	If yes, how many days?		
93	Any problems faced at work site (Yes-1, No-2)		
93.1	If yes, what are they? (Long hour of work-1, Heavy duty-2, Lack of rest-3, Harrasment-4, Lack of shelter-5, Some of them-6, All of them-7)		
94	Did you work more than one project/site during the year? (Yes-1, No-2)		
95	Assets created under NREGA are beneficial? (Yes-1, No-2)		
95.1	If yes, describe how?	1.	2.
96	Have you benefited from NREGA projects? (Yes-1, No-2)		
96.1	If yes, how describe?	1.	2.
97	Did you see any mismanagement in allocating works that affected you? (Yes-1, No-2)		
97.1	If yes, what are they?	1.	2.
98	Did you see any corruption in this scheme (Yes-1, No-2)		
98.1	If yes, what are they?	1.	2.
99	Do you see any increase in agricultural wages? (Yes-1, No-2)		
99.1	If yes, how much as compare to last year?		
100	Is it because of NREGA effect? (Yes-1, No-2)		
100.1	If yes, should NREGA wages be reduced? (Yes-1, No-2)		
101	Do you think NREGA creating labour scarcity? (Yes-1, No-2)		
102	Do you think that you can bargain wages in the village? (Yes-1, No-2)		
103	Do you get labourers for your own agriculture purpose? (Yes-1, No-2)		
104	Do you feel agriculture wages are at unaffordable? (Yes-1, No-2)		
104.1	If yes, do you pay wages on par with NREGA wages? (Yes-1, No-2)		
105	Do you face any clash with other caste people due to NREGA? (Yes-1, No-2)		
105.1	If yes, why?	1.	2.
106	Do you think NREGA improved your living condition? (Yes-1, No-2)		
107	Do you think that NREGA gives you livelihood security? (Yes-1, No-2)		
107.1	If yes how?	1.	2.
108	How did you spend NREGA earnings/income? (Consumption-1, Education-2, Health-3, Agri. invesmtnet-4, Purchasing power-5, Credit capacity-6, Others-7)		
109	Do you think that NREGA help you to work with other caste people? (Yes-1, No-2)		
110	Did it help you to improve relationship with other caste? (Yes-1, No-2)		
111	Did NREGA help you in acquiring new skills? (Yes-1, No-2)		
111.1	If yes, what are they?	1.	2.
112	Do you think NREGA should continue? (Yes-1, No-2)		

113	Do you think there should be changes in scheme? (Yes-1, No-2)			
113.1	If yes, as per you what are they?	1.	2.	3.
114	Job card should be extended to more than 1 person in a household? (Yes-1, No-2)			
115	Before NREGA, are you a migrant?			
116	Did you stop migrating because of NREGA work is available? (Yes-1, No-2)			
117	After NREGA works do you have any plan to migrate? (Yes-1, No-2)			

<b>Respondent Perceptions:</b>	
<b>Interviewer Observations:</b>	

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