



IMPACT OF MGNREGS ON EMPLOYMENT AND MIGRATION: A STUDY IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Sponsored by
Commissioner
Panchayat Raj and Rural Development
Government of Andhra Pradesh

L. Reddeppa



Council for Social Development
Southern Regional Centre, Hyderabad

February 2021



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FOREWORD

At a time when forced migration was forced to the centre of national debate during the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, a study on the role of MGNREGS in stemming the exodus of distress migration is extremely relevant. Drawing from a primary study covering 830 households in the Rayalaseema region of the state of Andhra Pradesh, the study puts out interesting findings – disaggregating migration patterns and participation in MGNREGS by social group and type of migration.

Not limited to looking at seasonal migration or circularity in worker movement, it includes the complex area of transnational migration as well – providing us insights into the lives of Gulf migrants and their families in the native villages. In general, it was found that whereas there is a steady demand for work across all the field sites, the scarcity of employment during the lean season often coincided with the discontinuation of work opportunities. Low wage levels and delays can push vulnerable communities into migration.

There is need for a constant recalibration of appropriate and valued work from the perspectives of the job seekers, and in terms of employment under the scheme, especially wage-rates and regularity of payments. The creation of secure livelihoods through MGNREGS – which is in fact its *raison d'être* – is a constant unceasing process which must be based on local level deliberations that take note of the perspectives, and specific vulnerabilities of job-seekers and those most vulnerable to distress/forced migration.

I congratulate Professor L. Reddeppa for completing this painstaking study and have no doubt that this will go a long way in providing valuable insights for further pro-active governance to provide succor to the poorest of the poor on sustainable terms.

February 2021

Kalpana Kannabiran
Regional Director

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L. REDDEPPA
Project Director

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Introduction

The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) is formulated as a right based social security scheme for the poor who depend on wage employment. Though MGNREGS is self-targeting, the question is whether the poor households are able to get the assured volume of employment, wage incomes and timely payment apart from other entitlements for workers. Any incompatibility between demand and supply factors results in incidence of migration. This study is undertaken to assess the supply and demand side factors and their interplay with work, and the determinants of migration, especially distress migration among the workers in the sample villages.

The study was mainly based on primary and secondary data. The primary data was collected through two sets of interview schedules that were canvassed by household and field assistant. Apart from this, a checklist was used for collection of data and qualitative information from Panchayat Secretary, mates or group leaders of Shrama Shakti Sangas (SSS) and technical assistants. In order to assess the direct and indirect benefits of MGNREGA, data was collected from 830 households—444 migrants households and 386 non-migrants households—in 27 Gram Panchayats across nine mandals in three Rayalaseema districts of Andhra Pradesh. The mandals and GPs were selected based on the criteria of migration intensity, and low, medium and high participation in terms of average days of employment provided under MGNREGS.

Influence of Socio-Economic Factors on Work Participation and Migration

This section is based on the primary data collected from sample households. All the job card holders, with the exception of four households, had ration cards. It means that 99.5 per cent of the sample households were under the category of Below Poverty Line (BPL). About 37 per cent households had been claiming Social Security Pensions (SSP). The proportion of migrants among the STs and BCs was relatively higher than among non-migrants in the same category, while the proportion of non-migrants among the SCs and OCs was higher than migrants among them. Thus social background was not the significant influencing factor for migration.

The category of non-literates and those educated up to the primary level accounted for about half of the total population in all the districts and it varied among the districts. There was no clear relation between education and migration among households in general, but the literacy levels were relatively lower among the migrants dependent on wage labour in agriculture and construction activity, while it was secondary and above secondary level in the case of households dependent on fixed tenure income (salary) and non-farm sector employment.

The data shows that 41.1 per cent of the households were landless and the remaining (58.9 %) had access to own land. Landlessness was relatively higher among non-migrants (43.3%) than among migrants (39.2%). There were wider variations between migrants and non-migrants among districts and also among social groups. It indicates that landlessness was not considered as one of the factors of migration.

The labour participation in MGNREGS was relatively higher among the landholding households than the landless ones. The participation of households was as high as 50 per cent among households which possessed land of more than 5 acres; 39.4 per cent among the households which possessed land of 2.50 to 5 acres; 36.4 per cent among the households which possessed land less than 2.50 acres (marginal farmers); and only 26.8 per cent among the landless. The households possessing land depended more on MGNREGS during lean seasons which was an incentive for them to stay back in the village while the landless and marginal farmers had to choose either other employment opportunities or migration.

Extent of Employment and Income Generated under MGNREGS

Out of the sample, only 640 (77.1%) households—both migrants and non-migrants—had worked under MGNREGS for wage employment. The remaining (190 households) were migrants and they had not worked under MGNREGS in the immediately preceding year (2018-19). Their proportion was 22.9 per cent in the total sample but it was 42.8 per cent among the migrants. Among the non-participants, the majority did not even possess job cards although they had a BPL ration card. Lack of job card was not the causative factor for migration as they could get a job card if they were inclined to work under MGNREGS. The main reason for non-participation was migration and the inherent reason for migration was mainly to generate higher income in the destination.

Among the households which participated in MGNREGS, the employment provided was less than 50 days in 37.0 per cent of the households, with 45.3 per cent among the non-migrants and 28.3 per cent among the migrants. Provision of less than 50 days employment did not have much of an impact on the improvement of the livelihood of the poor. The employment generation was 76 days to 100 days among 26.1 per cent of the households, which was considered fair enough if the entitlement was 100 days. In the year 2018-19, the entitlement was increased to 150 days but the proportion of households which generated above 100 days of employment was only 15.2 per cent (15.3 per cent among non-migrants and 15.0 per cent among migrants).

The average income generated for the participant households was Rs. 10,500 per annum and it was relatively higher in Anantapur (Rs.11,132) compared to Chittoor (Rs. 10,788) and Kadapa (Rs. 9689) districts. The proportion of households which earned more than Rs. 10,000 from MGNREGS was higher among the open category (41.3%) followed by BCs (34.3%), SCs (31.3%) and STs (27.7%). It means that the SCs and STs depended more on wage employment in agriculture and other activities including migration while the OCs and BCs depended on agriculture and allied activities and also wage employment under MGNREGS. Though the participation and size of income was lower among the SCs and STs, it was very critical for their livelihood in times of need, particularly in the lean agricultural seasons as they could not afford to remain idle.

Impact of MGNREGS on the Livelihood of the Households

The impact of MGNREGS on household well-being was measured based on the perceptions of the households on a three-point scale—high, low and no impact—with regard to additional income and food security, land development, improvement in irrigation potential, credit access, healthcare, children’s education and repayment of debts. The indirect impact of MGNREGS that had a potential to improve the well-being of the poor included the increased wages and employment opportunities in agriculture and allied activities, equal wages for men and women, and availability of community facilities.

The perceptions indicate that MGNREGS had high positive impact in improvement of food security among the majority of the participant households (73.6%) and their proportion was quite high among non-migrant households (80.3%) than migrant households (66.1%). No impact was

expressed by only 2.5 per cent of non-migrant and 8.3 per cent of migrant households, among those participating in MGNREGS works. The remaining households expressed low positive impact in improvement of food security due to limited employment and income generated from MGNREGS.

The MGNREGS had a higher positive impact on improvement of family health in 40.3 per cent of the households—it was 47.8 per cent among non-migrant and 32.4 per cent among migrant households. There was no impact reported by 22.5 per cent of the total participant households—it was 27.8 among the migrants and 17.2 per cent among the non-migrants. The remaining migrant and non-migrant households expressed low positive impact of MGNREGS on health.

The MGNREGS had higher positive impact on improvement in children's education in 28.3 per cent of the households—it was 27.0 per cent among non-migrant and 29.6 per cent among migrant households. No impact was reported by 34.3 per cent of the total participant households—it was 32.2 among the non-migrants and 36.7 per cent among the non-migrants. The remaining migrant and non-migrant households expressed low positive impact of MGNREGS on education.

The MGNREGS had a positive impact in reducing distress migration. This was stated in terms of high and low positive impact in mitigating distress migration by one-fourth (25%) of the total households and it was relatively higher among the non-migrants than among the migrants. But high positive impact of MGNREGS in reducing distress migration was in less than 4.1 per cent of the total participants of MGNREGS. However, many households shared in the interactions that many elderly or senior citizens had abstained from migration. This was mainly due to the availability of social security pensions, MGNREGS and other welfare schemes.

Half of the sample households (both higher and lower impact) reported that their credit access and repayment capacity had improved due to the MGNREGS. More than half of the households had taken up house construction and repairs, Individual Household Sanitary Latrine due to the assistance received under the convergence of MGNREGS. Having one's own house and other facilities and being engaged in wage employment had led many households to stay back in the village and also claim other welfare benefits from the state.

More than half of the households affirmed that the employment opportunities had improved in rural areas after the introduction of the MGNREGS due to the growth of horticulture and dairy activities, which had seen an increase in employment opportunities. Many households (20%) had been purchasing feed and fodder for their dairy animals, particularly in the summer season, using the income generated from wage employment under MGNREGS.

After the implementation of equal wages for men and women in MGNREGS, the demand for equal wages had increased even for other works in agriculture and other activities with similar nature of work in the villages for both men and women. State intervention in the labour market had enhanced the bargaining power of labour such that they could demand a higher wage rate in the initial years of MGNREGS implementation.

Discouraging Factors in Participation in MGNREGS Works

There was demand for work in all the GPs, but the work was not available for the entire year. The data shows that employment was available mostly in the summer season, starting from January and ending by the end of June. Almost 92 per cent of the annual employment provision was made in only five months— February, March, April, May and June —while the other 8 was generated in the remaining seven months of the year. This was mainly due to the suspension of MGNREGS implementation during the agriculture season. Non-provision of work or any delay in provision of work or idleness due to lack of work was simply not affordable to the poor. In any such situations, they looked for alternative sources of employment for the sake of livelihood security.

The job card holders in a majority of the study villages also stated that the works taken up in loose soils had been exhausted and they were now forced to do work on hard soils. These works taken up were mostly in the hillocks and on hard soils. The workers were unable to complete the allotted work as per the stipulation of the working hours to earn the minimum wage prescribed under MGNREGS.

The labour which depended exclusively on wage employment for livelihood would expect mandated wage rate of MGNREGS, if not daily wage rate at par with that paid in agriculture. It was observed that the labour had not earned the mandated wage rate due to non-completion of allotted work by the group. In many villages, the wage rate worked out to be less than Rs. 150 per day. This mainly happened due to work on hard soil, limited hours of work participation, lack

of coordination and cooperation among the members of the group, and the fact of work participation by mostly women members and elderly people whose physical capacity was relatively low.

The reasons for the under-utilization of the scheme (less than 100 days employment) could be categorized into two: supply side and demand side deficiencies. The supply side deficiencies can be categorized into three types. One, they are available for work, have asked for it, but have not got work. Such people were 18.2 per cent in the sample. Second, they are available for work, but have not asked for it. Such households were 19.1 per cent in the sample. Third, the work has not been available when needed. Such households were 4.6 per cent in the sample. All the three categories of the reasons constituted about 42 per cent in the sample.

The demand side factors could be broadly categorized into two—discouraging factors and personal reasons. Among them, 21.3 per cent of households underutilised MGNREGS due to discouraging factors such as low wages (14.6%) and delay in wage payment (6.7%). The remaining households (32.5%) had not availed the scheme due to personal reasons, such as households that had to work in their own field (23.7%), were not interested to work (3.1%), were absent during the time (6.7%) and for other reasons. All the demand side factors accounted for 58 per cent of non-participation in work by the households. Payment of wage rate was on par with agriculture wages which is again treated as a supply side deficiency. Thus, both supply side and demand side factors were found to be interdependent in making productive use of the scheme.

Factors Influencing Migration

Household migration was dependent on multiple reasons and the reasons were classified broadly into two categories: i) discouraging factors in the implementation of the MGNREGS, and ii) personal reasons which had nothing to do with the scheme. In the category of discouraging factors, the six factors identified were: non-provision of 100 days of employment; denial of work; lower wages; delay in wages; and unable to earn minimum wages. The six personal reasons identified for migration were: demand for more secure work; need to clear old debts; desire to generate more income; need to meet education needs; need to meet health expenditure, etc. In all, the five ranks were given out of 12 reasons by 400 (90%) migrant households. Here, each household gave five ranks in the order of priority out of the 12 reasons. It means, 400 households were supposed to give 2000 ranks (400x5).

As a contributor to migration, the supply side deficiencies in the provision of employment under MGNREGS were only 35.3 per cent, if all the six reasons and all the five ranks were taken into consideration. It was only 22.6 per cent if the 1st rank reason was taken into consideration among the six supply side factors. Among these six factors, only two factors were more important for consideration: being unable to earn minimum wages and not being provided 100 days of employment. It shows that migration decisions were influenced more by personal reasons (64.5 %), if all the six factors and all the five ranks were taken together. However, personal reasons accounted for 77.4 per cent, if one took the 1st rank reason from all the six factors. Even among the personal reasons, generating more income and clearing their old debts were the two most important reasons that contributed to influencing the migration decision. Thus, migration decision was determined predominantly by personal reasons rather than the discouraging factors of MGNREGS implementation as the average income earned at the destination was more than Rs. 1 lakh, which was not possible to be generated under MGNREGS.

Nature of Work at the Native Place and Destination

The nature of work that the migrants used to do at their native place was mostly as own agriculture (17.7%) and agriculture labour (51.4%). The majority of the agriculture labour at the native place migrated to the place of destination to work in many diversified activities. It was found that the wage labour in construction activity was 12.1 per cent at the native place but its proportion increased to 34.6 per cent at the place of destination. Similarly, fixed tenure wage employment and self-employment work was found only in 2.8 per cent of the households at the native place but it increased to 26 per cent at the place of destination. This category was mostly found in Gulf migrants. The nature of work done at the destination by the Gulf migrants was as: four-wheeler drivers, office and households assistants, wage labour in construction and factory worker (for men), and housemaids/house-help (for women).

The households that depended on traditional occupations, such as, washer men, barber, carpenter, potter, goldsmith, basket maker, etc., had been marginalized in the rural sector due to introduction of technology. They were in the process of migration to urban areas in search of regular employment and income. Apart from these, there was one caste group, Vaddera in Rayalaseema, particularly in Anantapur, which depended on earth works. But, in recent years, a majority of them had been engaged in the activities associated with cable work for telephones and electric lines,

drinking water pipelines, irrigation canal works and earth work for footings of buildings and apartments in all southern states.

Stay Period at the Destination Site of Migration

The duration of migration was more than one year for 36.0 per cent of the households and it was quite substantial among Gulf migrants in Kadapa district (63.8%). Such migration was reported by 46.7 per cent of the households in Chittoor and 12.7 per cent of the households in Anantapur. The households migrating for seven to 12 months accounted for 16 per cent and a majority of them were in transition to permanent migration. The households migrating for four to six months were 21.6 per cent in the sample. While working at the destination, most of them had made frequent trips to their native place, because they had continued to avail the benefits of various government schemes. Though a majority of them earned their livelihood at the destination, their families were stationed at the village, particularly in the case of Gulf migrants.

Income Generated at the Destination Site

The annual average income generated by the migrant households was Rs. 241,067 but it was only Rs. 98,537 among the non-migrants. It shows that migrant household average income was more than twice that of non-migrant households. The migrants enjoyed a double advantage— they could generate income not only at their native place but also at the destination. The proportion of migration income in the total income was 71.5% and the remaining portion of the income (28.5%) was generated from different sources such as own agriculture, agriculture wage employment and livestock income.

There were wide variations in the average income among migrants due to variation in the nature work at the destination, skill levels, number of persons who had migrated in the family, duration of migration and place of destination.

The average income among the non-migrants was just Rs. 98,537 in all the districts taken together and the variations were not much among the districts when compared to the variations among the migrants. Among all the sources, the average income from MGNREGS was the lowest (Rs.10,378) when compared to income from salary and self-employment activity, wage employment from farm and non-farm sector, live stock and also income from social security pensions. However, the

contribution of MGNREGS income was more than 7 per cent in the total income of the non-migrants which was better than own agriculture and other sources. The more important contribution of MGNREGS was that it provided employment for 77.1 per cent of the households.

Monthly Per Capita Expenditure (MPCE) is a better estimate of the level of poverty and standard of living of the family. The pattern of MPCE is linked to the size of income, savings, assets owned and credit mobilizing capacity. According to the Rangarajan Committee, the poverty line based on MPCE of a family was Rs. 1,060 for rural areas and Rs. 1,410 for urban areas. The MPCE of households was less than Rs. 1060 in 5.0 per cent of the total sample households. However, there was not much variation in the level of poverty between migrants and non-migrants among the districts. Any enhancement in the definition of poverty line based on the consumer price index for recent years would make the poverty levels swell. There were 14.1 per cent of households in the total with MPCE between Rs. 1,061 and Rs.1,500 and these households can be considered to be on the verge of poverty.

Conclusion

The contribution of destination income accounted for more than three-fourth in the total income in majority of the migrant families. The implementation of MGNREGS, food security under PDS, social security measures and subsidy schemes for poverty alleviation did not stop people from migration. However, it enabled non-migrants households stay back in their native place and also facilitated many migrant households to return to their native place. Though the income generated from MGNREGS was low, it was an important source of income for some of the migrants as they would avail the available employment under MGNREGS as well as from seasonal migration to achieve food and livelihood security. This is nothing but mitigating distress migration to some extent. The most important thing was that the wage employment under MGNREGS was provided during the lean seasons of agriculture. There were many households both migrants and non migrants that did not participate in wage employment in agriculture, but participated in MGNREGS which shows its importance.

Suggestions

1. There was demand for work in all the GPs, but the work was not available round the year. There was discontinuation in work provision precisely when workers were in need as observed from the study. Therefore, employment needs to be provided without any interruption, particularly in times of scarcity of employment during the lean agriculture season.
2. The field assistants used to ask for the demand application from the job card holders only when work order was in their hands and work schedule had been finalized. This was happening on just mutual agreement between job seekers and job providers. Thus, the state needs to build the capacities of the job seekers to claim the eligible 100 days employment as and when they feel the need to do so.
3. The piece rate for works needs to be revised in order to pay remunerative wages on par with the prevailing agriculture wage rate or at least to pay the mandated wage rate. Otherwise, the households exclusively dependent on wage labour under MGNREGS would have no other option for livelihood than migration.
4. It was found that the delay in payment of wages was one of the reasons for the poor to opt for migration. Thus, the wage payment for all instalments of labour needs to be made at least once every fortnight, if not every week.
5. There were some complaints and grievances in a few study villages with regard to manipulation of muster roles, which would affect the participation rate of labour and work performance and create scope for misuse of funds. Thus, adequate care is required to address these issues by the holding of meetings at the villages at periodic intervals.
6. There was a lack of strong conviction among the farmers and job card holders with regard to the usefulness of works taken up under MGNREGS in many villages. At the time of the study, the farmers were not able to express their priorities on work identification due to the lack of encouragement and motivation to express their views and lack of involvement. Allocation of just half a day or one day is insufficient for conducting discussions on identification of work and finalisation of the same in the Grama Sabhas. Thus, Grama

Sabha meetings need to be held for the purpose of identification of useful works, with participation of the whole community.

7. Large-scale motivation is required to persuade farmers to take up useful works on private lands if the works are to prove really useful to them.
8. There is a lot of demand for land development in terms of Juli flora clearance with stump removal, boulder removal, stone bunds forming and silt application. But implementation of these works was stopped due to misuse of funds and governance issues. Abstaining from the implementation of such works is not the solution. Thus, institutional mechanisms need to be strengthened for identification of works according to the needs of the community.
9. Greater awareness needs to be created with regard to the component-wise budget available and procedure to claim the budget of horticulture.
10. Horticulture scheme needs to be made pro-poor in terms of timely disbursement of scheme inputs and all components, particularly the price fixed for the plants needs to be enhanced to allow acquisition of quality plants.
11. Distress migration was observed in some of the GPs in Anantapur district even after availing 100 days employment where two and more members in the family had participated in MGNREGS works. Thus, the eligible limit for provision of employment needs to be enhanced for such households, treating them as an exceptional case.
12. There is need for GP-wise planning, keeping in view the rainfall, area under irrigation, availability of employment in farm and non-farm sectors, seasonal migration, but not job cards.

Chapter 1

IMPACT OF MGNREGS ON RURAL EMPLOYMENT AND MIGRATION IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Introduction

The Indian economy has been on a higher growth trajectory since liberalisation in 1991. However, the employment growth has been decelerated in 1990s compared to 1980s (Reddy et al., 2014:4). Whatever a little growth achieved in employment front in the post-globalisation period has been led by skill-intensiveness in the services and manufacturing sectors (Goldar, 2014). The share of agriculture in GDP has been declined sharply, but the share of employment still continues to be high in the sector (Papola and Sahu, 2012). This implies that a decline in its relative productivity of labour and increase in income differentials between the agriculture and non-agricultural sectors. The Report of the Expert Group on Agricultural Indebtedness observed that the worker productivity of the agriculture sector is five times lower than that of the non-agricultural sector (Government of India, 2008: 26).

The lower labour productivity in agriculture is concomitant with small size of land holding, uncertainty of rainfall and climatic conditions, poor irrigation facilities, inadequacy of credit access from formal sources, high input costs and poor quality seeds etc., besides lack of marketing support. The small and marginal farmers dependent on agriculture, specifically on rain-fed farming, have been facing serious problems in the achievement of livelihood security. They are vulnerable to a range of risks affecting individuals, households or whole communities in terms of health shocks (illnesses, injuries, accidents, and disabilities), labour market risks (unemployment and underemployment), natural shocks (droughts, cyclones and floods), social risks (crime and domestic violence), harvest risks, and life cycle risks (Chambers, 1995; FAO, 2018). The structural problems affecting the economy are that the majority of the households do not have access to productive assets, technical skills, formal sources of credit and basic infrastructure for transformation from low productive agriculture sector to high productive non-farm sectors and this has become an impediment in achieving inclusive growth.

State Interventions in Promoting Employment and Livelihood of the Poor

In the early years of planning in the country, much emphasis was given to increasing the volume of investment on large and medium irrigation projects in agriculturally prosperous areas in order to meet the food grain needs of the nation. However, not much attention was paid to address the issues of landlessness, development of drought-prone and backward areas. After realising the ineffectiveness of this strategy, the government searched for new policy initiatives to solve the country's severe problems such as unemployment and poverty. Although there were some specific programmes for employment generation, such as the Rural Manpower Programme implemented during 1960–69 and the Crash Employment Programme implemented during 1971–74, they did not have much of an impact, partly due to the ad hoc nature of these projects and limited allocation of resources.

The economists and planners in the early 1970s realised that expected employment can be achieved through the implementation of several special employment programmes to overcome supply side deficiencies and structural rigidities, arising mainly due to population growth, weak infrastructure facilities, gross inequalities in asset ownership and poor access to capital. The 1970s and 1980s saw the emergence of special employment schemes — such as the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP), Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY)—to provide wage employment through public works programmes and schemes. As a consequence of this, the levels of employment expanded steadily during the 1970s and 1980s. However, the rate of growth of employment continued to lag behind that of the labour force during the period.

Successive Governments in India have implemented various wage employment programmes from the early 1970s onwards to address the issues of unemployment, under employment and poverty in rural areas. After realising the ineffectiveness of strategies of rural employment, the Government of India enacted the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA), a rights based approach, in 2006. Under this, a rural household was to be provided with 100 days of guaranteed wage employment. Along with employment generation, it would also create durable assets in terms of improved water and soil conservation, harvesting, irrigation, drought proofing, land development, rural connectivity to provide all-weather access, rural sanitation works, and

other rural infrastructure works. The employment provision under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) is supplementary and to be provided during the lean seasons of agriculture. Thus, the MGNREGS is expected to address the issues of seasonal unemployment and under employment in agriculture, livelihood security and rural out migration when it is implemented with proper planning in targeting the poorest of the poor.

At the national level, Andhra Pradesh (both pre and post the bifurcation of the state) has been recognised as one of the best states in terms of the achievement of the targets for wage employment under MGNREGS in the country. In order to safeguard wage labour in drought-affected mandals in Andhra Pradesh, the employment provision was enhanced to 150 days for the year 2018-19. The budgetary allocation and expenditure crossed more than Rs. 9000 crore in the financial year 2018-19. Funds from the MGNREGS have become one of the main sources of budget allocation for the labour component of other departments such as irrigation, roads & buildings, horticulture, animal husbandry, housing, sanitation, electricity, etc., The funds flow from MGNREGS has become critical for rural development through the convergence of schemes. Twelve years have lapsed since the inception of the scheme and the government has been spending huge sums of budgetary funds on it each year.

Review of Literature

The preference for migration is determined by the difference in income between the source and destination of migration in order to generate the expected income (FAO, 2018). According to Breman (1996), migration is a coping mechanism that provides the means for clearing debts of the resource poor while it is undertaken for the improvement of household income and stability in the case of the resource endowed. The choice of migration is also motivated by a desire to develop skills for gaining productive employment in the urban market and for socio-economic transformation (Saxena, 1977). According to some studies, migration is an alternative strategy to enable people to overcome economic shocks, depletion of assets, shrinking of livelihood opportunities and the intensity of poverty (Sah and Bhatt, 2008; FAO, 2018).

Generating income that matches with the changing consumption pattern and living standards pushes people to search for alternative livelihoods in the urban labour market. Studies have

observed that the share of food expenditure in rural areas is declining, whereas the share of non-food expenditure is increasing at a much faster rate (Mehrotra et al., 2014). Households depend on dry land agriculture in which income from all sources often falls short of meeting the consumption needs of the family, driving them to depend on informal credit and pushing them into a debt trap such that migration emerges as the only alternative exit option. However, rural–urban migration is not only considered as ‘anti-development’, but is also seen as a channel that increases urban poverty—which is blamed for being a major cause of unemployment, social disruption and overburdened urban civic amenities (Sah, 2016). It can be argued that seasonal migration has resulted in the disruption of family relations and has had a negative effect on local labour supply and demand, with adverse consequences for balanced growth in rural and urban areas. This can be described as the state’s incapacity to address the issues of unemployment, under employment, poverty, protection of rights, livelihood and social security for the asset-less and the poor in the country.

In a field survey conducted by Dreze and Khera in May–June 2008, spread over six North Indian states, they concluded that although the scheme suffers from corruption, contractor raj and delayed payment of wages, it has great potential to transform the lives of the rural poor slowly but surely (Dreze and Khera, 2008). In another study, they contend that despite numerous constraints, the NREGA has been making a difference to the lives of the rural poor (Khera and Dreze, 2009). The villagers hold that the NREGA promises to be a boon for improving rural livelihood, the provision of jobs within the village is very encouraging to them, and that the involvement of self-help group (SHG) members improves people’s NREGA awareness and ensures gender equality in rural Tamil Nadu (IIT-Madras, 2009). Households with a low asset base and those belonging to the Scheduled Caste (SC)/Scheduled Tribe (ST) categories are more likely to participate in the programme, but the support base of MGNREGA is not limited to just these groups and is quite broad-based (Joshi et al., 2017).

How the MGNREGS addresses the issues of poverty in rural areas is critical for its assessment. Poverty data shows that the absolute number of the poor declined by 138 million in 2011 as compared to 2004-05, the first time in India after the introduction of MGNREGS (Mehrotra et al. 2014). Though poverty declined as per the Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure (MPCE) definition of the Planning Commission, the food consumption pattern has changed in

recent years. According to the changed consumption pattern, the share of food expenditure has declined whereas the non-food expenditure has been increasing at a faster rate. Could the MGNREGS improve the employment opportunities of the poor to meet the needs of non-food consumption expenditure? Has the MGNREGA been able to reduce distress out-migration by providing work closer to home?

‘The annual income from MGNREGs was on average INR 4670 (USD 103 in 2011) per participating household, which is roughly the equivalent of 12 per cent of the average household expenditure among the poorer half of Indian households’ (National Sample Survey Office, 2011). ‘The positive effects on the welfare of participating and non-participating households were accompanied by adverse effects on the local economy and negligible impact on out-migration for work’ (Novotny and Kubelkova, 2015). A few studies observed that while migration certainly decreased, it did not stop completely. More specifically, many women and older men have discontinued migration to urban areas (Joshi and Singh, 2008).

Need of the Study

MGNREGS is projected as the largest social security scheme which spends huge sums of money at the village level for supplementing the existing employment from own sources. While providing employment, it is also possible to improve the basic amenities and durable assets in the rural areas. Though MGNREGS is self-targeting, the question is whether the poor households are able to exercise their rights and have access to remunerative employment. Is the provision really being availed by the poor and the vulnerable to avoid distress migration? Are the principles of accountability and transparency being followed in the implementation of MGNREGS? Is there any additional income generated for the poor for livelihood security? Is there any change in the agriculture wages, indebtedness, and quality of life of the poor? Has the scheme resulted in creation of assets and rural infrastructure of any worth to the individuals and the community? One big question is whether the scheme is really effective in arresting migration and thereby making a contribution to the livelihood of the poor? Considering these aspects, there is a need for a study on the direct and indirect effects of MGNREGS in providing employment and livelihood security and migration.

The study has deployed supply and demand factors and their interplay for work as the basic approach to assess levels, patterns and determinants of the incidence of distress migration among the workers in the villages. The supply side factors relate to the implementation of MGNREGS at the village level to ensure demanded volume of work at mandated wages at the appropriate place and time by the workers without any delay in wage payments. Any incompatibility between demand and supply factors results in the incidence of distress migration.

The Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for assessing the impact of MGNREGS on distress migration is in order. Three different scenarios could occur. One, workers might be willing to take up work but the work is not made available; two, work is available, but not at the time and place that suits the worker; three, work is available but the worker is not inclined to take the same due to the fact that it does not conform to his/her choice of work and wage rate. These situations could lead to distress migration. The migration factors can be classified into supply side and demand side factors.

Demand Side Factors

Poverty, indebtedness, household specific shocks encountered, number of workers in the household, number of dependents, the expenditure commitments on education and health, and the labour contracts with the farmers in the village have been identified as some of the common factors pushing the households towards distress migration. As opposed to the young and the educated, the middle and the aged members in the households resort to distress migration. Besides, the incidence of drought could also be a contributing factor to opt for migration. Factors such as the size and productive quality of land holdings, access to irrigation, membership in self-help groups, social networks at the origin and the destination of migration, the support obtained from the government in terms of social security programmes, remittances received and rental incomes, self-employment work available in their own agricultural activities and/or non-agricultural activities could discourage distress migration. Further, the improved opportunities for self-employment arising out of the private assets created under MGNREGS could also arrest the migration. All the above mentioned factors related to the individual workers and their households influence the incidence of distress migration.

Supply Side Factors

The supply side migration factors include employment availability due to increased productivity of community assets created under MGNREGS; employment available in agricultural and non-agricultural activities undertaken by the landowners and/or the owners of the non-agricultural activities in the villages; and the rise in wages due to the implementation of MGNREGS for enhancing productivity in agriculture and non-agriculture activities in the local economy.

Implementation of MGNREGS, especially in ensuring the volume of employment demanded at mandated wage rates and the timely payment of wages, has a bearing on distress migration. Moreover, the distribution of the volume of work and wage income among the members in worker groups also influences the incidence of migration.

The mediating capacities of functionaries such as work mate, field assistant, technical assistant of MGNREGS and other community organisations in negotiating with gram panchayats also determine the incidence of migration.

In this regard, the factors that are external to Gram Panchayats include the flow of funds from the central and state governments to the districts, mandals and eventually the villages for generating the required volume of employment at the village level.

Objectives of the Study:

1. To review and assess the impact of MGNREGS on the process, pattern and level of migration across the state of Andhra Pradesh,
2. To examine the impact of MGNREGS on reducing distress migration from rural to urban areas,
3. To assess the extent to which the scheme has helped in creating employment opportunities,
4. To identify the reasons for disinterest in MGNREGS for the migrating families and
5. To suggest measures for better targeting of the vulnerable households so as to arrest migration in the state.

Methodology

The study is mainly based on primary and secondary data. The primary data was collected through two set of interview schedules—household and field assistant. Apart from this, a checklist was used for collection of data from mate/leader of the Srama Shakiti Sangas (SSS) and panchayat secretary in all the gram panchayats (GPs). Secondary data was collected at all levels—state, district, mandal, and GPs. The data on job cards issued, employment and wages payment, nature of work undertaken, etc. was collected for the reference year as well for the last 10 years in order to assess the direct and indirect benefits from agriculture and other activities after MGNREGS.

Sample Design

The study adopts a four-stage stratified random sampling design. The details are as follows:

Stage I: Three drought-prone districts were selected purposively from the Rayalaseema region of Andhra Pradesh and the districts identified for the study were Anantapur, Chittoor and Kadapa.

State II: Nine Mandals (three per district) were selected using the stratified random sampling method. Mandals were classified into three equal strata of mandals according to low, medium and high in terms of average days of employment provided for the job card holders who had participated in MGNREGS work in 2018-19. From each stratum, one mandal was selected at random. Care was taken to ensure that at least one among the three sample mandals was declared as drought affected for a period of three consecutive years and that had a history of seasonal and permanent migration. A detailed discussion was conducted with district level officials with regard to the incidence of migration in mandals in each district. In the discussions, we found that there was no distress or seasonal migration in Kadapa district; it did however occur in four to five mandals in Chittoor and about half of the mandals in Anantapur district. It was also found that Gulf migration is predominant in Kadapa district and the migration destination is mostly outside the state in the case of Chittoor and Anantapur districts.

Due representation was also given to the selection of mandals from all the revenue divisions of the district. Mixed methods were used in the selection of the mandal in terms of average days of employment provided and migration. In Kadapa district, two mandals with incidence of Gulf migration and one mandal with predominance of canal irrigation were chosen from the three revenue divisions. The rationale was to check whether employment provision has any bearing on distress migration. In Chittoor district, two mandals with no incidence of migration and one mandal with incidence migration giving representation were selected from the three revenue divisions. In Anantapur district, two mandals with moderate incidence of migrations and one mandal with predominance of migration were selected from three revenue divisions out of five revenue divisions. The three mandals selected in each district were representative of geographical conditions, socio-economic background of the people, participation in MGNREGs works and also incidence of migration of the district (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: Job Card Households Participation Rate and Average Employment

Mandals / District	Job Card Holders' Participation Rate	Average Days of Employment provided per HH	Type of Mandal for Selection of Sample
Atlur	41.67	56.49	Gulf Migration
T Sundupalle	34.23	82.27	Gulf Migration
Chapad	54.34	45.24	Canal Irrigation
Kadapa District	43.24	71.18	Partly Drought, Partly Borewell and Canal Irrigation
Irala	56.91	43.22	Complaints of Machinery Work in MGNREGA works
Satyavedu	58.66	56.58	Total Agriculture Land acquired for the Sri City Industrial Cluster
Thamballapalle	69.41	50.59	Migration of labour mostly to Bengaluru
Chittoor District	41.68	62.40	Partly drought, partly tank and borewell irrigation.
Gummagatta	36.24	79.33	Migration of labour to all southern states and also Maharashtra
Nallamada	46.35	69.60	Migration of labour mostly to Bengaluru
Vajrakarur	47.67	65.06	Migration of labour mostly Bengaluru
Anantapur District	38.82	71.67	Major part of the district is drought-prone and partly tank and borewell irrigation
Andhra Pradesh	48.49	58.13	Partly drought, partly irrigation

Source: Field Survey

Stage III: 27 Gram Panchayats (GPs) were selected based on the stratified random sampling method. GPs in each mandal were classified into three equal strata of GPs according to low, medium and high average days of employment provided to the job card holders who participated in MGNREGs work in 2018-19. From each stratum, one GP was selected giving due representation to migration incidence factor too. The rationale was to check whether the employment provision has any bearing on distress migration.

Stage IV: In each GP, all the migrant households were listed. From the list, 30 households were selected using the simple random sampling method. In some of the GPs, there were no migrants to choose for the sample. In some GPs, the available migrants were less than 30 households though it was more than 30 in the list. Hence, the remaining sample was drawn from the list of participant households of MGNREGS. Each GP had a list of job card holders participating in MGNREGS. The list was arranged in ascending order according to the number of days worked in MGNREGS. From the list, the required sample households were selected based on the stratified random sampling method, to obtain a representation from low to higher days of work participation in MGNREGS. Mixed method was adopted for selection of sample both migrant and non-migrant households to assess the impact of the scheme on employment and livelihood security and also factors that lead to migration in spite of the implementation of MGNREGS. In all, data was collected from 830 households, both migrant and non-migrant ones. The details are shown in the Table 1.2.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted to test the appropriateness of the chosen methodology for the study, the households and the field assistant schedule in two districts viz. Kadapa and Chittoor. In the pilot study, it was found that the 'average days worked' was the criterion for selection of the mandal and GPs rather than the participation rate of job card households. It was clearly observed in the study that many households had received a job card for availing the schemes of housing, individual household sanitary latrine and horticulture but not for wage employment. All the

households had BPL cards to claim subsidised rice under the Public Distribution System (PDS). They have secured the job card to avoid losing the BPL card. It is important to note that all the BPL card holders did not require wage employment under MGNREGS. It was also found that migration was not the cause or the effect of the lack of job card. The applicants could get a job card within a month's time if they were really interested to work under the MGNREGS. Hence, the lack of a job card is not the causative factor for migration as observed in the pilot study. Thus, the selection of the mandal and GPs were made on the basis of low, medium and high participation in terms of average days of employment for impact assessment and migration.

Table 1.2: GP wise Sample Migrants for the study

Gram Panchayat	Job Card Holder HHs	Listing of Migrants Households	Sample Households		
			Migrants	Non-migrants	Total
Varikunta	168	48	20	10	30 (100.0)
Thamballagondi	472	122	26	1	27 (100.0)
Vemulur	259	45	23	3	26 (100.0)
Vedurur	250	32	-	30	39 (100.0)
Chinnaguravalur	709	64	1	29	30 (100.0)
Alladupalle	906	61	1	29	30 (100.0)
Verramanenipalem	238	19	30	1	31 (100.0)
Rayavaram	150	67	28	1	29 (100.0)
Midithadu	160	78	25	3	28 (100.0)
Kadapa	3312	536	154	116	270 (100.0)
Errasanipalli	139	19	11	20	31 (100.0)
Kotala	1224	67	17	16	33(100.0)
Punchalamarri	214	78	23	8	31 (100.0)
Vadrampalli	200	00	-	29	29 (100.0)
Polakala	351	0	3	27	30 (100.0)
Kollapalle	243	0	3	27	30 (100.0)
Madhanamjerry	185	0	3	28	31 (100.0)
Kannavaram	318	0	1	30	30 (100.0)
Aaroor	202	0	-	31	31 (100.0)
Chittoor	3076	164	61	215	276(100.0)
Donnikota	491	34	24	9	33(100.0)
Kurumala	1384	42	20	10	30 (100.0)
Maskavankapalli	441	39	21	9	30 (100.0)
Gonabavi	964	430	31	0	31 (100.0)
Kalagodu	426	20	33	2	35 (100.0)
Poola Kunta	315	406	29	2	31 (100.0)
Thatrakal*	654	0	31	1	32(100.0)
Chabhala	593	0	2	32	34 (100.0)
Venkatampalli	434	120	27	3	30 (100.0)
Anantapur	5702	1091	218	68	286 (100.0)
Grand Total	12090	1798	433	399	832 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

*Note: Households were chosen among seasonal migrants based on the information given by the villagers without any list of migrants.

Limitations of the Study

The primary data was planned to be collected via three sets of interview schedules that were to be canvassed by: household, field assistant and Panchayat Secretary (PS). However, it was not possible to collect the PS schedule/questionnaire from all the Gram Panchayats (GPs) under study due to the non-availability of the in-charge of the GP, or because of his/her having recently joined duty and being unfamiliar with the activities of MGNREGS in the GP. In the schedule/questionnaire of PS, we had asked them to provide data on land use, agriculture crops and irrigation status in the GP in order to assess the employment needs, based on the employment provision under MGNREGS and employment availability in agriculture. However, it was found that the data on land and agriculture was available only for revenue villages but not for GPs. Here, it is important to note that the geographical boundary of a revenue village is different from that of a GP. Also, while the role of the PS in the implementation of MGNREGS was limited to holding the gram sabha in the village, they were found to be not familiar with the status of implementation. Hence, the data with regard to the schedule or questionnaire was not used for the study.

A checklist was planned for collection of data/information through Focus Group Discussions (FGD) from mates or group leaders of Shrama Shakti Sangas (SSS). However, the FGDs were not conducted formally in all the GPs; instead, there were interactions with villagers to get leads on the issue of employment provision under MGNREGS. Though formal FGDs were not conducted, relevant information was collected from 30 households representing all the social groups and also households which received employment (in the ranges of: below 25 days, 26 days to 50 days, 50 days to 75 days, 75 days to 100 days and above 100 days). Data was also collected on various aspects of the MGNREGS, based on the perceptions with regard to issues in employment provision and usefulness of works as gathered from the household questionnaire in which mates of SSS were part of the data in terms of household schedule.

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Chapter 2

PERFORMANCE OF EMPLOYMENT PROVISION IN MGNREGS IN ANDHRA PRADESH

Introduction

The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), 2005 mandates the provision of 100 days of guaranteed wage employment in a financial year (FY) to every rural household willing to do unskilled manual work. The main objective of the act is to ensure livelihood security and social protection for landless labourers and people vulnerable to poverty in rural areas. The public works taken up in the rural areas under the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) are expected to promote agriculture and improve rural infrastructure. The works proposed at the grassroots level are demand driven through the strengthening of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs). It widens the scope for the adoption of public participation in the planning process, through convergence of various anti-poverty and livelihood initiatives of the state.

In this chapter, the study would analyse the following: year-wise trends and performance of the MGNREGS at the state and district level in terms of the number of job cards issued to the households on demand and membership in the job cards; participation rate of households in MGNREGS works; status of employment provided to the job card holders out of the target of 100 days. The trends and performance were also analysed in terms of financial targets and status of benefits derived under convergence of various individual schemes.

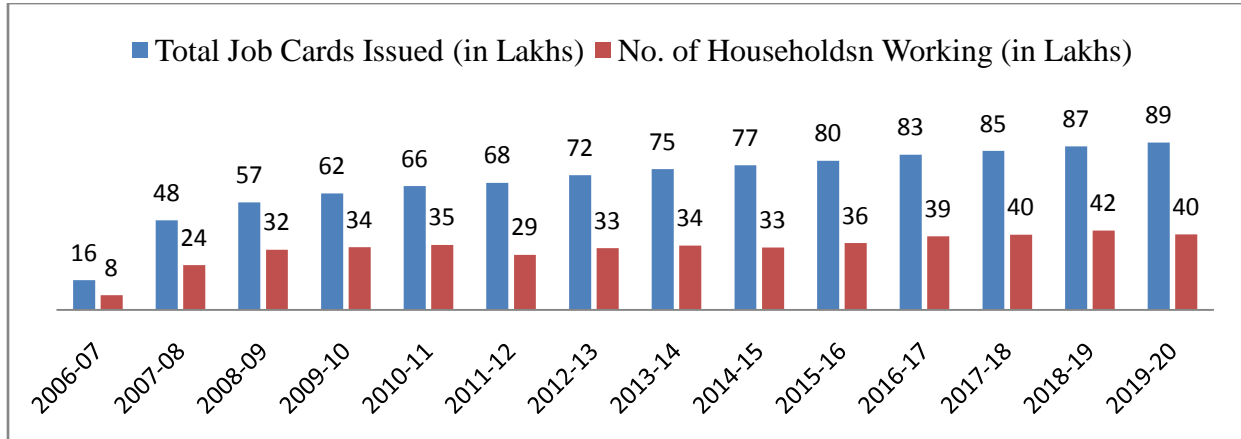
Implementation of MGNREGS in Andhra Pradesh

Job card is essential to work under the MGNREGS. All the households living below poverty line (BPL) or all white ration card holders are eligible to get a job card. One can get one's job card within 15 days if the household submits an application. Issue of job card on demand for all the poor is the responsibility of the state. The process of MGNREGS implementation commences after submission of an application to the Gram Panchayat by the household, seeking a job card if they are willing to do unskilled manual work. The Gram Panchayat after due

verification will issue a job card inclusion of all adult family members of those willing to work under the MGNREGS. Wage employment is supposed to be provided within 15 days after submission of such an application by the wage seeker. They are also eligible to get an unemployment allowance if employment is not provided within 15 days. The guidelines of the scheme indicate that disbursement of wages for the work is made on a weekly basis and not beyond a fortnight; work should ordinarily be provided within a 5 km radius of the village or else extra wages of 10 per cent are payable; at least one-third of the beneficiaries should be women and transparency and accountability should be ensured through social audit. A unique feature of the scheme is that several technology initiatives have been made for the monitoring and implementation of the scheme.

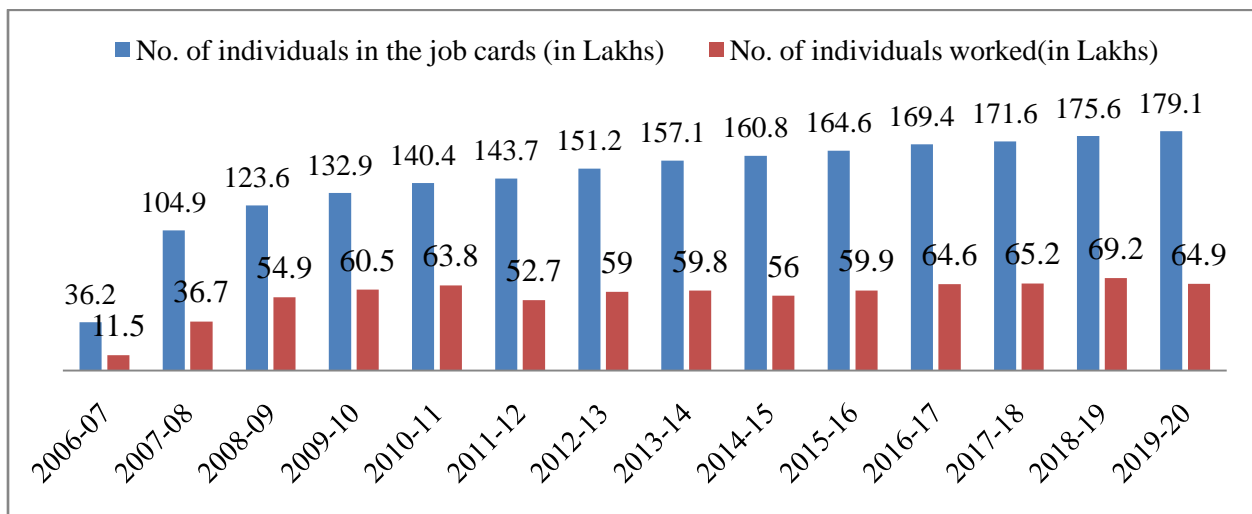
The number of job cards issued in Andhra Pradesh in the year 2006-07 was only 15.89 lakhs as the scheme had then commenced only in a few districts. The scheme was extended for all the districts in the year 2008-09 and 57 lakh households were issued job cards in the year 2008-09. According to the 2011 census, there were 90.65 lakh households, with a population of 3.50 crores in rural Andhra Pradesh. Among them, 67 lakh households received job cards (74 per cent) in 2011. Even after 2011, each year, an average of 5 lakh new job cards have been issued in the state to meet the demand of the people between the years 2012-13 and 2019-20. The cumulative number of job cards issued was 89.43 lakh up to 2019-20. However, the number of households which participated in MGNREGS works has varied from 32 lakh to 42 lakh during the period 2008-09 to 2019-2020; it was at its peak at 42 lakh in the year 2018-19 (Figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Proportion of Households Working out of the Total Job Cards Issued in Andhra Pradesh



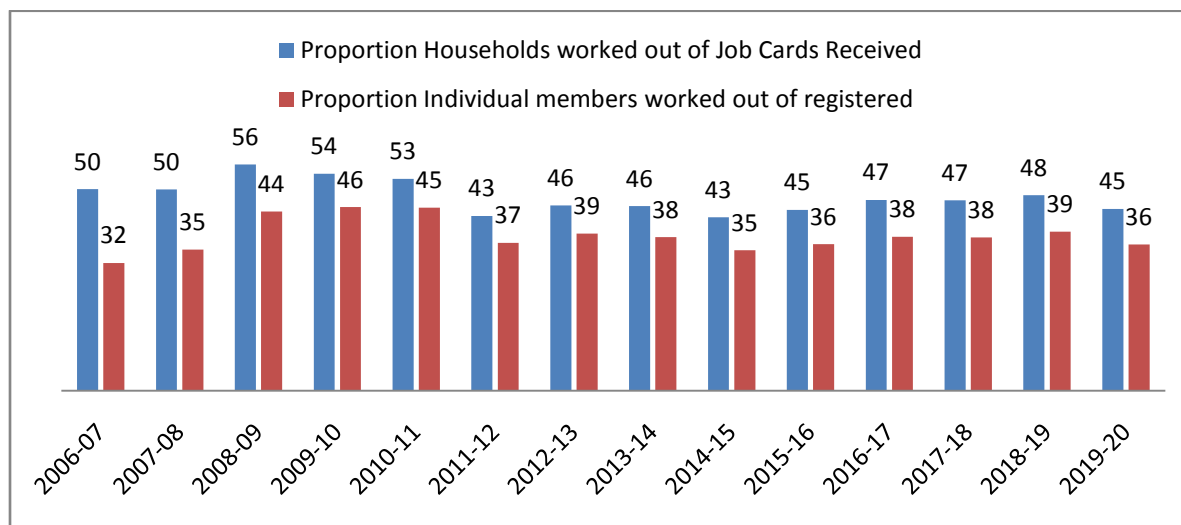
All the household members who are willing to work for wage employment must register their names in the job cards. However, each household is entitled to get 100 days employment irrespective of the number of members registered on each job card. The total membership registered for work under the MGNREGS was 1.05 crores in 2007-08 and this figure increased to 1.79 crores by 2019-20 (Figure 2).

Figure 2.2: Work participation of Households and Individuals as a Proportion of the Enrolment



On an average, two members per household registered to work under the MGNREGS. It implies that the 100 days of work is shared by all the family members. The data clearly shows that all the households which received job cards were not working for wage employment and all the individual members registered in the job card were also not working in all the years. The proportion of the individual members who worked on job cards out of all the registered ones increased initially up to the year 2009-10, but subsequently declined. The household participation rate fluctuated between 43 per cent and 58 per cent, and the individual member participation rate fluctuated between 32 per cent and 46 per cent during the period 2006-7 to 2019-20 (Figure 2.3). The household and individual member participation rate in MGNREGS depends on their need, free time, and convenience to work.

Figure 2.3: Participation Rate of Households and Individual Members in MGNREGS



Job Card Holders Membership in Shram Shakthi Sangams

After the enrolment of household members via their job card, they need to be formed into a group called Shram Shakthi Sangam (SSS) in order to get wage employment under the MGNREGS. In other words, all the enrolled members on a job card must join an SSS group if they want to work for wage employment. However, out of the total job cards issued, the proportion of households with membership in SSS groups was 63.4 per cent in the state in March 2019. It means that 36.6 per cent of job card holding households have no membership in SSS groups and they are not inclined to work as wage labour. Such households have received job cards to avail other benefits under convergence of horticulture, housing and Individual

Household Sanitary Latrine (IHSL) schemes. They would be admitted to a temporary SSS before being provided assistance. There are many households which are under the impression that they might have to forego their benefits under the PDS, Aarogyasree and other subsidy schemes of the government if they did not receive a job card. (Table 2.4).

Table 2.1: Performance of the Scheme in 2018-19

District Name	Total SSS HHs	Total SSS Members	% of SSS HHs in Total Job Cards	% of SSS Members in Total Job Card Members	% of SSS HHs Working Out of Total	% of SSS Members Working Out of Total
Anantapur	463110	871807	58.03	48.97	66.90	62.33
Chittoor	404675	708050	59.91	50.13	69.56	64.59
East Godavari	518753	833017	62.01	53.93	80.39	74.08
Guntur	433934	770758	54.79	50.13	68.59	64.41
Kadapa	299221	518194	55.03	48.49	78.57	72.71
Krishna	365974	662434	57.94	50.39	67.06	61.56
Kurnool	479165	920700	59.46	55.04	68.29	63.15
Prakasam	534959	955162	71.72	68.73	81.75	76.03
SPS Nellore	334067	570249	55.84	47.76	74.38	67.85
Srikakulam	472692	823941	81.39	69.33	83.92	75.33
Visakhapatnam	388565	691450	79.89	71.86	86.83	82.38
Vizianagaram	433473	799921	85.87	75.39	85.77	76.80
West Godavari	417468	704958	56.14	49.31	79.95	74.37
Total	5546056	9830641	63.43	56.00	76.44	70.41

Source: Secondary data from MGNREGS website

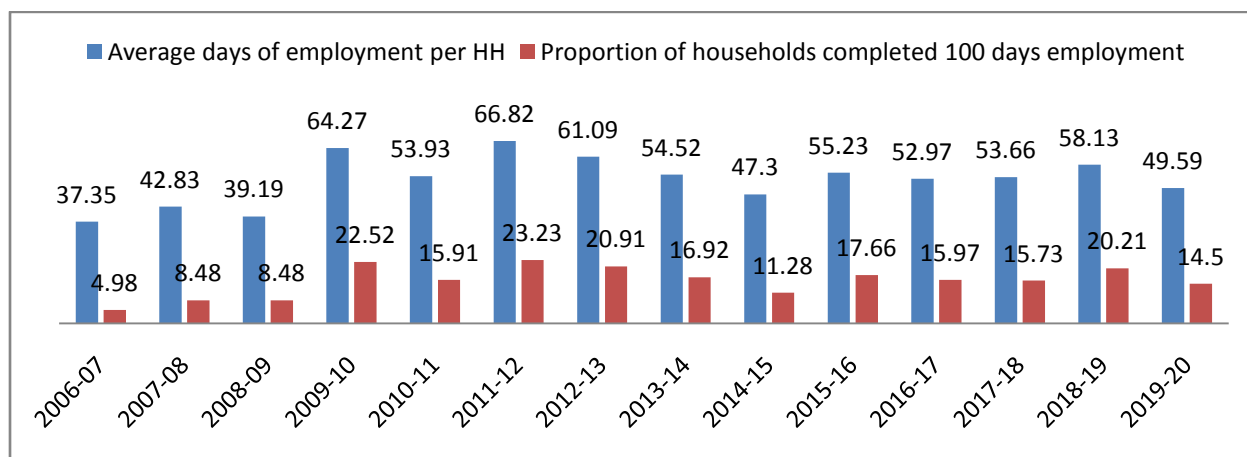
The job card carrying households having membership in SSS groups has been quite high in the districts of Vizianagaram (85.7%), Srikakulam (81.4%), Visakhapatnam (79.9%) and Prakasam (71.7%) and lower in the districts of Guntur (54.8%), Kadapa (55.0%), SPS Nellore (55.8%) and West Godavari (56.1%). It shows that the membership in SSS groups is relatively better in mostly tribal sub-plan districts and poor in some districts where the irrigation facilities have been relatively better. In terms of individual members with membership in SSS groups out of the total number of members enrolled in job cards, it was only 56 per cent. It means that 44 per cent of the job card holder individuals have not joined any SSS group.

Membership in SSS groups is not sufficient, but the members do need to participate in work for the utilisation of the scheme. A similar trend is observed with regard to the work participation of households and individual members as observed in terms of membership in SSS groups. The membership in SSS groups and work participation in terms of households and members have been lower than that of the state average even in the drought-prone Rayalaseema district.

Extent of Employment Provided Under the MGNREGS

Each job card household is entitled to get 100 days of employment under the MGNREGA and the state needs to make full efforts to provide this on demand. It was observed from the data that the average employment provided varied from 37 days to 68 days during the 13-year period (2006-07 to 2019-20). The households completing 100 days of employment out of the total number of participants varied between 4.98 per cent and 23.23 per cent during the period. The employment provision was enhanced to 150 days in the drought year 2018-19. Even then, the average employment provided was only 58 days and the proportion of households completing 100 days was just 20.21 per cent of the total number of participant households (Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.4: Year-Wise Average Employment and Households Completing 100 days in 2018-19

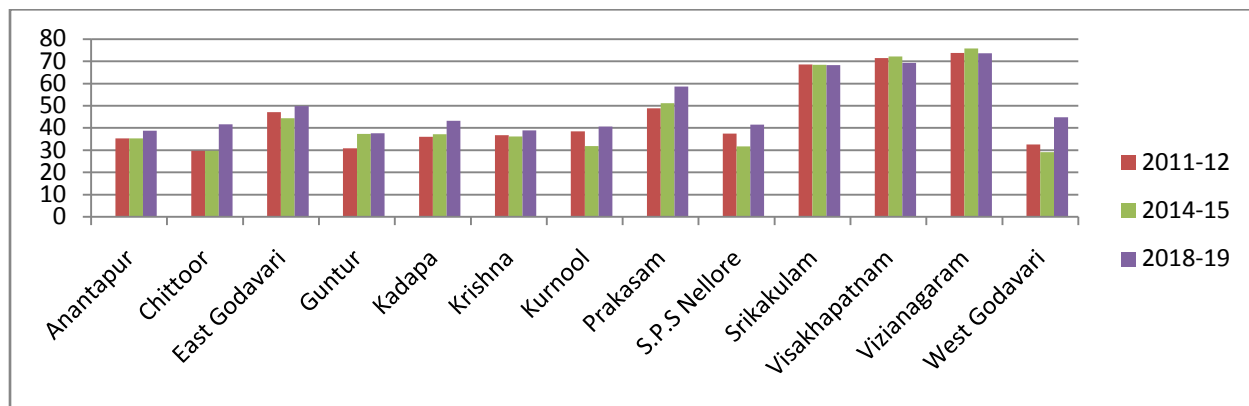


District-wise Households Participating in MGNREGS Works

The district-wise performance of the scheme has been assessed in terms of job cards issued and participation in MGNREGS works, average days of employment provided and proportion of households which have completed 100 days of employment. It was observed from the data that the job cards were issued for all the households on demand. But all the job card holding households have not been participating in wage employment work. The year-wise data on participation of job card holding households in wage employment indicate that some of the districts (such as Chittoor, Guntur, Krishna, West Godavari, and SPS Nellore) have been

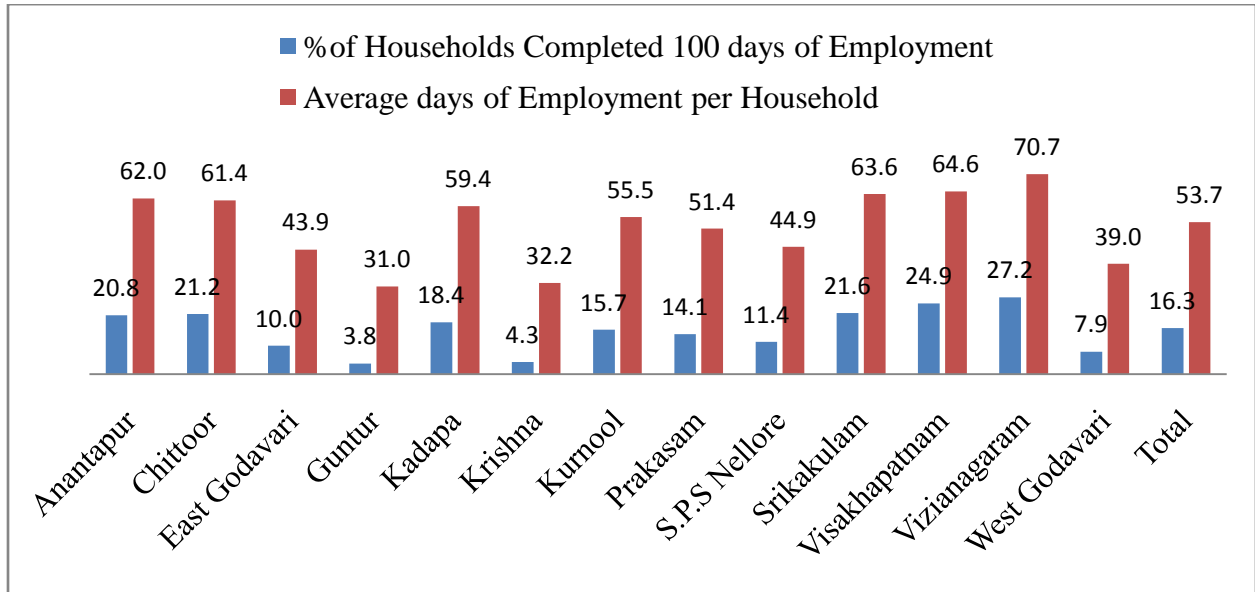
recording consistently lower values while other districts (such as Vizianagaram, Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam and Prakasam) have been consistently recording higher values in participation (Figure 2.5). Even the drought-prone districts such as Chittoor, Anantapur and Kadapa have been low in participation of the households holding a job card. An in-depth analysis is therefore needed about the factors determining the level of household participation in wage employment at the micro level.

Figure 2.5: District-wise Households Participating in MGNREGS Works



Employment provided in terms of number of days is important for the achievement of livelihood security and for addressing the issue of distress migration in rural areas in search of employment. The performance of the scheme has been assessed in terms of the average days of employment provided and the proportion of households completing 100 days of employment in a 14-year period, from 2006-07 to 2019-20. The district-wise data show that the households which completed 100 days of employment between 2006-07 and 2019-20 was 16.3 of the job card holding households out of the total number of participating households. The figure is very low in the districts of Guntur (3.8%), Krishna (4.3%), West Godavari (7.9%), East Godavari (10.0%) and SPS Nellore (11.4%). On the other hand, it was relatively better in the districts of Vizianagaram (27.2%), followed by Visakhapatnam (24.9%), Srikakulam (21.6%), Chittoor (21.2%), Anantapur (20.8%) and Kadapa (18.4 %) (Figure 2.6).

Figure 2.6: District-wise Performance of the MGNREGS in Terms of Average Days of Employment and Proportion of Households Completing 100 days for the period 2006-07 to 2019-20



The performance of the scheme is assessed not only for households which completed 100 days employment but also the average employment provided over a 14-year period (2006-07 to 2019-20). It was observed from the data that the average employment for the period was relatively better in the districts of Vizianagaram (70.7 days), followed by Visakhapatnam (64.6 days), Srikakulam (63.6 days), Anantapur (62.0 days), Chittoor (61.4 days), Kadapa (59.4 days), Kurnool (55.5 days) and Prakasam (51.4 days). On the other hand, the average employment generated per household in a year was relatively lower in the districts of Guntur (31.0 days), Krishna (32.2 days), West Godavari (39.0 days), East Godavari (43.9 days), and SPS Nellore (44.9 days) (Figure 2.6). It shows that there are wider variations in availing the scheme by the job card holders in terms of the proportion of households completing 100 days of employment and average employment provided per household during the 14-year period. Generally, the performance in terms of availing the scheme depends on the supply side factors such as the efficiency in timely provision of employment on demand, timely payment of wages and revision of wage rate at par with markets rates, and the demand side factors such as need of employment, availability of alternative employment in farm and non-farm sectors.

District-wise Per-Day Wage Rates Paid to the Households under MGNREGS

The wage rate per day is linked to the piece rate of work. The work is allotted for the group of job card holders. Initially, the government prescribed a wage rate at Rs. 100 per day. It implied that all the job card holders needed to complete the allotted work each day in order to get the prescribed wage rate. They could secure the prescribed wage if the group could collectively complete the allotted work. Here, the wage rate is decided based on the quantum of work completed and not the number of hours spent on the work each day. Getting a prescribed wage rate depends on the worker's sincerity and commitment to the work and the efficiency of the participant workers. It was observed from the data that the average wage paid varied between Rs.82.7 and Rs.96.0 between 2007-08 and 2011-12. The per day wage rate was revised to Rs. 125 in 2012-13. Accordingly, the piece rates of various works were also increased in order to meet the prescribed wage norms for the works. The wage rate hike is made on a yearly basis, depending on the consumer goods price index for workers. Accordingly, the per-day wage rate was fixed to generate an income up to Rs. 206 per day in 2018-19 for each card holder¹. However, the actual wage rates paid to workers were less than those prescribed in all the years and in all districts of the state (Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: District-wise Average Wage Per Day Provided Per Household in Andhra Pradesh

District	2007-08	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20
Anantapur	85.0	97.5	102.0	106.4	118.4	130.9	139.4	158.2	166.7	205.0	209.2
Chittoor	79.5	88.2	92.3	92.6	104.8	120.8	137.4	162.2	168.6	203.1	207.4
East Godavari	83.1	85.2	95.0	104.9	114.9	133.7	132.0	149.6	166.9	206.5	208.8
Guntur	81.3	96.9	103.0	110.6	114.5	130.0	128.4	142.1	144.1	199.3	200.3
Kadapa	79.2	85.3	91.7	91.8	106.9	123.6	131.6	148.6	157.3	206.5	210.4
Krishna	0.0	86.9	97.7	105.5	110.0	117.5	122.6	130.9	135.9	202.1	202.4
Kurnool	90.3	87.9	91.1	95.7	104.4	114.1	118.4	138.6	136.0	195.8	199.1
Prakasam	85.4	85.9	90.3	88.6	93.7	103.4	107.3	132.5	137.6	196.5	197.8
SPS Nellore	82.1	86.4	91.4	98.6	104.6	103.6	109.7	132.8	143.6	198.3	201.1
Srikakulam	81.0	89.1	100.7	91.5	101.7	121.0	117.7	124.3	131.5	192.8	196.4
Visakhapatnam	0.0	94.3	106.2	106.1	109.6	120.8	132.1	145.2	152.8	196.5	201.0
Vizianagaram	77.8	84.0	90.3	89.3	99.1	110.3	106.0	123.1	127.3	194.3	208.4
West Godavari	0.0	84.6	98.4	104.0	107.1	117.9	129.4	140.8	147.6	199.1	200.8
Total	82.7	88.5	95.8	97.5	105.8	119.0	123.4	139.9	146.8	199.2	203.44

¹https://nrega.nic.in/netnrega/writereaddata/Circulars/2325Revised_Wage_Rates_2018.pdf

Year-wise Annual Expenditure on MGNREGS

The budget for the implementation of MGNREGS is released by the Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India. The funding pattern is that the centre would bear the entire cost of unskilled labour, 75 per cent of skilled labour, and the material and administrative cost of the scheme as determined by the Centre. In case wage employment is not provided within 15 days, unemployment allowance needs to be provided by the state. The state governments would prepare a demand driven budget for labour, material and other costs for the release of budget, as approved at the district level. The data on year-wise expenditure on the scheme shows that it crossed more than Rs.2000 crores after initiation of the scheme in all the districts in 2009-10. The expenditure incurred on the scheme has gained momentum in the year 2010-11, with an expenditure of about Rs. 3000 crores and it continued at the same level for the next five years up to 2014-15. There was a budget hike again in 2015-16, with constant improvement every year. It peaked at Rs. 9213 crores in 2018-19 as the provision was increased to 150 days (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Year-wise Expenditure on MGNREGS and the Wage Component

Year	Total Wages Paid including Materials (in Lakhs)	Expenditure on Labour (in Lakhs)	Wage Component as a Proportion of the Total
2006-07	25723.0	25090.24	97.54
2007-08	97639.4	87172.43	89.28
2008-09	138798.4	107207.88	77.24
2009-10	223406.9	199100.18	89.12
2010-11	300667.2	197267.72	65.61
2011-12	273139.0	213567.40	78.19
2012-13	314051.0	234815.96	74.77
2013-14	307181.5	220249.10	71.70
2014-15	296746.8	206506.10	69.59
2015-16	439931.8	258811.86	58.83
2016-17	570530.5	308942.28	54.15
2017-18	614530.1	334550.20	54.44
2018-19	921275.2	513979.41	55.79
2019-20	670894.6	432190.33	64.42

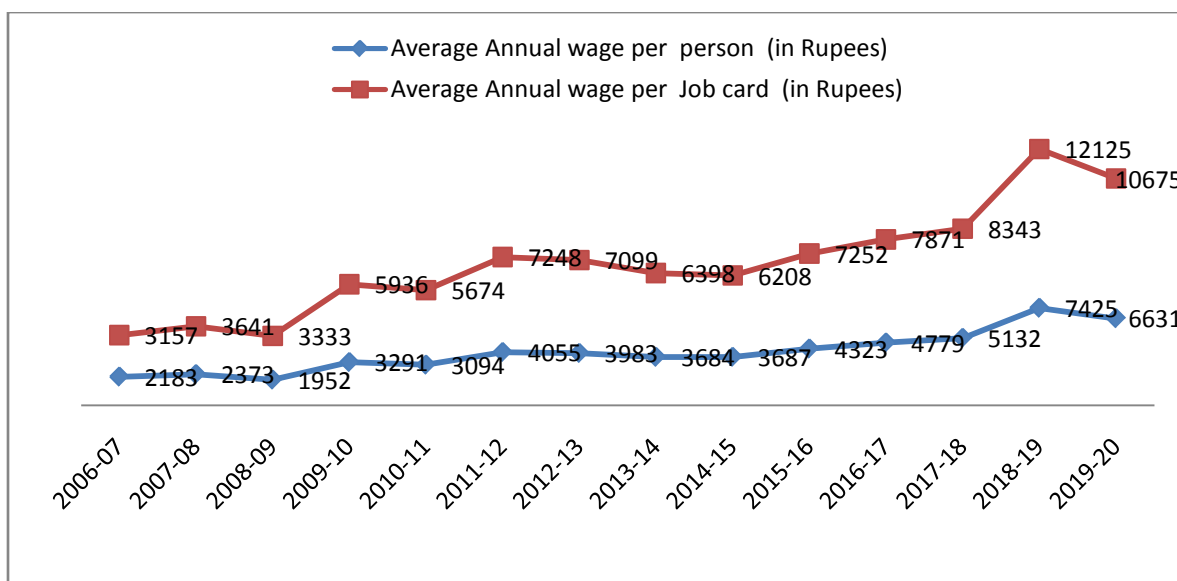
The expenditure on the labour component directly promotes the livelihood of the poor. It was observed from the data that the labour component was more than 75 per cent in the initial seven years, with the exception of 2010-11. But it declined to around 55 per cent in the remaining years, starting from 2015-16 to 2018-19 (Table 2.3). The data indicates that there were ups and

downs in expenditure on the scheme as well as expenditure on the labour component of budget and it affected assurance levels and livelihood security of the poor.

Extent of Income Generated for the Households under the MGNREGS

According to the existing wage rate, each job card holder is expected to receive Rs.20600 per year (@ Rs. 206 per day), if they work for 100 days according to the piece rate stipulations of the scheme. Each job card holder was supposed to generate an income up to Rs. 10,000 per year up to the year 2012. But the average amount received per household was less than Rs. 5000 even up to 2009-10, and it was Rs. 5000 to Rs. 9000 per year between 2011 and 2017-18. However, in the year 2018-19, the eligible provision was enhanced up to 150 days and it was expected to go up to Rs. 31200 per year (@ Rs. 206 per day). But the average amount received was Rs. 12125 per year which was not even half of the expected amount even in the year 2018-19. The average annual wage per person was less than 5000 even up to 2016-2017 and it increased to Rs. 7425, which is also due to enhancement of 150 days of employment in the year 2018-19 (Figure 2.7).

Figure 2.7: Year-wise Average Expenditure Per Job Card and Per Member



The average income generated per job card was relatively better (Rs. 14939) in Anantapur district, followed by Kadapa (Rs. 14765), Vizianagaram (Rs.13644), Prakasam (Rs.13498) and Chittoor (Rs. 12908). The average amount received by the job card holders is very low in the districts of Guntur (Rs. 6804), Krishna (Rs. 7535) and West Godavari (Rs. 8813). It shows that wage employment prevails more in drought-prone areas as compared to irrigated areas (Table 2.4). The data shows that the households did not complete the stipulated work to earn the expected income due to non-completion of the allocated work by the SSS groups. This is attributed to allocation of limited time for work, lack of teamwork and commitment to work, and lower piece rates prescribed for works as against the quantum of work involved.

Table 2.4: District-wise Expenditure under the MGNREGS in the year 2018-19

S.No.	District Name	No. of Mandals	Households Working in Wage Employment	Individuals Working in Wage Employment	Wage Expenditure (Rs. in Lakhs)	Expenditure per household (in Rupees)	Expenditure per person (in Rupees)
1	Anantapur	63	304714	534200	45521.05	14938.9	8521.3
2	Chittoor	66	276288	447994	35664.48	12908.4	7960.9
3	East Godavari	62	417044	617080	42619.02	10219.3	6906.6
4	Guntur	57	297626	496458	20250.23	6803.9	4078.9
5	Kadapa	50	234102	375022	34564.56	14764.7	9216.7
6	Krishna	49	245438	407771	18493.03	7534.7	4535.2
7	Kurnool	53	324960	577585	34393.65	10584.0	5954.7
8	Prakasam	56	436113	723812	58866.65	13498.0	8132.9
9	S.P.S Nellore	46	248487	386912	28809.85	11594.1	7446.1
10	Srikakulam	38	396673	620658	48005.37	12102.0	7734.6
11	Visakhapatnam	39	337905	570590	43510.81	12876.6	7625.6
12	Vizianagaram	34	372270	615165	50791.07	13643.6	8256.5
13	West Godavari	48	333765	524254	29414.36	8812.9	5610.7
	Total	661	4225385	6897501	490904.15	11618.0	7117.1

Conclusion

Both the undivided and the present state of Andhra Pradesh have been the frontrunners in the country in issuing job cards and in generating employment under the MGNREGS. However, in recent years, the household and individual member participation rates in wage employment are less than half of the enrolment. The average annual employment provided per job card was less than 60 days in the majority of the years since the initiation of the scheme and it was 58 days even after enhancement of the days to 150 in the year 2018-19. According to the existing wage rate, each job card holder was expected to receive an amount of Rs. 31200 per year in 2018-19.

However, the average amount received by the job card household was Rs. 12125 per year which is not even half of the expected amount. It is difficult to sustain a family on the meagre household-generated income from the MGNREGS. The analysis of secondary data has posed many questions for the study: Who are the people who have been availing the scheme better? Why are the household and individual member work participation rates low, particularly in drought-prone areas of Rayalaseema? Why is the working wage per day lower than the mandated wage rate? The present study is an attempt to understand issues and find solutions at the micro level to influence policy for more effective implementation of the scheme.

Chapter 3

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND AND PARTICIPATION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN MGNREGS WORKS

Introduction

Generally, the labour participation in MGNREGS works and outmigration depends on the socio-economic background of households and their aspirations, as well as employment opportunities available at their native place and the destination. The factors identified in the broad category of socio-economic background of households includes social group; access to own land and irrigation; livestock management; level of education and technical skills; access to own investment or credit; and employment opportunities in farm and non-farm sectors. Access to employment depend not only on socio-economic background but also on geographical conditions such as rainfall, sources of area under irrigation and climatic conditions; quality of soils and type of crops grown in the area; and proximity to urban markets and industrial activity. The focus of this chapter is to analyse the variations in the participation rate of households in MGNREGS works among Gram Panchayats (GPs); to examine whether participation and migration have any links with geographical factors; and to understand the socio-economic background of migrant and non-migrant households in the study area.

Trends in GP-Wise Participation of Job Card Holding Households in MGNREGS Works

Secondary data is available for the job card-wise number of days worked under MGNREGS by the household/individual for the year 2018-19. The cumulative number of job cards issued was 13904 households upto March 2019 and enrolment in all the job cards was 25930 members in all the 27 Gram Panchayats (GP) under study. The participation rate in terms of households was 59.86 per cent (7808 job cards) and 52.84 per cent (12874 members) in terms of individual members. It shows that about 40 per cent of the job card households and about 47 per cent of the enrolled members did not participate in the MGNREGS works. The reasons for non-participation of these members and households would be discussed based on the sample households in the subsequent sections of this chapter. The GP-wise data indicates that the household participation rate was very low in the GPs of Thammalagondi (26.2 %), Madithadu (38.0 %) in Kadapa

district and Chabala (37.5 %) and Kurumala (43.5 %) in Anantapur district. On the other hand, it was substantially higher in some GPs such as Madananjeri (88.9 %), Errasanipalli (82.5 %) and Kotala (82.3 %) in Chittoor district, where the individual member participation was 5 to 10 per cent points lower than the household participation rate. On the whole, there have been variations in the participation rates of households and individual members in MGNREGS works among the GPs within a mandal (**Annexure 3.1**). The participation rates were computed based on the cumulative job cards issued and available on the rolls of the state. The job cards of each GP need to be updated at periodic intervals in terms of omission or deletion of the households in cases of permanent migration, deaths and lack of use. Thus, the participation rates in some GPs and mandals would not be realistic if the list of job card households had not been updated on a regular basis.

The number of days worked under MGNREGS is important for livelihood improvement of the poor rather than just participation of labour for one or two days of work, where the household is also included in the activation of job card and also in computation of participation rates. However, it is not sufficient for livelihood improvement of the poor. The data showed that the participation rate was more than 50 per cent in the majority of the GPs, but the average employment provided was less than 25 days in one-third of the GPs. In such GPs, the annual income generated from the job card would be less than Rs. 5000, which is insufficient for livelihood improvement. It was observed from the data that the average days of employment provided was very low in eight GPs, viz. Aroor (9.8 days), Alladupalle (10.8 days), Kannavaram (14.7 days), Varikunta (16.3 days), Rayavaram (17.6 days), Chabala (20.5 days), Thammalagondi (20.8 days) and Vedururu (21.6 days), where the household participation rate was more than 60 per cent in all the GPs with the exception of Thammalagondi. On the other hand, it was substantially higher in Polakala (105 days), Gonibhavi (98 days), Poolakunta (97 days) and Kalagodu (83.5 days). It varied between 25 and 50 days in the remaining GPs of the sample (Table 3.1). Why have such wide variations been seen in the utilization of the scheme? Did the geographical factors and socio-economic background of households have any bearing on the participation rate and migration? These questions are explored in the study.

Table 3.1: GP-Wise Sample Migrant Data for the study

Gram Panchayat	Job Card Holder HHs	Migrant Households	Migration Intensity (%)	Sample Households	
				Participation Rate	Average Days of Employment
Varikunta	168	48	28.6	51.7	16.28
Thammalagondi	472	122	25.8	26.2	20.74
Vemuluru	259	45	17.4	61.7	27.11
Vedururu	250	0	0	55.8	21.57
Chinnaguravalur	709	0	0	63.6	36.25
Alladupalle*	906	0	0	66.4	10.77
Yarrinenipalem	238	19	8.0	52.3	37.53
Rayavaram	150	64	42.7	58.8	17.56
Madithadu	160	61	38.1	38.0	28.84
Kadapa	3312	359	10.82	-	-
Errasanipalli	139	19	13.7	82.5	38.75
Kotala	1224	67	5.5	82.3	37.40
Punchalamarri	214	78	36.4	56.1	29.84
Vadrampalli	200	0	0.0	54.1	47.83
Polakala	351	0	0.0	56.0	105.02
Kollapalle	243	0	0.0	71.3	38.58
Madananjeri	185	0	0.0	88.9	53.69
Kannavaram	318	0	0.0	78.3	14.69
Aroor	202	0	0.0	63.2	9.83
Chittoor	3076	164	5.3	-	-
Donnikota	491	34	6.9	64.4	36.78
Kurumala	1384	42	3.0	43.5	34.77
Maskavankapalli	441	39	8.8	56.9	31.00
Gonibhavi	964	430	44.6	59.7	97.85
Kalagodu	426	20	4.7	59.7	83.52
Poolakunta	315	206	65.4	58.8	97.42
Thatrakal	654	150	22.9	79.4	20.49
Chabala	593	0	0.0	37.5	29.61
Venkatampalli	434	120	27.6	76.1	41.46
Anantapur	5702	1041	21.8	-	-
Grand Total	12090	1564	12.9	58.90	47.20

Source: Computed based on primary & secondary data

Participation Rate and Migration among the GPs

There was no official data on migration of households at the GP and mandal levels. After discussions with the officials of MGNREGS at the district and sub-district levels, it was found that the migration of labour in Anantapur district was quite high—in fact, it was widespread in all the five revenue divisions and the incidence was quite high in some mandals. The migration pattern as observed in the discussions was seasonal and also permanent within the country, mostly to the state of Karnataka. In Kadapa, the migration was mostly to Gulf countries and it was found in two out of three revenue divisions, with concentration of the trend in a few mandals. In the case of Chittoor, the migration was observed in only one out of three revenue divisions and it was mostly in four to five mandals out of the 32 mandals in the division which

are in close proximity to Anantapur district and also to Karnataka state. The intensity of the migration was varied among the GPs within the mandal. It is important to collate the GP-wise data to understand the links between participation and migration.

The geographical factors in terms of rainfall, area under irrigation, and availability of employment in farm and non-farm activities have a bearing on the participation in MGNREGS works and on migration. The secondary data shows that there was a mixed trend with regard to the relation between migration and participation rates in terms of average days of employment. It was observed from the data that the incidence of migration was quite high (more than 44 per cent of the job card holding households) in the GPs of Poolakunta and Gonibhavi of Gummigatta mandal, where the average employment was also substantially high (about 100 days). It shows that, in this mandal, there was a positive association between high intensity of migration and high participation. It indicates that the GPs in this mandal were severely drought affected and dependent on rainfed crops, making employment very essential for livelihood security.

In the Atloor mandal, the intensity of migration was very low in the three GPs (varying between 16 per cent and 28 per cent) and the participation rate was also low (varying from 16 days to 28 days). Within the GPs, the low intensity migration in Vemuluru (16 per cent) corresponds to relatively higher work participation (28 days) while the higher intensity migration in Varikunta (28%), is associated with lower work participation (16 days). Medium migration intensity (26%) and medium participation (21 days) has been observed in the Thammalagondi GP. A negative association has been seen in the Varikunta mandal, where as in the GPs of all the other mandals, there was no clear trend of either negative or positive association between migration and participation in MGNREGS works.

Meanwhile, there was no migration even if employment provided in MGNREGS was much lower in many GPs—for example, Aroor (9.8 days), Alladupalle (10.77 days), Kannavaram (14.7 days) and Vedururu (22 days). This shows that lower employment provision under MGNREGS is not a causative factor for migration, as no migration according to the GP-level data. Thus, migration is not dependent on provision of employment under MGNREGS. There are many other reasons that influence the migration decision of a household.

Role of Geographical Factors in Providing Employment in GPs

It was clear that employment provision under MGNREGS is not the sole reason cited for migration. We shall now examine the availability of employment opportunities in the vicinity as a factor for migration. Employment depends on the geographical conditions of an area such as irrigation, crops grown, industrial activity, etc. It was observed that there was no migration in the GP of Chapadu mandal where 90 per cent area is under canal irrigation. The scope for work taken up under MGNREGS was only in the area of canal maintenance. Hence, the annual average employment provision varied from 16 days to 27 days in the three sample GPs. Even then, it was found that the households had been sustaining themselves via access to wage employment in agriculture and livestock management.

There was a geographic locational advantage of industrial employment for households living adjacent to an industrial economic zone in the Aroor GP of Satyavedu. Such locational advantage was also observed in Kollapalle GP of Irala mandal where the households were able to access employment in the fruit processing industry cluster. In another case, the households of Vadrampalli were engaged in small business and also as wage labour in the temple town of Kanipakam in the Chittoor district. The temple is located 7 km from the village, but the labour mostly commuted up and down for work. In Irala mandal, there was no field assistant for many GPs due to a lack of adequate demand for labour for work under MGNREGS. Such locational advantage was also observed for households located close to towns where the labour had access to employment in building construction activities. Thus, the incidence of migration was nil or limited due to availability of alternative employment in agriculture, industry and building construction even in drought-prone areas. The GP-wise locational advantages and disadvantages, access to wage employment under MGNREGS and other sectors, and the issues for migration are explained in **Annexure 3.2**.

Demographic Features of Sample Households

The sample for the study is 830 households, comprising 444 migrants and 386 non-migrants. The mandals and Gram Panchayats that were selected for the study were based on the average days of employment generated under MGNREGS in terms of low, medium and high. After selection of the GP, a list of migrants was prepared with the support of field assistants and personal interactions with the villagers by the research team. From the list, 30 households were identified using the simple random sampling method. In cases where there was no migration reported in the GP, the households were arranged in ascending order based on the number of days worked in MGNREGS. From the list, 30 households were selected based on the systematic random sampling method. In the GPs where the migrant households were less than 30 or where the required number was not available, the sample was drawn from the list of participants of MGNREGS households in order to get a sample of 30 households for the GP. Accordingly, the sample migrants for the study were much higher in number in Anantapur which is in the Rayalaseema region (where migration incidence was higher), followed by Kadapa and Chittoor districts. The proportion of sample in the total is relatively higher among Backward Castes (BCs) (42.7 %) and Scheduled Castes (SCs) (32.8 %) compared to other social groups of OC (8.9 %) and STs (8.9 %). The proportion of migrants among the STs and BCs was relatively higher than non-migrants among the same, while the proportion of non-migrants among SCs and OCs was higher than migrants among them (Table 3.2). The STs in all the districts belonged to the sub-caste of Sugalies or Lambadies and they were concentrated in five to six GPs whereas the SCs were found in all the 27 GPs with the exception of one or two GPs. A similar trend was observed in the case of OCs and BCs too. Within the broad category of OC and BCs, there were many sub-castes. The religion-wise households included Hindus (91.8 %), Christians (5.7 %) and Muslims (2.5 %). Christians and Muslims were identified only in very few GPs.

Table 3.2: District-wise and Social Group-wise Sample Households

District	Migrant Status	Social Group Wise Households				Total
		SC	ST	BC	OC	
Kadapa	Migrants	52(31.9)	10(6.1)	66(40.5)	35(21.5)	163(100)
	Non-Migrants	72(67.3)	0	18(16.8)	17(15.9)	1107(100)
	Total	124(45.9)	10(3.7)	84(31.1)	52(19.3)	270(100)
Chittoor	Migrants	14(23.0)	1(1.6)	24(39.3)	22(36.1)	61(100)
	Non-Migrants	52(24.2)	10(4.7)	103(47.9)	50(23.3)	215(100)
	Total	66(23.9)	11(4.0)	127(46.0)	72(26.1)	276(100)
Anantapur	Migrants	64(29.1)	49(22.3)	103(46.8)	4(1.8)	220(100)
	Non-Migrants	18(28.1)	4(6.3)	41(64.1)	1(1.6)	64(100)
	Total	82(28.9)	53(18.7)	144(50.7)	5(1.8)	284(100)
Total	Migrants	130(29.3)	60(13.5)	193(43.5)	61(13.7)	444(100)
	Non-Migrants	142(36.8)	14(3.6)	162(42.0)	68(17.6)	386(100)
	Total	272(32.8)	74(8.9)	355(42.7)	129(15.5)	830(100)

Source: Field Survey

The total population of sample households was 3395 persons, of which 51 per cent were male and 49 per cent were female. The family size was mostly four to five members and there were mostly (85 %) nuclear families. In the total population, 52.7 per cent were married, 38.1 per cent were never married and the other were either widow(er) or separated from the family. The age group above 15 years can participate in MGNREGS works, depending on their enrolment in the job card and also membership in Shram Shakthi Sangam (SSS) groups, family needs, physical capacity and willingness to participate in work. The proportion of children in the age group below 15 years was relatively higher among the migrant households (30.1%) than non-migrant households (20.8 %). Contrary to this, the age group above 60 years was relatively higher among non-migrant households (11.2 %) than migrant households (4.9 %). The age group between 16 and 45 years was relatively higher among migrants than non-migrants. This means that a majority of the migrants were in the age group of 20 to 45 years (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Age of the Household Family Members

District	Age of the Family Members of the Households (in Years)							Total
	Up to 5	6-15	16-21	22-35	36-45	46-60	61+	
Anantapur	123(9.5)	291(22.5)	143(11.1)	325(25.1)	193(14.9)	136(10.5)	83(6.4)	1294(100)
Chittoor	58(5.8)	126(12.6)	105(10.5)	234(23.4)	149(14.9)	217(21.7)	110(11.0)	999(100)
Kadapa	76(6.9)	217(19.7)	137(12.4)	247(22.4)	194(17.6)	167(15.2)	64(5.8)	1102(100)
Total	257(7.6)	634(18.7)	385(11.3)	806(23.7)	536(15.8)	520(15.3)	257(7.6)	3395(100)
Migrants	161(8.1)	439(22.0)	239(12.0)	479(24.0)	340(17.0)	237(12.0)	101(4.9)	1996(100)
Non-Migrants	96(6.9)	195(13.9)	146(10.4)	327(23.4)	196(14.0)	283(20.2)	156(11.2)	1399(100)

Source: Field Survey

Literacy Levels of Sample Households

Higher education (graduation and post-graduation) is seen as a factor that plays a vital role in upward social mobility, migration and participation in productive employment opportunities. But it was very low among the households (8.8 %) of the total sample. A sizeable proportion of the graduates and post-graduates were technically and professionally qualified, holding engineering, medicine and B.Ed. degrees. However, their proportion was relatively higher in Kadapa (10.4 %) and Chittoor (10.1 per cent) than in Anantapur (5.3 %). Higher education was relatively higher among migrant than non-migrant households in Kadapa and it was higher among non-migrants in Chittoor and Anantapur districts. Better levels of higher education among migrant children is a causative factor for Gulf migration.

The category of non-literates and those educated up to the primary level accounted for about half of the total population in all the districts. Their proportion was relatively higher among migrants (60.6 per cent) than non-migrants (46.8 per cent) in Anantapur district. Their proportion was about 50 per cent within both migrants and non-migrants in Kadapa, while there was a wider difference between migrants (35.9 %) and non-migrants (49%) in Chittoor district. The proportion of people with secondary education was 22 per cent of the total and it was quite high among migrants (33.6 %) than non-migrants (23.8 %) in Chittoor. The corresponding figures of migrants and non-migrants were 23.1 per cent and 19.2 per cent in Kadapa and 19.1 per cent and 26.1 per cent respectively in Anantapur (Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: Status of Education among the Members of Sample Households

District	Migration Status	Education Level						Total
		0 to 5 years	Illiterate	Up to Primary	Secondary	Inter and Diploma	Graduates and Above	
Kadapa	Migrants	50 (7.0)	207 (29.1)	150 (20.1)	164 (23.1)	74 (17.0)	66 (9.3)	711 (100)
	Non-Mig.	24 (6.1)	141 (36.1)	60 (15.4)	75 (19.2)	42 (10.7)	49 (12.5)	391 (100)
	Total	74 (6.7)	348 (31.6)	210 (18.0)	239 (20.7)	116 (10.5)	115 (10.4)	1102 (100)
Chittoor	Migrants	12 (4.7)	57 (22.3)	35 (13.6)	86 (33.6)	33 (12.9)	33 (12.9)	256 (100)
	Non-Mig.	43 (5.8)	234 (31.5)	130 (17.5)	177 (23.8)	84 (11.3)	75 (10.1)	743 (100)
	Total	55 (5.5)	291 (29.1)	165 (16.5)	163 (16.3)	117 (11.7)	108 (10.8)	999 (100)
Anantapur	Migrants	94 (9.1)	391 (38.0)	233 (22.6)	197 (19.1)	65 (6.4)	49 (4.8)	1029 (100)
	Non-Mig.	26 (9.8)	90 (34.0)	34 (12.8)	69 (26.1)	27 (10.2)	19 (7.2)	265 (100)
	Total	120 (9.3)	481 (37.2)	267 (20.7)	266 (20.5)	92 (7.1)	68 (5.3)	1294 (100)
Total	Migrants	156 (7.8)	655 (32.8)	418 (19.5)	447(22.4)	172(8.7)	148 (7.4)	1996 (100)
	Non-Mig.	93 (6.6)	465 (33.2)	224 (16.0)	341(23.0)	153(11.0)	143 (10.2)	1399 (100)
	Total	249 (7.3)	1120 (33.0)	642 (18.9)	768 (22.0)	325(9.6)	291 (8.6)	3395 (100)

Source: Field Survey

Ration Cards and Social Security Pensions of Job Card Holders

All the job card holders had ration cards to claim provisions of the Public Distribution System (PDS), with the exception of four households (0.5 per cent of the total). It means that 99.5 per cent of the sample households were under the category of Below Poverty Line (BPL). Among the BPL, 2.0 per cent of households were the poorest of the poor and they possessed Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY) ration cards. Among the total sample, 37 per cent households had been claiming Social Security Pensions (SSP), including senior citizens (old age), widows, weavers, and persons with disabilities or PHCs. In the total SSPs, half of them claimed old age pensions and 60% of them belonged to the age group above 60 years. In the total households, old age pensions accounted for a relatively higher proportion (19 %) than widow (13.8 %), disability (3.7 %) and weavers (1.5 %) pensions (Table 3.5). All the SS pensioners got an amount of Rs. 2250 per month. The assistance was even more in the case of persons with disabilities, depending on the extent of disability. The other significant feature was that the SSPs were relatively higher among the non-migrant households (48.7 %) than that among migrant households (28.2 %). Also, the proportion of SSP claims was relatively higher among STs (41.5 %) than SCs (37.4 %), BCs (37.1 %) and OCs (33.9 %). With wider coverage of SSPs and enhancement of the monthly assistance in recent years, coupled with the implementation of PDS

and MGNREGS in rural areas, the incidence of migration has declined in recent years. It was clearly noted in the focus group discussion in the villages that many of the aged people refrained from seasonal migration while a few also returned from the destination of migration to settle in their native place.

Table 3.5: Households in the Sample Availing Social Security Pensions

District	No Pension	Households Availing Social Security Pensions					Total
		Old Age Pension	Widow Pension	Weavers Pension	Disability Pension	Total	
Kadapa	193 (71.5)	37 (13.7)	33 (12.2)	2 (0.7)	5 (1.9)	77 (28.5)	270 (100)
Chittoor	151 (54.7)	61 (22.1)	46 (16.7)	3 (1.1)	15 (5.4)	125 (45.3)	276 (100)
Anantapur	178 (62.9)	56 (19.6)	33 (11.5)	7 (2.4)	10 (3.5)	106 (37.0)	284 (100)
Total	522 (63.0)	154 (18.5)	112 (13.5)	12 (1.4)	30 (3.6)	308 (37.0)	830 (100)
Migrants	317 (72.4)	63 (14.4)	39 (8.9)	4 (0.9)	15 (3.4)	121 (27.6)	444 (100)
Non-Migrants	207 (52.5)	91 (23.1)	73 (18.5)	8 (2.0)	15 (3.8)	187 (47.4)	386 (100)

Source: Field Survey

Status of Access to Own Land and Migration Status

The data shows that landlessness was quite high (41.1 %) among the total sample households and it was relatively lower among migrants (39.2 %) than non-migrants (43.3%) in the total sample. A similar trend was observed between migrants and non-migrants, with wider variations in Kadapa and Chittoor districts. The landless households were much lower among the migrants (26.2 %) than among non-migrants (45.6 %) in Chittoor district. In Kadapa district, it was extremely high even among migrants (50.3 %), but lower among non-migrants (58.9 %). The trend was quite opposite in Anantapur district, where landlessness was relatively higher among migrants (49.5 %) as compared to the non-migrants (39.7 %). It shows that landlessness is not the sole reason for migration, because landlessness is relatively higher even among the non-migrants.

Let us now examine the migration status for the households with access to own land. It was observed from the data that, after landless households, the major chunk of the households in the total was that of marginal farmers (less than 1 ha or 2.5 acres). They were about 35 per cent in the total and it was followed by small farmers (2.50 to 5 acres) with 19.6 per cent, and semi-medium and medium farmers (above 5 acres) with 4.3 per cent in the total sample households. It shows that the migration intensity was less at higher size of landholdings.

However, the proportion of migrants was relatively higher than that of non-migrants in all the landholding classes of marginal, small, and medium farmers in Chittoor and Kadapa districts, but it was quite opposite in Anantapur, where the proportion of migrants was lower than that of non-migrants in all landholding classes of marginal, small and medium farmers (Table 3.6). Thus, access to land is not an influencing factor for migration, if one compares the proportion of non-migrant households living at higher size of landholdings.

Table 3.6: Access to Land Holdings and Migration Status

District	Migrant Status	Land owned (in acres)				Total
		Landless	Up to 2.50	2.50–5.00	Above 5.00	
Kadapa	Migrants	82(50.3)	54(33.1)	22(13.5)	5(3.1)	163(100)
	Non-Migrants	63(58.9)	37(34.6)	5(4.7)	2(1.9)	107(100)
	Total	145(53.7)	91(33.7)	27(10.0)	7(2.6)	270(100)
Chittoor	Migrants	14(23.0)	28(45.9)	18(29.5)	1(1.6)	61(100)
	Non-Migrants	90(41.9)	81(37.7)	37(17.2)	7(3.3)	215(100)
	Total	104(37.7)	109(39.4)	55(19.9)	8(2.9)	276(100)
Anantapur	Migrants	78(35.5)	68(30.5)	57(25.9)	17(7.7)	220(100)
	Non-Migrants	14(21.9)	22(34.4)	24(37.5)	4(6.3)	64(100)
	Total	92(32.4)	90(31.7)	81(28.5)	21(7.4)	284(100)
Grand Total	Migrants	174(39.2)	150(33.8)	97(21.8)	23(5.2)	444(100)
	Non-Migrants	167(43.3)	140(36.2)	66(17.1)	13(3.4)	386(100)
	Total	341(41.1)	290(34.9)	163(19.6)	36(4.3)	830(100)

Source: Field Survey

The social group-wise landlessness indicates that it was higher among SCs (60.1%) and STs (50 %) than among OCs (28.5 %) and OBCs (47.6 %). The proportion of landlessness was lower among the migrants (42.3 %) than among the non-migrants (61.3 %) within SCs. A similar trend was observed with wider variations among the STs, in which the proportion of landlessness among the migrants (36.7 %) was much lower than among the non-migrants (71.4 %). However, the trend was opposite between migrants and non-migrants in the case of BCs and OCs where landlessness was relatively higher among the migrants (41.5 %) than among the non-migrants (33.3 %) in the category of BCs; the corresponding figures for OCs was 27.9 per cent for migrants and 23.5 per cent for non-migrants. It shows that landlessness is not the sole factor for migration among SC and STs, while it was considered as one of the factors in the case of BCs and OCs. It shows that the majority of the landless among the SCs and STs can manage their livelihood in their native place rather than resorting to migration, while the majority of the

landless OCs and BCs prefer to migrate rather than stay on in the village. But the migration intensity in terms of proportion is much lower among the BCs and OCs than among SCs and STs (Table 3.7).

Table 3.7: Social Group Wise Access to Land and Migration Status

Social Group	Migrant Status	Land Owned (in acres)				Total
		Landless	Up to 2.50	2.50–5.00	Above 5.00	
SC	Migrants	55 (42.3)	39 (37.7)	20 (15.4)	6 (4.6)	130 (100)
	Non-Migrants	87 (61.3)	39 (27.5)	14 (9.9)	2 (1.4)	142 (100)
	Total	142 (52.2)	88 (32.3)	34 (12.5)	8 (2.9)	272 (100)
ST	Migrants	22 (36.7)	16 (26.6)	15 (25.0)	7 (11.7)	60 (100)
	Non-Migrants	10 (71.4)	4 (28.6)	0	0	14 (100)
	Total	32 (43.2)	20 (27.0)	15 (20.3)	7 (9.5)	74 (100)
BC	Migrants	80 (41.5)	64 (33.2)	40 (20.7)	9 (4.7)	193 (100)
	Non-Migrants	54 (33.3)	66 (40.8)	35 (21.6)	7 (4.3)	162 (100)
	Total	134 (37.7)	130 (36.6)	75 (21.1)	16 (4.5)	355 (100)
Others	Migrants	17 (27.9)	21 (34.4)	22 (36.1)	1 (1.6)	61 (100)
	Non-Migrants	16 (23.5)	31 (45.6)	17 (25.0)	4 (5.9)	68 (100)
	Total	33 (25.6)	52 (40.4)	39 (30.2)	5 (3.9)	129 (100)
Grand Total	Migrants	174 (39.2)	150 (33.8)	97 (21.8)	23 (5.2)	444 (100)
	Non-Migrants	167 (43.2)	140 (36.2)	66 (17.1)	13 (3.4)	386 (100)
	Total	341 (41.1)	290 (34.9)	163 (19.6)	36 (4.3)	830 (100)

Source: Field Survey

It was observed from the data that the migration intensity is less at higher size of landholdings in all the social groups. However, the proportion of migrants was relatively higher than non-migrants among the SCs and STs in all the landholding classes of marginal, small and medium farmers, but it was quite opposite among the BCs and OCs where the proportion of migrants was lower than non-migrants in all the landholding classes of marginal, small and medium farmers.

Land alone has not been able to support the needs of the family in recent years as the surplus generated from agriculture has declined due to uncertainties of climate, monsoon and higher cost of cultivation. Access to own land with irrigation facility would however provide an assured source of income. The data was analysed to understand the influence of irrigated land on migration status among the households. Irrigation was available for only 22.1 per cent of the households irrespective of the size of land; 7.7 per cent of the households had land, both irrigated and dry land, 21 per cent households had only dry land while the remaining were landless.

Migration was found even among households that possessed irrigated land, but their proportion was lower (17.8 %) when compared to non-migrants (26.9 %). It was observed from the data that migration was relatively less among the households with irrigated land than among households without irrigation.

The average size of a landholding was 2.6 acres and the area under irrigation was 2.0 acres. The average landholding size and area irrigated varied between social groups. The average size of landholding was relatively higher among the STs (3.4 acres) than among other social groups and the lowest was among the SCs (2.3 acres). The average size of landholding and access to irrigation were relatively better among the OCs and STs than among the SCs and BCs (Table 3.8). It was observed that irrigation is relatively better in ST lands due to government support for bore well irrigation in recent years. At the same time, the land quality of SCs and STs is relatively poorer than that of OCs and BCs. The land owned by SCs and STs was mostly government land distributed in recent years, and a major portion of this was marginal and located far away from the village. Thus, the SCs and STs mainly depended more on wage labour in agriculture than OCs and BCs even if they had access to landholdings.

Table 3.8: Social Group Wise Migration Status among Irrigated and Dry Lands

	Migrants	Irrigated		Dry Land		Total	
		Number	Average	Number	Average	Number	Average
SC	Migrants	38	1.7	48	2.3	75	2.3
	Non-Migrants	39	1.6	23	2.5	55	2.2
	Total	77	1.7	71	2.3	130	2.3
ST	Migrants	7	3.4	32	3.6	38	3.6
	Non-Migrants	3	1.5	1	1.5	4	1.5
	Total	10	2.8	33	3.5	42	3.4
BC	Migrants	50	2.2	76	2.7	113	2.8
	Non-Migrants	69	1.7	58	2.6	108	2.5
	Total	119	1.9	134	2.6	221	2.7
Others	Migrants	21	2.5	30	2.3	44	2.7
	Non-Migrants	37	2.5	27	2.6	52	3.0
	Total	58	2.5	57	2.4	96	2.9
Total	Migrants	116	2.2	186	2.7	270	2.8
	Non-Migrants	148	1.9	109	2.6	219	2.5
	Total	264	2.0	295	2.6	489	2.7

Source: Field Survey

Livestock Owned

Livestock is a very important source of income for the livelihood of rural households. Generally, livestock management discourages households from outmigration. However, livestock management has been one of the activities even among migrants, but the dependence is relatively lesser compared to non-migrants. The family members manage the activity in the case of migrant households. It is not a problem for households to maintain livestock if the migration is single member or seasonal. Among livestock, dairy farming with possession of cows and buffalos was higher than the rearing of drought animals, and sheep and goats. Dairy farming was observed in 20.5 per cent of the total households, which were mainly in Chittoor (34.1%) and Kadapa (20.7%) districts, while it was much lower in Anantapur (7.0%). Dairy activity was relatively higher among non-migrants (33.7%) than non-migrants (9.0%) in the total sample. Among the non-migrants, it was relatively better in Chittoor (40.9%) than Kadapa (29.0%) and Anantapur (17.2%). It shows that migration intensity is relatively less when the households have dairy activity (Table 3.9).

Table 3.9: Proportion of Households Maintaining Livestock

District	Migrants/ Non- Migrants	Proportion of Households Maintaining Livestock								Total Sample
		Milch Animals		Sheep/ Goats		Drought Animals		Total Live stock		
		No. H	Per cent	No. H	Per cent	No. H	Per cent	No.H	Per cent	
Kadapa	Migrants	25	15.3	18	11.0	4	2.5	39	23.9	163(100)
	Non-Migrants	31	29.0	7	6.5	9	8.4	39	36.4	107(100)
	Total	56	20.7	25	9.3	13	4.8	78	28.9	270(100)
Chittoor	Migrants	6	9.8	6	9.8	3	4.9	10	16.4	61(100)
	Non-Migrants	88	40.9	23	10.7	17	7.9	108	50.2	215(100)
	Total	94	34.1	29	10.5	20	7.2	118	42.8	276(100)
Anantapur	Migrants	9	4.1	12	5.5	6	2.7	22	10.0	220(100)
	Non-Migrants	11	17.2	8	12.5	9	14.1	23	35.9	64(100)
	Total	20	7.0	20	7.0	15	5.3	45	15.8	284(100)
Total	Migrants	40	9.0	36	8.1	13	2.9	71	16.0	444(100)
	Non-Migrants	130	33.7	38	9.8	35	9.1	170	44.0	386(100)
	Total	170	20.5	74	8.9	48	5.8	241	29.0	830(100)

Source: Primary data from field; (percentage for the Total sample)

Plough bullocks have played a significant role in traditional farming and minimizing cost of cultivation. But plough bullocks/draught animals were available in only 6 per cent of the total households though 59 per cent of households possessed land. It was available in relatively higher proportion of households among the non-migrants than among migrant households. Sheep rearing was pursued by 9 per cent of the total households. Some of the households had more than one type of livestock. In all, 29 per cent of households relied on livestock management as a means of livelihood. The average income from livestock was relatively higher than that of the income from MGNREGS. Thus, livestock maintenance provided regular employment and income for livelihood, particularly for the non-migrants.

Occupational Pattern of Migrant and Non-Migrant Household Members

The occupational pattern of the working age members (above 15 years) of all the household members in the study districts indicates that agriculture labour was the main occupation among 23.9 per cent of the total members and it was only 18.5 per cent among migrants and 31.7 per cent among non-migrants. It shows that the migrants were working in the non-farm sector wage employment. It was also observed that the main occupation in non-agriculture wage employment was relatively higher among migrants (17.4 %) than among non-migrants (7.0 %).

The trend was observed in all the districts and it was quite high among the migrants of Anantapur district (21.2%). Own agriculture was found only in 10.6 per cent of the households and it was much lower for migrants (8.1%) than non-migrants (14.2 %) (Table 3.10). The trend of pursuing own agriculture as the main occupation was quite low, even though 58 per cent of the households possessed land. This means that own agriculture had become a secondary occupation due to limited or no income from agriculture.

Table 3.10: Occupation of Household Members

District		Occupation Code								Total
		Own Agri.	Agri. Labour	Non-Agri. Labour	Salary Emp.	Self-Emp.	Family Chore	Student	Dependent	
Kadapa	Migrants	83 (11.7)	136 (19.1)	78 (11.0)	66 (9.3)	11 (1.5)	31 (4.4)	243 (34.2)	63 (8.9)	711 (100.0)
	Non-Mig.	45 (11.5)	155 (39.6)	33 (8.4)	12 (3.1)	4 (1.0)	9 (2.3)	93 (23.8)	40 (10.2)	391 (100.0)
	Total	128 (11.6)	291 (26.4)	111 (10.1)	78 (7.1)	15 (1.4)	40 (3.6)	336 (30.5)	103(9.3)	1102 (100.0)
Chittoor	Migrants	27 (10.5)	47 (18.4)	51 (19.9)	38 (14.8)	5 (2.0)	11 (4.3)	60 (23.4)	17 (6.7)	256 (100.0)
	Non-Mig.	125 (16.8)	199 (26.8)	50 (6.7)	40 (5.4)	23 (3.1)	56 (7.5)	164 (22.1)	86 (11.6)	743 (100.0)
	Total	152 (15.2)	246 (24.6)	101 (10.1)	78 (7.8)	28 (2.8)	67 (6.7)	224 (22.4)	103 (10.3)	999 (100.0)
Anantapur	Migrants	52 (5.1)	187 (18.2)	218 (21.2)	49 (4.8)	34 (3.3)	47 (4.6)	307 (29.8)	135 (13.1)	1029 (100.0)
	Non-Mig.	28 (10.6)	89 (33.6)	15 (5.7)	8 (3.0)	13 (4.9)	13 (4.9)	59 (22.3)	40 (15.1)	265 (100.0)
	Total	80 (6.2)	276 (21.3)	233 (18.0)	57 (4.4)	47 (3.6)	60 (4.6)	366 (28.3)	175 (13.5)	1294 (100.0)
Grand Total	Migrants	162(8.1)	370(18.5)	347(17.4)	153(7.7)	50(2.5)	89(4.5)	610(30.6)	215(10.8)	1996(100.0)
	Non-Mig.	198(14.2)	443(31.7)	98(7.0)	60(4.3)	40(2.9)	78(5.6)	316(22.6)	150(10.8)	1399(100.0)
	Total	360(10.6)	813(23.9)	445(13.1)	213(6.3)	90(2.7)	167(4.9)	926(27.3)	333(9.8)	3395(100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Salary income from private and public sector was found among 6.3 per cent of the household members. It was relatively better among migrant (7.7%) than among non-migrant (4.3%) households, but these mostly included drivers, watchmen, office assistants and contract labourers in public and private sectors. Among all the occupations, a high proportion of household members were engaged in studying (27.3 %)—with the proportion being 30.6 per cent for migrant households and 22.6 per cent for non-migrant households. The proportion of self employed in the non-farm sector was 4.3 per cent, and there was no significant difference between migrants and non-migrants, with most of them engaged in activities associated with small businesses and the transport sector. The majority of the families were engaged in multiple activities for augmenting their income to meet their family expenditure. Of the remaining members, most were either engaged in household chores or were dependents, children and elderly persons.

Participation of Sample Household Members in MGNREGS Works

The participation of labour in MGNREGS depends on the need for wage employment, wage rate, timely availability of work and wage payment. It was observed from the data that half of the job card holders participated in MGNREGS work. The other half had obtained job cards mainly to avail other benefits of government schemes such as Housing, Individual Sanitary Latrines (ISL), Horticulture, Land Development, Farm-Ponds, Soak Pits, etc., as these schemes were linked to the wage component of MGNREGS works under the convergence of schemes. Among them, a majority of the households had own agriculture or were self-employed.

Household members need to enrol the names of those who are willing to work under MGNREGS. It is essential for them to sign the muster rolls in order to receive their payment in their respective bank accounts. There were 3394 eligible members (above the age of 15 years) in all the sample households. Among them, 1586 members (46.7 %) had enrolled their names in the job cards to work under MGNREGS. The enrolment was relatively higher among non-migrants (54.7%) than among migrants (41.2%) in the total sample (Table 3.11). A similar trend was observed in the enrolment pattern in Kadapa and Anantapur districts, while there was not much of a difference between migrants and non-migrants in Chittoor district, where the migration intensity is low.

Table 3.11: Household Members Enrolment and Working Status under MGNREGS

District	Migration Status	Eligible Members for Work	Members Enrolled	Members Worked in the Past Out of Enrolled	Members Worked in the Current Year Out of Enrolled
Kadapa	Migrants	711 (100.0)	286 (40.2)	248 (86.7)	155 (54.2)
	Non-Migrants	391 (100.0)	216 (55.2)	187 (86.6)	169 (78.2)
	Total	1102 (100.0)	502 (45.6)	435 (86.7)	324 (64.5)
Chittoor	Migrants	256 (100.0)	145 (56.6)	126 (86.9)	61 (42.1)
	Non-Migrants	743 (100.0)	409 (55.0)	381 (93.2)	302 (73.8)
	Total	999 (100.0)	554 (55.5)	507 (91.5)	363 (65.5)
Anantapur	Migrants	1029 (100.0)	390 (37.9)	324 (83.1)	194 (49.7)
	Non-Migrants	265 (100.0)	140 (52.8)	135 (96.4)	109 (77.9)
	Total	1294 (100.0)	530 (41.0)	459 (86.6)	303 (57.2)
Grand Total	Migrants	1995 (100.0)	821(41.2)	698 (85.0)	410 (49.9)
	Non-Migrants	1399 (100.0)	765 (54.7)	703 (91.9)	580 (75.8)
	Total	3394 (100.0)	1586 (46.7)	1401 (88.3)	990 (62.4)

Source: Field Survey

It is important to note that the family members of job card holders can participate in MGNREGS work on behalf of other family members even without their enrolment in the card, if the group members agree. However, the signature or thumb impression in the muster rolls must be that of the family member who had been enrolled in the job card in order to receive money in the designated bank account.

Data on the working of MGNREGS indicates that 88.3 per cent of the enrolled members have worked in the past. It was relatively higher for non-migrants (91.9%) than migrants (85.0%) in the total sample. The members who had worked in the current year were only 62.4 per cent out of the total enrolled. It was 75.8 per cent for non-migrants and 49.9 per cent for migrants. A similar trend was observed between migrants and non-migrants among the different districts. However, the exception was Kadapa district, where the non-migrant participation was more than the enrolled, since family members had been working on behalf of the enrolled members. The proportion of household members' participation in work out of the enrolled was low in Anantapur district. This is mainly due to the incidence of migration in Anantapur compared to that in other districts.

All the household members are supposed to enrol their names if they want to work under MGNREGS. Many eligible household members (age group above 15 years) had not enrolled their names in the job card. It means that they were not inclined to work under MGNREGS—be it in their own name or in the name of their family members. However, it is interesting to note the reasons that a majority of the members of the households had given for such non-enrolment of their name in the job card. The main reason for the non-enrolment of household members in the job card was studying (32.1%), which was followed by migration (14.8%), other skilled activity (12.5%), low wages (9.6%), old age/ dependents (6.1%), house wife (7.7%), salaried (6.8%), work not available when needed (4.4%), own agriculture (3.7%) and self-employment (2.4%) (Table 3.12). There was not much of a difference between migrants and non-migrants with regard to reasons expressed by them.

Table 3.12: Reasons for Non-Enrolment in Job Card by the Household Members

District	Migrant Status	Reasons for not enrollment of the eligible members in the job card										Total
		Low wages	Work not available in need	Studying	Old Age	Own agl.	Other skilled activity	Migration	Salaried	Self Empl.	House wife	
Kadapa	Migrants	13(6.3)	13(6.3)	71(34.3)	13(6.3)	10(4.8)	10(4.8)	48(23.2)	11(5.3)	2(1.0)	16(7.7)	207(100)
	Non Mig.	26(27.1)	2(2.1)	43(44.8)	2(2.1)	4(4.2)	6(6.3)	0	6(6.3)	1(1.0)	6(6.3)	96(100)
	Total	39(12.9)	15(5.0)	114(37.6)	15(5.0)	14(4.6)	16(5.3)	48(15.8)	17(5.6)	3(0.9)	22(7.3)	303(100)
Chittoor	Migrants	3(4.1)	1(1.4)	32(43.8)	2(2.7)	2(2.7)	6(8.2)	11(15.1)	11(15.1)	1(1.4)	4(5.5)	73(100)
	Non Mig.	20(10.6)	10(5.3)	66(35.1)	18(9.6)	10(5.3)	26(13.2)	0	20(10.6)	4(2.1)	14(7.4)	188(100)
	Total	23(8.8)	11(4.2)	98(37.5)	20(7.7)	12(4.6)	32(12.3)	11(4.2)	31(11.9)	5(1.9)	18(6.9)	261(100)
Anantapur	Migrants	17(5.8)	10(3.4)	67(22.7)	14(4.7)	5(1.7)	61(20.7)	76(25.8)	11(3.7)	9(3.1)	25(8.5)	295(100)
	Non Mig.	9(16.4)	4(7.3)	14(25.5)	7(12.7)	3(5.5)	5(9.1)	0	3(5.5)	5(9.1)	5(9.1)	55(100)
	Total	26(7.4)	14(4.0)	81(23.1)	21(6.0)	8(2.3)	66(18.9)	76(21.7)	14(4.0)	14(4.0)	30(8.6)	350(100)
Total	Migrants	33(5.7)	24(4.2)	170(29.6)	29(5.0)	17(3.0)	77(13.4)	135(23.5)	33(5.7)	12(2.1)	45(7.8)	575(100)
	Non Mig.	55(16.2)	16(4.7)	123(36.3)	27(8.0)	17(5.0)	37(10.9)	0	29(8.6)	10(2.9)	25(7.4)	339(100)
	Total	88(9.6)	40(4.4)	293(32.1)	56(6.1)	34(3.7)	114(12.5)	135(14.8)	62(6.8)	22(2.4)	70(7.7)	914(100)

Source: Field Survey

The main reason for the non-working of household members after enrolment in the job card varied between migrants and non-migrants. The reasons among the migrants was migration (67.9%) which was followed by low wages (9.6%), old age/ dependents (7.5%), personal reasons (4.6), work not available when needed (3.9%), work not available when needed (2.4%), and other skilled activity (1.7%). The main reason among non-migrants was low wage (25.4%) which was followed by personal reasons (23.8%), old age (17.3%), other skilled activity (13.0%) work not available when needed (12.9%) (Table 3.13).

Table 3.13: Reasons for not working by the members enrolled in the Job Card

District	Migration	Reasons for not working by the members enrolled in the Job Card								Total
		Low wages	Work not available in need	Study	Old age	Own agl.	Other skilled activity	Migration	personal	
Kadapa	Migrants	18(13.7)	2(1.5)		9(6.9)	7(5.3)	3(2.3)	88(67.2)	4(3.1)	131(100)
	Non Mig.	19(40.4)	3(6.4)		6(12.8)	0	7(14.9)	0	12(25.5)	47(100)
Chittoor	Migrants	9(10.7)	2(2.4)		2(2.4)	2(2.4)	0	67(79.8)	2(2.4)	84(100)
	Non Mig.	23(21.5)	19(17.8)	2(1.9)	18(16.8)	7(6.5)	14(13.1)	0	24(22.4)	107(100)
Anantapur	Migrants	21(10.7)	6(3.1)	1(1.5)	20(10.2)	7(3.6)	4(2.0)	124(63.3)	13(6.6)	196(100)
	Non Mig.	5(16.1)	4(12.9)	0	8(25.8)	3(9.7)	3(9.7)	0	8(25.8)	31(100)
Total	Migrants	48(11.7)	10(2.4)	1(0.2)	31(7.5)	16(3.9)	7(1.7)	279(67.9)	19(4.6)	411(100)
	Non Mig.	47(25.4)	26(14.1)	2(1.1)	32(17.3)	10(5.4)	24(13.0)	0	44(23.8)	185(100)

Source: Field Survey

Conclusion

The participation rate in MGNREGS works varies from 10 per cent to 80 per cent among GPs. Among the non-participants of MGNREGS, a sizeable proportion of job card holders have their own engagement in farm and non-farm activities, regular and skilled activity as they are generating better income from self employment or wage employment in terms of per –day wage rate. The main activities in the farm sector were own agriculture, livestock, and wage labour agriculture. In the non-farm sector were skilled (mason) and unskilled wage labour in building construction, fixed salary work in factories, and self employment in small business and tailoring, etc., besides wage employment under MGNREGS. The participation in MGNREGS and out migration are not dependant on social category, landlessness, access to own land, and level of education. Thus, migration was determined some extent of geographical factors such as rainfall, sources of area under irrigation and climatic conditions; quality of soils and type of crops grown in the area; wage rate and employment opportunities in farm and non-farm sectors and proximity to urban markets and industrial activity.

Annexure 3.1

**GP-Wise Participation and Average days of Employment and
Income Generated by Households under MGNREGS in 2018-19**

Panchayat / Mandal Name	No. of Job Cards Issued (Since Inception)	No. of Individuals in Job Cards (Since Inception)	Participation Rate		Avg. Days of Emp. per HH	Avg. Wage per Day	Expenditure on Per Households
			No. of HH	No. of Labour			
Thammalagondi	478	935	26.2	19.4	20.74	227.37	4712.0
Varikunta	172	311	51.7	42.1	16.28	228.59	3719.1
Vemuluru	269	464	61.7	52.4	27.11	243.98	6614.5
Atloor (M)	5817	10447	52.2	41.3	20.25	229.67	4650.6
Alladupalle	217	414	66.4	55.1	10.77	219.62	2368.1
Chinnaguravalur	242	540	63.6	55.0	36.25	225.6	8181.8
Vedururu	369	612	55.8	43.3	21.57	226.46	4883.5
Chapadu (M)	7227	14391	64.2	54.6	25.18	226.12	5693.9
Madithadu	995	1722	38.0	31.8	28.84	237.47	6849.2
Rayavaram	738	1202	58.8	48.5	17.56	230.3	4043.8
Yarrinenipalem	283	498	52.3	44.0	37.53	233.75	8770.3
T. Sundupalle (M)	8521	14434	51.3	43.2	30.73	239.8	7369.5
Errasanipalli	200	375	82.5	70.7	38.75	238.43	9242.4
Kotala	334	611	82.3	72.2	37.40	246.79	9229.1
Punchalamarri	205	402	56.1	52.0	29.84	231.02	6895.7
Thamballapalli (M)	6819	12826	61.3	54.8	35.67	238.83	8519.8
Kollapalle	223	357	71.3	63.0	38.58	204.1	7874.2
Polakala	1226	1996	56.0	50.6	105.02	211.89	22253.6
Vadrampalli	148	288	54.1	51.4	47.83	202.81	9700.0
Irala (M)	7947	13492	56.1	53.0	68.82	208.26	14331.8
Aroor	258	413	63.2	55.7	9.83	192.94	1895.7
Kannavaram	364	647	78.3	66.6	14.69	212.05	3115.8
Madananjeri	216	415	88.9	84.6	53.69	242.53	13020.8
Satyavedu (M)	7997	14125	68.8	61.8	30.75	237.11	7290.5
Donnikota	1341	2554	64.4	59.2	36.78	227.9	8380.8
Kurumala	547	1048	43.5	38.1	34.77	234.73	8159.7
Maskavankapalli	369	717	56.9	49.7	31.00	221.6	6866.7
Nallamada (M)	9061	17243	54.5	49.3	34.28	231.58	7938.0
Gonibhavi	514	906	59.7	53.4	97.85	207.69	20322.5
Kalagodu	1414	2910	59.7	54.5	83.52	203.71	17015.4
Poolakunta	466	881	58.8	52.1	97.42	207.18	20322.5
Gummigatta (M)	8960	17672	58.3	52.5	79.96	205.46	16427.9
Chabala	626	1284	79.4	72.1	20.49	242.19	4962
Thatrakal	699	1425	37.5	33.1	29.61	242.88	7192
Venkatampalli	457	989	76.1	68.3	41.46	254.36	10546
Vajrakarur (M)	11809	24316	66.2	58.9	28.03	243.47	6824
All the 27 GPs	13257	24916	58.90	51.67	47.20	225.85	10660.98
All the 9 mandals	74158	138946	59.56	52.84	39.48	228.91	9037.37

Annexure 3.2: GP-Wise Average Days of Employment and the Broad Features of the GPs in Providing Employment in Agriculture and MGNREGS

Panchayat Name	Avg.Days of Emp. per HH	Performance of MGNREGS	Reasons for High and Low Participation in MGNREGS Works
Varikunta	16.28	Low	The households in the GP were mostly resettled in the present location due to the Somasila Irrigation Project. The potential for employment from agriculture and also MGNREGS has declined due to the acquisition of a major portion of their land by the project. Many youths (less than 30 years, both male and female) opted for Gulf migration due to lack of regular employment and livelihood in the village. Apart from this, there was no regular field assistant from 2011-12. Senior mate has been in-charge of the MGNREGS work only for the previous four months. The works taken up under MGNREGS are very limited. There is need for special efforts to identify suitable works and preparation of project proposals for work.
Thammalagondi	20.74	Medium	Limited availability of government land for taking up works under MGNREGS in the village due to allotment of 1000 acres of land (acquired by government) to the Kalivikodi project. Gulf migration is also found in the GP, mostly among the youth, including women. It is very hard to take up MGNREGS work on the available land. The people prefer to work as agricultural labourers in the nearby villages as they get a better per day wage. Thus, the participants under MGNREGS works are mostly women members. They are even prepared to work for less than Rs. 100 per day as they do part-time work.
Vemalur	27.11	High	Owing to regular drought, migration to the Gulf countries has become an alternative source of employment and income for many households in the village. Juli flower is grown on cultivable land due to drought and the land becoming fallow. In the current year, the irrigation potential improved due to the backwaters of Somasila irrigation project which increased the storage capacity. Many farmers now demand assistance for Juli flower clearance under MGNREGS in order to bring their fallow land under cultivation.
Atloor Mandal	20.25	Average	The mandal is drought affected and Gulf migration is quite high.
Alladupalle	10.77	Low	Total land in the GP is under canal irrigation and mostly paddy is cultivated. The possible works under MGNREGS is only canal maintenance –feeder channels and field channels. The channel works are also limited for the village. The job card holder participation is lower due to better wages in agriculture and availability of regular work in agriculture and dairy. There is no scope for allocating any other works under MGNREGS due to non-availability of vacant and government land.
Vedururu	21.57	Medium	Most of the land in the GP is fertile and a major part of it is allotted for paddy cultivation, followed by groundnut, cotton, turmeric and also flowers. The low participation in MGNREGS work by the job card holder is due to better wages in agriculture and the availability of regular work in agriculture and dairy. The possible work under MGNREGS is only canal maintenance –feeder channels and field channels.

Panchayat Name	Avg.Days of Emp. per HH	Performance of MGNREGS	Reasons for High and Low Participation in MGNREGS Works
Chinnaguravalur	36.25	High	The total land in the GP is under canal irrigation. Most of the lands are fertile and paddy cultivation is predominant. Dairy is the main source of income for many households. One of the farmers has received the state award for supply of milk. The job card holder participation is relatively higher in the GP as compared to the other two GPs due to participation of all job card holders owing to the fact that there was no second crop in the village.
Chapad Mandal	25.18	Average	More than 90 per cent of the area is under canal irrigation.
Rayavaram	17.56	Low	Rayavaram GP is partly irrigated, based on tank and groundwater sources. The area is mostly a horticulture belt and performs relatively better in agricultural activity. The participation in MGNREGS is low due to own agriculture, and availability of better wages in agriculture. Gulf migration is quite high in the village, with most of them working as drivers.
Madithadu	28.84	Medium	The GP consists of 30 hamlets. Half of the villages are located on the banks of one big stream and the villages have potential for groundwater and also tank irrigation, while the other half of the villages are in the upland area and far away from the stream where the ground water potential is poor. They mostly cultivate rainfed crops, and mango is the main horticulture crop. The villages in the uplands need more works and also have the potential to take up work under MGNREGS. Implementation of works in all the 30 hamlets with a single Field Assistant is difficult.
Yarrinenipalem	37.53	High	Half of the villages are located on the banks of the stream and the other half of the villages are located in the uplands. The villages located close to the stream have better agricultural activity. The villages located in the upland areas have potential to take up works as they have been demanding work.
T.Sundupalle Mandal	30.73	Average	Tank irrigation and ground potential are available for part of the area which is close to a major stream. The rest of the villages are in the uplands and are drought affected, hence they have less irrigation facilities. Gulf migration is quite high in the mandal.
Punchalamarri	29.84	Low	All the hamlets in the GP are in the upland areas. Tank and bore wells are the sources of irrigation. The majority of the households possess land, but have no cultivation due to frequent droughts. Dairy is the main source of income for the majority of the households. The village has the potential to take up works, but the soil is too hard so work on it is not remunerative. Hence job card holders show less interest to participate in MGNREGS works. Migration is the alternative source of livelihood income.
Kotala	37.4	Medium	All the hamlets in the GP are in the upland areas. The village has potential to take up works, but the soil is hard and not remunerative. Even then, job card holders participate in MGNREGS works due to lack of alternative employment. The majority of the households possess land, while dairy is the other important livelihood activity. Seasonal migration is also found in some households which are exclusively dependent on wage employment for livelihood.

Panchayat Name	Avg.Days of Emp. per HH	Performance of MGNREGS	Reasons for High and Low Participation in MGNREGS Works
Errasanipalli	38.75	High	All the hamlets in the GP are in the upland areas. The village has potential to take up works, but the soil is too hard to work and thus it is not possible to complete allotted work to get the mandated wage rate. Even then, the job card holders participate in MGNREGS works and the 'average days of employment' is relatively better than that of the other two GPs of the mandal. Dairy is the main source of income for the livelihood of the majority of the households.
Thamballapalli	35.67	Average	Migration (permanent and seasonal) is quite high in the mandal due to availability of limited irrigation facilities and it being a drought-affected area.
Vadrampalli	47.83	Low	There was no regular Field Assistant for implementation of works under MGNREGS. Though there is a need for employment, labour participation is very limited. The workers are mostly interested in work in small businesses in the temple town, particularly in the summer due to lower wages under MGNREGS. However, many job card holders are availing benefits under the schemes of housing, IHSL and horticulture.
Kollapalle	38.58	Medium	There was no regular Field Assistant for implementation of works under MGNREGS. However, the forest department grows plants through nursery under the convergence scheme of MGNREGS. The labour participation is very limited due to the availability of wage employment for workers in food processing industries in their vicinity. They are also provided regular work and transport facility to attend work in the food processing industry. However, many job card holders are availing benefits under the schemes of housing, IHSL and horticulture.
Polakala	105.02	High	MGNREGS works have been taken up with the support of an NGO in the GP. However, there are complaints in the GP against the NGO for misappropriation of funds. The NGO uses machinery for digging and excavation of earth in most of the farm ponds. Here, the NGO has colluded with the job card holders for claiming the MGNREGS money and manipulation of muster rolls. All this was revealed in the social audit and submitted as an attachment for the recovery of the amount from the NGO. Action has also been demanded against the officials involved in the misappropriation of funds.
Irala Mandal	68.82	Average	Employment is available from fruit canning industries. Average days of employment is relatively better due to implementation of MGNREGS work by the NGO on nomination.
Aroor	9.83	Low	The total land in the GP except area under the village boundaries was acquired for Sri City Industrial Zone. There is scope to take up work on drainage system in the villages. One MI tank is available in the village boundary while the cultivable area is in Tamil Nadu. The scope for preparation of self of projects is very limited. There was no regular field staff for the GP to take up works on a regular basis. The majority of the employees working in the industries are via out sourcing and also as daily wage labour.

Panchayat Name	Avg.Days of Emp. per HH	Performance of MGNREGS	Reasons for High and Low Participation in MGNREGS Works
Kannavaram	14.69	Medium	Employment is available from agriculture in the kharif season and partly in the rabi season. The labourers give preference to agriculture work as they get more wages per day from it. But majority of the labour participates in MGNREGS works in the summer season.
Madananjeri	53.69	High	Availability of employment is very limited in the rainy season. Most grow a single crop in a year (paddy) if they receive good rain. The majority of the households are landless and small and marginal farmers. Thus, the work participation is relatively higher in the GP compared to the other two GPs.
Satyavedu Mandal	30.75	Average	No migration. Potential for youth employment due to Sri City Industrial Zone.
Maskavankapalli	31.00	Low	Availability of employment is limited in the village. Groundnut in rabi season is grown by a few households which are under borewell irrigation. Permanent and seasonal migration is quite high in the village. Livestock maintenance is the alternative source of employment. Dairy farming is available in very few households. Youth migration, mostly permanent, is quite high in the village. But their parents stay in the village and the youth too come to the village on a regular basis to claim all the entitlements of PDS and other benefits..
Kurumala	34.77	Medium	The farmers grow mostly rainfed crops. Groundnut in rabi season is grown by a few households which are under borewell irrigation. But they plan to harvest in the month of February as the borewells become dry. Those who have borewell irrigation engage in dairy activity for livelihood. A horticulture crop (mango) was also found in the GP. The farmers expressed that they have taken it up due to the assistance under the convergence scheme of MGNREGS. Permanent and seasonal migration is quite high in the village.
Donnikota	36.78	High	Horticulture(mango) was taken up predominantly under MGNREGS. Borewell irrigation is available to only a few farmers. They mostly grow rainfed crops in the GP. Groundnut in the rabi season is grown by a few households which are under borewell irrigation. Permanent and season migration is also quite high in some households. Livestock maintenance is also one of the activities engaged in by many households in the GPs.
Nallamada	34.28	Average	Permanent and seasonal migration is considerable.
Kalagodu	83.52	Low	The labour in the main village depend on own agriculture and wage labour. They look for wage employment under MGNREGS in the summer season. The employment opportunities in one of the hamlets of the GP are very limited, with a majority of the people belonging to the Vaddera community who prefer to migrate and do earth work as their traditional occupation in which they earn more.
Gonibhavi	97.85	Medium	Agriculture is the main occupation for the landholding households of OCs and BCs. The majority of the SCs and BCs depend on migration. More specifically, the Vaddera community depend on migration and mainly do earth work. The majority of the households participate in MGNREGS works.

Panchayat Name	Avg.Days of Emp. per HH	Performance of MGNREGS	Reasons for High and Low Participation in MGNREGS Works
Poolakunta	97.42	High	Irrigation facilities are scarce. The majority depend on wage labour and migration. The households staying back in the village participate in MGNREGS work. The majority of the job card holders avail the benefit of MGNREGS work.
Gummigatta	79.96	Average	High participation in MGNREGS and high migration of labour.
Chabala	20.49	Low	Wage employment in agriculture is relatively better in the village due to better irrigation facilities. They grow predominantly paddy, cotton, groundnut and chilli in the GP. Labour is available for work only in the rainy season. Distress migration was not found in the GP.
Thatrakal	29.61	Medium	Employment sources were available in the rainy season. They also do cultivation of irrigated dry crops in the rabi season using borewell irrigation, but the crops have to be harvested before February as the ground water sources become dry by then. The irrigation potential and borewells are available only for a few farmers. Hence, the majority of the households opt for seasonal migration in the GP, particularly in the tribal hamlet.
Venkatampalli Pedatanda	41.46	High	The households living in the GP are mostly tribals. They cultivate mostly rainfed crops. Borewell irrigation is available for only a few households. Horticulture crops were also found in the village depending on borewell irrigation. But the majority of the households seasonally migrate. The demand for work is higher than the supply of work.
Vajrakarur	28.03	Average	Participation is relatively low and seasonal migration is quite high among the tribals (Sugalies or Lambadas).

Chapter 4

IMPACT OF MGNREGS ON EMPLOYMENT AND LIVELIHOOD

Introduction

MGNREGS is expected to create a positive impact on the livelihood pattern of the poor, if the scheme is properly implemented with the demanded volume of employment provided at the mandated wage rate, and the timely payment of such wages. At the same time, the assets created at the village level would have a positive impact on agriculture, food security, prevailing wage rates, creation of additional employment, and development of village facilities. It is also important to analyse the issues in achieving a positive impact on the growth of family income. Generally, a scheme could be considered successful when it benefits the real poor, without facing any hurdles in realising the targeted benefits to improve the livelihood of the poor. The study analyses the impact of the scheme on: the family in terms of the extent of income generated and level of food security achieved; agriculture in terms of improvement in land fertility and water availability/retention capacity of the soil, increased employment opportunities and agriculture wages; enhancement of credit access and repayment of debts; repair/construction of house; improvement in children's education and healthcare; achievement of more equal wages for males and females in the labour market; building community assets such as roads, drainage and others; and reduction in distress migration.

Extent of Income Generated Under MGNREGS

Out of the sample, only 640 households (77.1 %) had worked under MGNREGS for wage employment and the remaining (190 households or 22.9 %) were mostly migrants and they had not worked under MGNREGS. Among the households benefited under MGNREGS, a few had also not worked for wage employment, but had availed other individual schemes such as Housing, Horticulture and Individual Household Sanitary Latrine (IHSL) under the convergence option offered by MGNREGS. The households were also eligible to work under MGNREGS, if employment provided under convergence of schemes was less than 100 days. For instance: IHSL, the eligible days employment for claim was 6 days and they can work up to 94 days of wage employment under MGNREGS. The sample job card households benefited under

MGNREGS was 100 per cent in non-migrant households and it was 57.2 per cent among migrants. An interesting feature was that the average days of employment and annual earnings of the migrant households were relatively higher than that of the corresponding average days and earnings of the non-migrants in the district of Chittoor and Kadapa. The annual earning of the migrants was Rs.13291 as against Rs.10431 for non-migrants in Chittoor, while it was Rs. 10431 for migrants against Rs.8841 for non-migrants in Kadapa district (Table 4.1). It is imperative to note that the demand and need for employment was more among the migrant households than among the non-migrant households. Hence, migrant households were relatively better at availing the opportunities offered by MGNREGS for livelihood improvement. Even the family members of Gulf migrant households had been availing the benefits of MGNREGS in a majority of such households. Many non-migrant members had also been availing of the scheme, depending on their free time and need. In the focus group discussions (FGDs), the non-migrants also expressed that they would have migrated had the MGNREGS works not provided them employment in the lean seasons of agriculture, particularly in the summer season. It shows that MGNREGS proved to be a very important source of employment and livelihood for both migrant and non-migrant households in the drought-prone districts of the Rayalaseema region.

Table 4.1: Extent of Wage Income Generated by the Households under MGNREGS

District	Migration Status	No. of Sample Households	No. of Sample Households Participated	Average Days of Employment Provided	Average Earnings (in Rupees)
Kadapa	Migrants	163(100)	112(68.7)	72.13	10431
	Non-Migrants	107(100)	107(100)	64.15	8233
	Total	270(100)	219(81.1)	68.41	9357
Chittoor	Migrants	61(100)	36(59.0)	78.53	13234
	Non-Migrants	215(100)	215(100)	65.73	10504
	Total	276(100)	251(90.9)	67.73	10895
Anantapur	Migrants	220(100)	106(48.2)	64.65	10475
	Non-Migrants	64(100)	64(100)	71.83	11683
	Total	284(100)	170(59.9)	67.22	10930
Total	Migrants	444(100)	254(57.2)	69.92	10847
	Non-Migrants	386(100)	386(100)	66.31	10070
	Total	830(100)	640(77.1)	67.83	10378

Source: Field Survey

The households which did not generate any wage income from MGNREGS were 190 in number or 22.9% of the total sample. They were migrants that had not benefited from MGNREGS; while all the non-migrant households had generated income from MGNREGS either wage employment or out benefited under convergence of other schemes with MGNREGS in the year 2018-19. The proportion of households that had generated more than Rs.10000 income from MGNREGS was about 34% of the total. The income was earned by the family in difficult times, particularly the lean seasons of agriculture and thus MGNREGS proved to be very useful to the poor for livelihood improvement of the family. Such higher income was high (50%) even among households possessing land of more than 5 acres. Their proportion was 39.4% among the households possessing 2.50 to 5 acres of land and 36.4% among the households possessing less than 2.50 acres of land (marginal farmers) and only 26.8% among the landless (Table 4.2). It shows that the households possessing land were generating higher amount of income from MGNREGS than the landless. The households possessing land could stay back in the village and depend exclusively on MGNREGS during lean seasons while the landless and marginal farmers had to opt for migration and wage labour (if available) in other activities in their vicinity.

Table 4.2: Income from MGNREGS according to Land Size

Migration Status	Size of Income	Land owned (in acres) - Total				Total
		Landless	Up to 2.50	2.51 - 5.00	Above 5.00	
Migrants	Nil	74 (42.5)	60(4.0)	50 (51.5)	6 (26.1)	190 (42.8)
	Upto 5000	22 (12.6)	20(13.3)	12 (12.4)	6 (26.1)	60 (13.5)
	5001-10000	29 (16.7)	24(16.0)	11(11.3)	3 (13.0)	66 (14.9)
	10001-15000	24 (13.8)	22(14.7)	10 (10.3)	4 (17.4)	60 (13.5)
	15001-20000	20 (11.5)	17(11.3)	7 (7.2)	2 (8.7)	46 (10.4)
	20001+	5 (2.9)	8 (5.3)	7 (7.2)	2 (8.7)	22 (5.0)
	Total	174 (51.0)	150(62.1)	97 (59.5)	23 (63.9)	444 (53.5)
Non Migrants	Upto 5000	58 (34.7)	37(26.4)	17 (25.8)	1 (7.7)	113 (29.3)
	5001-10000	64 (38.3)	38(27.1)	7 (10.6)	1 (7.7)	110 (28.5)
	10001-15000	24 (14.4)	26(18.6)	12 (18.2)	4 (30.8)	66 (17.1)
	15001-20000	14 (8.4)	22(15.7)	17 (47.0)	1 (7.7)	54 (14.0)
	20001+	7 (4.2)	17(12.1)	13 (19.7)	6 (46.6)	43 (11.1)
	Total	167 (49.0)	140(48.3)	66 (40.5)	13 (36.1)	386 (46.5)
Total	Nil	74 (21.7)	60(20.7)	50 (30.7)	6 (16.7)	190 (22.9)
	Upto 5000	80 (23.5)	57(19.7)	29 (17.8)	7 (19.4)	173 (20.8)
	5001-10000	93 (27.3)	61(21.0)	18 (11.0)	4 (11.1)	176 (21.2)
	10001-15000	48 (14.1)	38(13.1)	22 (13.5)	8 (22.2)	126 (15.2)
	15001-20000	34 (10.0)	39(13.4)	24 (14.7)	3 (8.3)	100 (12.0)
	20001+	12 (3.5)	25(8.6)	20 (12.3)	8 (22.2)	65 (7.8)
Grand Total		341 (41.1)	290(34.9)	163 (19.6)	36 (4.3)	830 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

It was also observed that the proportion of households which earned more than Rs. 10000 from MGNREGS was higher among the open category (41.3%), followed by BCs (34.3%), SCs (31.3%) and STs (27.7%) (Table 4.3). It means that the SC and ST households preferred to work for wage employment in agriculture and other activities including migration while the OCs and BCs depended on own agriculture and wage employment under MGNREGS. Though the size of income generated for SCs and STs was relatively lower than for OCs and BCs, the participation of SCs and STs was higher in times of need, particularly in distress conditions.

Table 4.3: Social Group Wise Extent of Income Generated under MGNREGS

Migration Status	Size of Income	Social Group				Total
		SC	ST	BC	Others	
Migrants	Nil	47 (36.2)	10 (16.7)	99 (51.3)	34 (55.7)	190 (42.8)
	Upto 5000	21 (16.2)	15 (25.0)	17 (8.8)	7 (11.5)	60 (13.5)
	5001-10000	19 (14.6)	17 (28.3)	25 (13.0)	5 (8.2)	66 (14.9)
	10001-15000	20 (15.4)	11 (18.3)	23 (11.9)	6 (9.8)	60 (13.5)
	15001-20000	17 (13.1)	6 (1.0)	19 (9.8)	4 (6.6)	46 (10.4)
	20001+	6 (4.6)	1 (1.7)	10 (5.2)	5 (8.2)	22 (5.0)
	Total	130 (47.8)	60 (81.1)	193 (54.4)	61 (47.3)	444 (53.5)
Non Migrants	Upto 5000	47 (33.1)	5 (35.7)	51 (31.5)	10 (14.7)	113 (29.3)
	5001-10000	49 (34.5)	7 (5.0)	36 (22.2)	18 (26.5)	110 (28.5)
	10001-15000	26 (18.3)	1 (7.1)	28 (42.4)	11 (16.2)	66 (17.1)
	15001-20000	13 (9.2)	0	23 (17.3)	18 (26.5)	54 (14.0)
	20001+	7 (4.9)	1 (7.1)	24 (14.8)	11 (16.2)	43 (11.1)
	Total	142 (52.2)	14 (18.9)	162 (45.6)	68 (52.7)	386 (46.5)
Total	Nil	47 (17.3)	10 (13.5)	99 (28.0)	34 (26.4)	190 (23.0)
	Upto 5000	68 (25.0)	20 (27.0)	68 (19.2)	17 (13.2)	173 (20.8)
	5001-10000	68 (25.0)	24 (32.4)	61 (17.2)	23 (17.8)	176 (21.2)
	10001-15000	46 (16.9)	12 (16.2)	51 (14.4)	17 (13.2)	126 (15.2)
	15001-20000	30 (11.0)	6 (8.1)	42 (11.8)	22 (17.1)	100 (12.0)
	20001+	13 (4.8)	2 (2.7)	34 (9.6)	16 (12.4)	65 (7.8)
Grand Total		272 (32.8)	74 (8.9)	355 (42.8)	129 (15.5)	830 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The SCs and STs used to work for wages in agriculture and other wage employment activities, whenever available, as they could earn Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 per day from such work. They preferred to work for the entire day to earn more in times of employment availability in agriculture and allied activities. It is important to note that as compared to the SCs and STs, the OCs and BCs were not inclined to work as wage labour in agriculture and allied activities.

At the same time, social status also played a role in participation of work under the MGNREGS for the OCs and BCs, unlike for the SCs and STs.

Households which availed MGNREGS for Housing

Each beneficiary is eligible to get 90 days employment under MGNREGS for construction of individual house. Apart from the subsidy and loan, each family is entitled to get Rs. 18000 cash under the scheme for construction of the house. It was observed from the study that half of the beneficiaries had received assistance from the state for construction of the house. Housing assistance under MGNREGS was received by 51 households in 2018-19 and 349 households prior to 2018-19. The assistance for housing among the sample was higher in Anantapur compared to the other two districts (Table 4.4). Beneficiaries were eligible to work for 10 days of employment under MGNREGS if they claimed 90 days employment for house construction. In such cases, job card holders would not earn any wage income under MGNREGS.

Table 4.4: Availed MGNREGS Wage Component for Housing Scheme under Convergence

District	Year of Assistance	Social Group				Total
		SC	ST	BC	Others	
Kadapa	2018-19	5	1	2	2	10
	Before 2018	49	3	37	11	100
	Total	54	4	39	13	110
Chittoor	2018-19	4	2	8	4	18
	Before 2018	27	7	59	30	123
	Total	31	9	67	34	141
Anantapur	2018-19	9	4	10	0	23
	Before 2018	42	28	52	4	126
	Total	51	32	62	4	149
Grand Total	2018-19	18	7	20	6	51
	Before 2018	118	38	148	45	349
	Total	136	45	168	51	400

Source: Field Survey

Households which Availed MGNREGS for Individual Household Sanitary Latrine

Each family is eligible to get six days of wage employment under MGNREGS for construction of Individual Household Sanitary Latrine (IHSL). Though wage component is very limited, they receive subsidy for material components free of cost. Therefore, most of the poor households had availed the facility of IHSL. In 2018-19, 226 households out of the total sample availed the facility while half of the total sample households had received assistance under the scheme in the

previous years (Table 4.5). More specifically, the scheme was helpful in minimizing open defecation among the poor and marginalized groups. The scheme had also created awareness among the public for maintaining cleanliness and hygienic conditions in the house and surroundings. This facilitates minimization of health problems too.

Table 4.5: Households which Availed the MGNREGS Wage Component for IHSL Scheme under Convergence

District	Year of Assistance	Social Group				Total
		SC	ST	BC	Others	
Kadapa	2018-19	27	3	11	6	47
	Before 2018	36	3	21	8	68
	Total	63	6	32	14	115
Chittoor	2018-19	24	4	41	24	93
	Before 2018	14	3	46	20	83
	Total	38	7	87	44	176
Anantapur	2018-19	24	18	42	2	86
	Before 2018	10	11	22	3	46
	Total	34	29	64	5	132
Grand Total	2018-19	75	25	94	32	226
	Before 2018	60	17	89	31	197
	Total	135	42	183	63	423

Source: Field Survey

Households Availed MGNREGS for Horticulture

The other important scheme under implementation in the convergence of MGNREGS is horticulture in drought-prone areas. The scheme was availed by 22 households in the year 2018-19. Among the beneficiaries, a majority were in the Chittoor district (Table 4.6). The type of plantation taken up under the scheme was mango in the majority of the cases followed by citrus fruits. While assistance is available mostly for the farmers using their land for horticulture plantation, wage employment is available for the community for earth work such as pitting and plantation as per the rates prescribed for each plant in the land. The remaining components such as tilling land, watering, weeding, fencing, and watch and ward of the plants are provided to the farmers for three years. Apart from these, they also get assistance for kind component or cash reimbursement to purchase plants, fertilizers and pesticides. In the second year, they also get assistance for replacement of plants if they have withered away. But the survival must be more than 50% if they want to get assistance for the second and third year. No doubt, the scheme is most useful for the households with own land and irrigation facility, but assistance is available for pot watering in drought-prone areas. It was observed from the secondary data that the

majority of the households were availing the horticulture scheme in Chittoor and Anantapur districts. But the implementation was given to different departments within the district and there was ambiguity in their budget, project cost and delivery procedures.

It was observed from the study that the beneficiaries were not able to receive the total project cost of the scheme. The plantations were expected to be taken up after the onset of monsoon in the months of June or July in order to get the maximum eligible assistance for 10 months in terms of watch and ward, watering and other components under the scheme. However, majority of the farmers had planted in the months of November and December 2018 and they had to forgo assistance for five to six months. At the same time, they could not get any assistance if there was any casualty of plants. The majority of the farmers shared that there was a delay in budget approval and release of the money under the scheme.

Table 4.6: Availed Horticulture under Convergence of MGNREGS

District	Year of Assistance	Assistance Received for Horticulture			
		SC	BC	Others	Total
Kadapa	Before 2018	2	2	0	4
	2018-19	2	1	0	3
	Total	4	3	0	7
Chittoor	Before 2018	4	15	17	36
	2018-19	2	7	10	19
	Total	6	22	27	55
Anantapur	Before 2018	4	1	0	5
	2018-19	0	0	0	0
	Total	4	1	0	5
Total	Before 2018	10	18	17	45
	2018-19	4	8	10	22
	Total	14	26	27	67

Source: Field Survey

The price fixed for mango was Rs. 35, which was insufficient to obtain good and quality plants. The other issue was that there was a delay in the process of budget release for supply or purchase of plants. Many of the farmers purchased the plants after the end of the monsoon season which resulted in a loss to the farmers in many respects in terms of survival of plants and for going of the budget for watering, watch and wards, other inputs for the year. A farmer with own funds could have purchased the plants on his own during the monsoon and submitted the bills later for claiming assistance. But this was not feasible for the farmers belonging to the small income group. The other issue with regard to horticulture was that the input cost of fertilizers and pesticides was pending for the previous one year in many villages.

Photo No.1: Horticulture under the Convergence of MGNREGS

Photo No. 2: Horticulture under the Convergence of MGNREGS



Photo No.3: Horticulture under the Convergence of MGNREGS

There was a lack of proper awareness among households with regard to the component-wise per acre budget or project cost available for horticulture crops. The farmers had also not received all the components of the budget due to lack of awareness about using the guidelines of the scheme. For instance, the budget for compost pit in the field and fencing of the garden was not received, as noted in the focus group discussions. The responsibility of implementation was given to different departments within the district and there was ambiguity in their budget and project cost and delivery procedures. Thus awareness needs to be created with regard to the component-wise available budget and procedure to claim the budget for horticulture.

Impact of MGNREGS on the well-being of the family

The implementation of the MGNREGS helps to accrue direct benefits of income through wage employment for the poor while the works undertaken in rural areas result in indirect benefits to the community in terms of creation of irrigation and infrastructure facilities. The scheme is expected to result in the well-being of the rural poor. This study aimed to assess the impact of the scheme on the improvement of well-being based on perception on a three point scale, viz. high, low and no impact. The direct effects on family well-being are food security, irrigation potential, land fertility, credit access, healthcare, children's education, repayment of debts, consumption needs and social functions, and repairs and construction of house. Indirect potential benefits include increased wages and employment opportunities in agriculture and allied activities, equal wages for men and women, and availability of community facilities in terms of rural roads, drainage and so on.

Food Security

The perceptions indicate that the majority of the participant households (73.6%) had substantially achieved food security due to the implementation of MGNREGS. However, the impact on improvement of food security was relatively higher among non-migrant households (80.3%) than migrant households (66.1%). No impact was expressed by only 2.5% non-migrant and 8.3% migrant households, among those participating in MGNREGS works (Table4.7). About 21 % of the households expressed low impact of the scheme on food security. This was mainly due to either limited availability of employment or less participation of households under

MGNREGS. It was found that there were wide variations in the provision of wage employment under MGNREGS within the mandal and also within the hamlets of the Gram Panchayat.

Table 4.7: Impact of MGNREGS on Food Security

District	Migrant / Non-migrants	Impact of MGNREGS on Food security			Total
		High	Low	No Impact	
Kadapa	Migrants	88 (64.7)	38 (27.9)	10 (7.4)	136 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	80 (79.2)	20(19.8)	1(0.9)	101 (100.0)
	Total	168 (70.9)	58 (24.5)	11 (4.6)	237 (100.0)
Chittoor	Migrants	28 (65.1)	14 (32.6)	1 (2.3)	43 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	165 (80.9)	32 (15.7)	7 (3.4)	204 (100.0)
	Total	193 (78.1)	46 (18.6)	8 (3.2)	247 (100.0)
Anantapur	Migrants	98 (67.6)	31 (21.4)	16 (11.0)	145 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	49 (80.3)	11 (18.0)	1 (1.6)	61 (100.0)
	Total	147 (71.4)	42 (20.4)	17 (8.3)	206 (100.0)
Total	Migrants	214 (66.1)	83 (25.2)	27 (8.3)	324 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	294 (80.3)	63 (17.2)	9 (2.5)	366 (100.0)
	Total	508 (73.6)	146 (21.1)	36 (5.2)	690 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

On the whole, implementation of MGNREGS was seen to be contributing to food security in majority of the households, even migrant households as their family members participated in work. There were no variations in the levels of food security among districts and also among social groups. Many of the poor stated that they needed 150 days of work every year that drought was a regular occurrence which affected them and that the wage employment available in agriculture was not more than 120 days in the entire year. Thus, appropriate planning is required in accordance with the needs of the households.

Soil and Land Fertility under Land Development

MGNREGS works were taken up to promote soil fertility and land development in terms of Juli flora clearance with stump removal, boulder removal and forming stone bunds, soil conservation works, and silt application. All these schemes had been implemented in the past, but some of the schemes had been discontinued in recent years. The impact of the schemes on improvement of land fertility was observed for only some households—high impact (11.3%), low impact (44.1%) and no impact (44.6.0%) (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8: Soil and Land Fertility

District	Migrant / Non-migrants	Land Fertility			Total
		High	Low	No Impact	
Kadapa	Migrants	12 (8.8)	57 (41.9)	67 (49.3)	136 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	5 (5.9)	55 (54.5)	41 (40.6)	101 (100.0)
	Total	17 (7.2)	112 (47.3)	108 (45.6)	237 (100.0)
Chittoor	Migrants	5 (11.6)	15 (34.9)	23 (53.5)	43 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	28 (13.7)	104 (51.0)	72 (35.3)	204 (100.0)
	Total	33 (13.4)	119 (48.2)	95 (38.5)	247 (100.0)
Anantapur	Migrants	18 (12.4)	50 (34.5)	77 (53.1)	145 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	10 (16.4)	23 (37.7)	28 (45.9)	61 (100.0)
	Total	28 (13.6)	73 (35.4)	105 (51.0)	206 (100.0)
Total	Migrants	35 (10.8)	122 (37.7)	167 (51.5)	324 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	43 (11.7)	182 (49.7)	141 (38.5)	366 (100.0)
	Total	78 (11.3)	304 (44.1)	308 (44.6)	690 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

It was observed from the study that the schemes were useful for employment generation but not for improvement of land fertility. This was mainly because the works had not been identified in accordance with the needs of the community, or because the works had been taken up in hillocks and government lands far away from the village. The other issue was that some of schemes were scrapped or discontinued for implementation in recent years in the entire district or part of the district due to misuse of funds and governance issues, especially the Juliflora clearance, boulder removal, forming stone bunds and silt application, as reported in the focus group discussions. These works however had a greater impact on land development and had high public demand in the majority of the villages, particularly for SC and ST lands in all the study districts.

Ground water Improvement and Water Availability

The majority of the schemes implemented were for groundwater potential and water storage improvement in small tanks in terms of de-siltation of check dams and small tanks, construction of new tanks or de-siltation of tanks and feeder channels, farm and dug out ponds, soil conservation works, and long staggered trenches in the foothills of hillocks. The majority of the works taken up in villages were the ones that intended to improve groundwater level and irrigation facilities. The perceptions from the beneficiaries indicate that 50 % of the sample households believed that the works had no positive impact on the improvement of groundwater

levels; 44.1 % believed that there was a low level of positive impact; and only 5.9 % of the households felt that the impact was at a high level (Table 4.9). This means that majority of the sample households reported either no impact or non-awareness of the impact.

Table 4.9: Water Availability/Retention Capacity of the Soil

District	Migrant / Non-migrants	Water Availability/ Retention capacity of the soil			Total
		High	Low	No Impact	
Kadapa	Migrants	13 (9.6)	53 (39.0)	70 (51.4)	136 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	10 (9.9)	45 (44.6)	46 (45.5)	101 (100.0)
	Total	23 (9.7)	98 (41.4)	116 (48.9)	237 (100.0)
Chittoor	Migrants	-	20 (46.5)	23 (53.5)	43 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	14 (6.9)	98 (48.0)	92 (45.1)	204 (100.0)
	Total	14 (5.7)	118 (47.8)	115 (46.6)	247 (100.0)
Anantapur	Migrants	2 (1.4)	60 (41.4)	83 (57.2)	145 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	2 (3.3)	28 (45.9)	31 (50.8)	61 (100.0)
	Total	4 (1.9)	88 (42.7)	114 (55.3)	206 (100.0)
Total	Migrants	15 (4.6)	133 (41.1)	176 (54.3)	324 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	26 (7.1)	171 (46.7)	169 (46.2)	366 (100.0)
	Total	41 (5.9)	304 (44.1)	345 (50.0)	690 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

In some villages, the farmers shared that there was no improvement in groundwater levels or irrigation due to the lack of good rainfall in their area. In many villages, the farmers reported that the works were taken up in government lands and hillocks which were located at a distance from the lands under cultivation. Thus, with the exception of one or two villages, there was no strong conviction among the farmers that the MGNREGS works had contributed to the improvement in irrigation facilities. While it was true that, from the farmers' perspective, the groundwater levels had fallen in most of the drought-prone areas and that they were not able to get enough water to draw in the bore wells, they however, did acknowledge that the works had created employment and livelihood avenues for them.

Improper Location of Farm Ponds

There were many farm ponds whose work was taken up in the villages for the purpose employment generation as well as groundwater improvement. However, a few farm ponds were taken up without proper assessment of their use in several instances. In one such example,

according to the study, it was observed that the farm pond was taken up adjacent to a major irrigation canal where the canal was twice as deep as the farm pond (Photo No. 4). As the canal had no lining wall, the water would flow to the ground level rather than to the farm pond adjacent to the canal, whose distance from the farm pond was hardly five metres. The construction of the farm pond thus proved to be redundant and useless, except for the sole purpose of generating employment. There were also issues of improper location of the works taken up in some places. For instance, it was found that work on a particular farm pond had been taken up on a private piece of land that was adjacent to another farm pond, whose work had been already been taken up two years ago. The earlier work of the farm pond had been in the process of closing as the farmer for whose benefit the pond was being constructed had decided to close the farm pond. In all likelihood, a similar fate was to await the new farm pond that was taken up for construction (See Photo No. 5).

Any improper selection of works would have a negative impact on the public, besides increasing the possibility of misuse of funds. Several such useless structures had been created in the past, only to be abandoned and subsequently filled up with soil. The farmers themselves had closed the farm pond works after a social audit if it was found to be taken up on private land. It was also observed that farm ponds were also taken up with the use of machinery. The cost incurred on machinery was only one-third of the cost incurred on manual labour. This was observed from the focus group discussions in Polaka village of Irala Mandal, Chittoor district. The works had been taken up in the GP with the support of an NGO identified by the state. The NGO had taken up works on nomination basis and they had colluded with officials and the job card holders to claim the amount by submitting muster rolls with non-participant job card holders. This was detected in the social audit and notices were served to recover the money from the NGO.

Photo No. 4: Farm Pond Taken up Adjacent to a Major Irrigation Canal which is deeper than Farm Pond in Kalagodu GP of Gummigatta, Anantapur



Photo No. 5: Farm Pond Taken up on Private Land in Gonibhavi GP of Gummighatta, Anantapur District



There were a few works taken up under MGNREGS which have had a positive impact in a few isolated places where the works were close to streams and assured tank irrigation sources. From the farm ponds taken up in such areas, the farmers had been using water for crops in the month of February, 2020 for groundnut, cotton and chilli crops. For details, see Photo No. 6 and 7.

Photo No. 6: Water is being used for Crops in the Rainy Season with a Motor from the Farm Pond adjacent to a Stream with Assistance of MGNREGS



Photo No. 7: Water is being used for Crops in the Rainy Season with a Motor from the Farm Pond created adjacent to an MI Tank with the Assistance of MGNREGS, Vajrakarur Mandal of Anantapur District



Impact of MGNREGS on Agriculture Wage Rates

There was a movement for change in the rural labour markets after introduction of MGNREGS. The change was clearly evident from the views of big farmers who said that they had been unable to access labour for their agriculture work on their own terms. The bargaining power of agricultural labourers had increased due to the availability of alternative employment. The wage hike in agriculture was clearly visible due to the implementation of MGNREGS works. State intervention in the labour market had enhanced the bargaining power of the labour such that they could demand a higher wage rate in the initial years of MGNREGS implementation. There was a pressure from landowners not to implement MGNREGS work during the agriculture season. The state was also advised by the implementing agencies not to keep the works in non-agriculture seasons. However, the initial stages of hike in wage rates gradually adjusted to the market conditions of supply and demand. Now, the majority of the MGNREGS labour force is of the view that there was no impact of MGNREGS in the growth of agricultural wages. However, the perceptions of households indicate that implementation of MGNREGS works in villages had varying impacts: according to 20.9 % of the households, there was a high positive impact on the growth of agriculture wages; according to 41.6 % of the households, there was an impact to some extent; and 37.5 % of the households felt that there had been no impact (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10: Increased Agriculture Wages

District	Migrant / Non-migrants	Increased Agriculture Wages			Total
		High	Low	No Impact	
Kadapa	Migrants	27 (19.9)	57 (41.9)	52 (38.2)	136 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	30 (29.7)	29 (28.7)	42 (41.6)	101 (100.0)
	Total	57 (24.1)	86 (36.3)	94 (39.7)	237 (100.0)
Chittoor	Migrants	5 (11.6)	20 (46.5)	18 (41.9)	43 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	32 (15.7)	106 (52.0)	66 (32.3)	204 (100.0)
	Total	37 (15.0)	126 (51.0)	84 (34.0)	247 (100.0)
Anantapur	Migrants	31 (21.4)	54 (37.2)	60 (41.4)	145 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	19 (31.2)	21 (34.4)	21 (34.4)	61 (100.0)
	Total	50 (24.3)	75 (36.40)	81 (39.3)	206 (100.0)
Total	Migrants	63 (19.4)	131 (40.4)	130 (40.1)	324 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	81 (22.1)	156 (42.6)	129 (35.2)	366 (100.0)
	Total	144 (20.9)	287 (41.6)	259 (37.5)	690 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Improvement in Employment Opportunities

According to 58% of the households, employment opportunities improved in rural areas after introduction of the MGNREGS. Among them, only 32.3% of the households opined that the impact was quite high, 42.35% felt that the impact was low or there had been an impact to some extent (Table 4.11), 25.43% of households felt that there had been no impact.

Table 4.11: Impact of MGNREGS on Improvement in Employment Opportunities

District	Migrant / Non-migrants	Employment Opportunities			Total
		High	Low	No Impact	
Kadapa	Migrants	30 (18.4)	66 (40.5)	40 (24.5)	136 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	37 (34.6)	42 (39.3)	22 (20.6)	101 (100.0)
	Total	67 (24.8)	108 (40.0)	62 (23.0)	237 (100.0)
Chittoor	Migrants	11 (18.0)	17 (27.9)	15 (24.6)	43 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	73 (33.5)	83 (38.6)	48 (22.3)	204 (100.0)
	Total	84 (34.0)	100 (40.5)	63 (25.5)	247 (100.0)
Anantapur	Migrants	45 (31.0)	64 (44.1)	36 (24.8)	145 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	28 (45.9)	20 (32.8)	13 (21.3)	61 (100.0)
	Total	73 (35.4)	84 (40.8)	49 (23.8)	206 (100.0)
Total	Migrants	86 (26.5)	147 (45.4)	91 (28.1)	324 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	137 (37.4)	145 (39.6)	84 (23.0)	366 (100.0)
	Total	223 (32.3)	292 (42.3)	175 (25.4)	690 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

One thing that was clear was that the MGNREGS had provided scope for the growth of horticulture and dairy, which had seen an increase in employment opportunities. Many households had been purchasing feed and fodder for their dairy animals, particularly in summer season, using the income generated from wage employment under MGNREGS. The construction of check dams, connected to streams, had also increased the scope of improving groundwater potential in a few cases, with the farm ponds also providing support for irrigation in isolated pockets. All these have had an indirect impact on cultivation of irrigated crops using bore wells and this has had a bearing on the growth of employment opportunities in a few cases.

Improvement in Credit Access and Repayment

It was observed that the MGNREGS provided an additional income when there was no alternative employment. The additional income generated was useful to meet the consumption needs of the households. It means that their capacity to access creditor make repayment would

increase on account of the additional income. About 60 % of the sample households (both higher and lower impact) reported that their credit access and repayment capacity had improved due to MGNREGS. The impact was relatively higher among non-migrants 65.9% than migrants (54%) (Table 4.12). The remaining (39.7%) expressed that there was no impact as they were low-participating as far as MGNREGS works were concerned. There was not much of a difference in credit access among the social groups.

Table 4.12: Impact of MGNREGS on Improvement of Credit Access and Repayment of Debts

District	Migrant / Non-migrants	Credit access and repayment of debts			Total
		High	Low	No Impact	
Kadapa	Migrants	14 (8.6)	47 (28.8)	73 (44.8)	136 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	13 (12.1)	55 (51.4)	32 (29.9)	101 (100.0)
	Total	27 (10.0)	102 (37.8)	105 (38.9)	237 (100.0)
Chittoor	Migrants	4 (6.6)	19 (31.1)	20 (32.8)	43 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	18 (8.4)	116 (54.0)	70 (32.6)	204 (100.0)
	Total	22 (8.9)	135 (54.7)	90 (36.4)	247 (100.0)
Anantapur	Migrants	17 (11.7)	72 (49.7)	56 (38.6)	145 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	7 (11.5)	31 (50.8)	23 (37.7)	61 (100.0)
	Total	24 (11.2)	103 (50.0)	79 (38.3)	206 (100.0)
Total	Migrants	37 (11.4)	138 (42.6)	149 (46.0)	324 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	39 (10.7)	202 (55.2)	125 (34.2)	366 (100.0)
	Total	76 (11.0)	340 (49.3)	274 (39.7)	690 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Improvement in House Repair and Construction

The housing scheme for the poor had been implemented with the convergence of wage component under MGNREGS. The wage component had been revised periodically according to the project cost of the house. In the year 2018-19, the wage component was Rs. 18000, which was really helpful for the beneficiaries so that they could devote their labour and time to complete the construction of their house. The perception study indicates that wage income due to MGNREGS has had a positive impact (both higher and lower) for 54.2% of the households for undertaking activities such as house construction and repairs. The impact was relatively higher among non-migrant (60.9) than migrant (46.7%) households (Table 4.13). Many poor households benefited from the implementation of the MGNREGS. Apart from housing, half of the households also received assistance for construction of Individual Household Sanitary

Latrine (IHSL). Having one's own house and other facilities and the provision of wage employment has led to many households staying back in the village and also claiming other benefits from the state.

Table 4.13: Improvement in House Repair and Construction

District	Migrant / Non-migrants	Repair / Construction of House			Total
		High	Low	No Impact	
Kadapa	Migrants	15 (9.2)	41 (25.2)	78 (47.9)	136 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	13 (12.1)	43 (40.2)	46 (43.0)	101 (100.0)
	Total	28 (10.4)	84 (31.1)	124 (45.9)	237 (100.0)
Chittoor	Migrants	2 (3.3)	14 (23.0)	27 (44.3)	43 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	25 (11.6)	103 (47.9)	76 (35.3)	204 (100.0)
	Total	27 (10.9)	117 (47.4)	103 (41.7)	247 (100.0)
Anantapur	Migrants	22 (15.2)	55 (37.9)	68 (46.9)	145 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	6 (09.8)	34 (55.7)	21 (34.4)	61 (100.0)
	Total	28 (13.6)	89 (43.2)	89 (43.2)	206 (100.0)
Total	Migrants	41 (12.7)	110 (34.0)	173 (53.4)	324 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	43 (11.7)	180 (49.2)	143 (39.1)	366 (100.0)
	Total	84 (12.2)	290 (42.0)	316 (45.8)	690 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Improvement in Children's Education

Children's education has not been easy in recent years as the cost of education has increased (in terms of books and materials, transport, clothes, fees; and lodging and boarding too, if the child were to stay outside the village) especially for parents whose wards studied in private schools. More than half (65.7 %) of the households opined that MGNREGS has had a positive impact (both higher and lower) on improvement in children's education. The impact was relatively higher among non-migrant households (67.7%) than migrant households (63.2%) (Table4.14). Similar trends were observed in all the study districts. Even school-going children had been participating in MGNREGS work during holidays to meet their educational needs, particularly in the summer season. It was also observed in many villages that the households in transition of permanent migration after generating income through seasonal migration with a view to provide better education for their children. The gulf migrant families were also participated in MGNREGS work mostly to provide better education for their children

Table 4.14: Impact of MGNREGS on Improvement in Children's Education

District	Migrant / Non-migrants	Children education			Total
		High	Low	No Impact	
Kadapa	Migrants	34 (20.9)	46 (28.2)	54 (33.1)	136 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	17(15.9)	44 (41.1)	40 (37.4)	101 (100.0)
	Total	51 (18.9)	90 (33.3)	94 (34.8)	237 (100.0)
Chittoor	Migrants	14 (23.0)	11 (18.0)	18 (29.5)	43 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	63 (29.3)	77 (35.8)	64 (29.8)	204 (100.0)
	Total	77 (31.2)	88 (35.6)	82 (33.2)	247 (100.0)
Anantapur	Migrants	46 (31.7)	52 (35.9)	47 (32.4)	145 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	19 (31.1)	28 (45.9)	14 (23.0)	61 (100.0)
	Total	65 (31.6)	80 (38.8)	61 (29.6)	206 (100.0)
Total	Migrants	96 (29.6)	109 (33.6)	119 (36.7)	324 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	99 (27.0)	149 (40.7)	118 (32.2)	366 (100.0)
	Total	195 (28.3)	258 (37.4)	237 (34.3)	690 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Impact of MGNREGS on Improvement in Health

Earnings from MGNREGS were used on health expenditure. Many families bought medicines out of the income generated from MGNREGS. They had to depend on borrowings if a source of employment was not available. The income generated from MGNREGS had a positive impact (both higher and lower) on the purchase of medicines for 77.5 % of the households (Table 4.15).

Table 4.15: Impact of MGNREGS on Improvement in Health

District	Migrant / Non-migrants	Health care			Total
		High	Low	No Impact	
Kadapa	Migrants	37 (22.7)	62 (38.0)	35 (21.5)	136 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	50 (46.7)	30 (28.0)	21 (19.6)	101 (100.0)
	Total	87 (32.2)	92 (34.1)	56 (20.7)	237 (100.0)
Chittoor	Migrants	14 (23.0)	15 (24.6)	14 (23.0)	43 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	97 (45.1)	70 (32.6)	37 (17.2)	204 (100.0)
	Total	111 (44.9)	85 (34.4)	51(20.6)	247 (100.0)
Anantapur	Migrants	52 (35.9)	54 (37.2)	39 (26.9)	145 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	28 (45.9)	26 (42.6)	7 (11.5)	61 (100.0)
	Total	80 (38.8)	80 (38.8)	46 (22.3)	206 (100.0)
Total	Migrants	105 (32.4)	131 (40.4)	88 (27.2)	324 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	175 (47.8)	126 (34.4)	65 (17.8)	366 (100.0)
	Total	278 (40.3)	257 (37.2)	155 (22.5)	690 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The positive impact was comparatively higher among non-migrants (82.2%) than migrants (72.8%). Similar trends were observed in all the study districts. It means that the income generated from MGNREGS was very useful for the poor in meeting the emergency needs of the family. It was observed in many villages that the main source of income for senior citizens after social security pensions was MGNREGS. Their participation in MGNREGS was mainly to meet their health expenditure for the present and also for the future.

Impact of MGNREGS on Equal Wage for Male and Female in the Labour Market

After the implementation of equal wages for men and women in MGNREGS, the demand for equal wages has increased even for other works in agriculture and other activities with similar nature of work for both men and women in the villages. However, there are still wage variations for men and women in some of the works, particularly those that involve heavy lifting, and works that involve hard physical labour and certain skills at which women were not at par with men. The employer would often give preference to such works. However, there were some works where women were given preference by the employer, particularly in agricultural activities such as transplantation of paddy and weeding.

About 60 % of the sample households in all the districts felt that MGNREGS created a positive impact in the achievement of equal wages for equal work for men and women in many agricultural and other activities. This was the opinion relatively higher among the households in Kadapa (55.9%) and Chittoor (62.4%); but less in Anantapur (53.9%) where the daily wage rates were much lesser than those in the other two districts. Such opinion was relatively higher among non-migrant households (62.3%) than migrant households (58.6%). This is quite natural as the migrants were mostly young and skilled and they were getting higher wages compared to women (Table 4.16). The men with strong physical capacity preferred to devote their time for activities other than MGNREGS work and they participated only when they did not find any other better wage employment work and also at critical times and when they were in need of income for livelihood as observed from the households in many villages.

Table 4.16: Equal Wage for Male and Female in Labour Market

District	Migrant / Non-migrants	Equal wage for male and female in labour market			Total
		High	Low	No Impact	
Kadapa	Migrants	33 (20.2)	52 (31.9)	49 (30.1)	136 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	31 (29.0)	35 (32.7)	35 (32.7)	101 (100.0)
	Total	64 (23.7)	87 (32.2)	84(31.1)	237 (100.0)
Chittoor	Migrants	7(11.5)	18(29.5)	18 (29.5)	43 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	26 (12.1)	103 (47.9)	75 (34.9)	204 (100.0)
	Total	33 (13.4)	121 (49.0)	93 (37.7)	247 (100.0)
Anantapur	Migrants	27 (18.6)	51 (35.2)	67 (46.2)	145 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	15 (24.6)	18 (29.5)	28 (45.9)	61 (100.0)
	Total	42 (20.4)	69 (33.5)	95 (46.1)	206 (100.0)
Total	Migrants	69 (21.3)	121 (37.3)	134 (41.4)	324 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	72 (19.7)	156 (42.6)	138 (37.7)	366 (100.0)
	Total	141 (20.4)	277 (40.1)	272 (39.4)	690 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Impact of MGNREGS on Community Assets (Road, Drainage and Others)

The impact of MGNREGS on improvement of community assets such as rural roads, approach roads to agriculture fields and burial grounds, and improvement in the drainage system was observed in 38.8% of the households in all the districts taken together. More than 60% of the sample households clearly opined that there was no impact on the improvement of community assets. There was not much variation in this opinion among the districts. But the non-migrants reported positive impact by about 42% households as against migrants (34.5%) in all the districts taken together and a similar trend was also observed in all the districts individually (Table 4.17). It shows that the work proposals taken up through MGNREGS were very limited as these works were taken up by the department of roads and buildings through contractors by using the process of tendering. It was observed in the study that the cement roads had been laid in many villages drawing on the wage component of MGNREGS under the convergence programme. However, the positive impact on community asset building through MGNREGS was very limited as per the perceptions of the members of the sample households.

Table 4.17: Community Assets (Road, Drainage and Others)

District	Migrant / Non-migrants	Community assets like (road, drainage and others)			Total
		High	Low	No Impact	
Kadapa	Migrants	10 (6.1)	38 (23.3)	86 (52.8)	136 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	10 (9.3)	34 (31.8)	57 (53.3)	101 (100.0)
	Total	20 (7.4)	72 (26.7)	143 (53.0)	237 (100.0)
Chittoor	Migrants	6 (9.8)	7 (11.5)	30 (49.2)	43 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	14 (6.5)	69 (32.1)	121 (56.3)	204 (100.0)
	Total	20 (08.0)	76 (30.4)	151 (61.1)	247 (100.0)
Anantapur	Migrants	9 (06.2)	41 (28.3)	95 (65.5)	145 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	7 (11.5)	21 (34.4)	33 (54.1)	61 (100.0)
	Total	16 (07.8)	62 (30.1)	128 (62.1)	206 (100.0)
Total	Migrants	27 (08.3)	86 (26.5)	211 (65.1)	324 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	31 (08.5)	124 (33.9)	211 (57.7)	366 (100.0)
	Total	58 (08.4)	210 (30.4)	422 (61.2)	690 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Impact of MGNREGS on Reduction of Distress Migration

One of the main objectives of the MGNREGS was to reduce distress migration by providing employment in their native village at times of poor demand. The perceptions of the sample households indicate that only 28.4% of households (both high and low) expressed a positive impact of the scheme on reduction in distress migration. In the case of positive impact, 4.1 % opined that the MGNREGS had a high impact while the other 24.3% reported just a positive impact in reducing distress migration. There was not much variation among migrants and non-migrants and among the districts in this regard (Table 4.18). It is important to note that about 71.6 % of the households reported that there had been no positive impact in minimizing distress migration. This means that they were either not aware or were non-judgmental about the impact. This shows that the MGNREGS has some limitations in addressing the issue of distress migration. The issues will be discussed further in the subsequent chapters. However, many households opined in the focus group discussions that the intensity of migration had declined in recent years compared to the period before the implementation of the MGNREGS. It shows that the MGNREGS had a positive impact on staying back in the village than on migrating. It was not only MGNREGS but also other support programmes such as PDS, Social Security Pensions, health insurance, housing, and other subsidy schemes that had caused the change.

Table 4.18: Impact of MGNREGS on Reduction in Distress Migration

District	Migrant / Non-migrants	Reduction in distress migration			Total
		High	Low	No Impact	
Kadapa	Migrants	7 (4.3)	24 (14.7)	103 (63.2)	136 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	4 (3.7)	20 (18.7)	77 (72.0)	101 (100.0)
	Total	11 (4.1)	44 (16.3)	180 (66.7)	237 (100.0)
Chittoor	Migrants	0	7(11.5)	36 (59.0)	43 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	3 (1.4)	53 (24..7)	146 (67.9)	204 (100.0)
	Total	5 (02.0)	60 (24.3)	182 (73.7)	247 (100.0)
Anantapur	Migrants	9 (06.2)	43 (29.7)	93 (64.1)	145 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	0	22 (36.1)	39 (63.9)	61 (100.0)
	Total	10 (04.9)	64 (31.1)	132 (64.1)	206 (100.0)
Total	Migrants	18 (05.6)	74 (22.8)	232 (71.6)	324 (100.0)
	Non Migrants	10 (02.7)	94 (25.7)	262 (71.6)	366 (100.0)
	Total	28 (04.1)	168 (24.3)	494 (71.6)	690 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

Conclusion

It was observed from the study that MGNREGS has created positive impact in terms of additional income and it has bearing on achievement of food security to the family. The impact was also positive to some extent in improvement of land fertility and water availability/retention capacity of the soil with regard to all works under MGNREGS in general and it was relatively better in the case of land development schemes and check dams and farm ponds taken up close to streams. The works taken up in villages were also created positive impact in bargaining power of agriculture wage rates, equal wages for equal work of men and women; enhancement of credit access and repayment of debts; repair/construction of house and improvement of children education and health care. However, the impact was limited with regard to creation of community assets like roads, drainage and others; and reduction in distress migration.

Chapter 5

DISCOURAGING FACTORS IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF 100 DAYS OF EMPLOYMENT UNDER MGNREGS

Introduction

The implementation of MGNREGS—especially in ensuring volume of employment demanded at mandated wage rates and timely payment of wages, identification of works to promote agriculture, and usefulness of the created assets to the community—has a bearing on participation in MGNREGS work. The identification of micro level factors that discourage labour participation is critical to determine how the implementation of MGNREGS can be made more effective. The study attempted to analyse the appropriateness of the scheme in terms of the following: identification of projects; status of demand and provision of work; continuity of work, usefulness of works; grievances about the measurement of work; promptness in payment of wages; comparative advantage of MGNREGS and agriculture wage rates; and achievement of distributive justice in provision of work to the poorest of the poor.

Shelf of Projects in MGNREGS

The MGNREGS works had been implemented in all the GPs for more than 12 years. In the initial year of implementation, the most productive and useful works were taken up in a majority of the GPs as reported by the field and technical assistants. At present, however, they were found to be struggling to create a shelf of projects for meeting labour demand as otherwise the system would not technically accept them for geo-tagging. Hence, the projects or work sites need to be identified in new locations other than the over-exploited zones.¹At the time of the study, the possible work sites were found to be far away from the village and were located in areas that were far too interior to meet the labour demand for employment.

¹ Once the works have been taken up in an area, then an area within a 100 meter radius of that area is not eligible to be taken up for the following 4 to 5 years so as to avoid duplication of work (manipulation of claims for the same work without actual work being done). Hence, all works need to be geo-tagged for getting approval before they are taken up.

In a majority of the study villages, the job card holders also stated that the works taken up on loose soils under the schemes had been exhausted and now they were forced to take up work in interior areas and those with hard soils too. This is due to the fact that the farmers were not willing to take up works in their private land as they would lose their land for cultivation during that period. As a result, the works needed to identify government and community lands and hillocks which were mostly located far away from the villages. The farmers' perceptions indicated that most of the works taken up in hillocks were not useful to them except for the purpose of employment generation. They opined that they needed assistance for land development under MGNREGS.

It was noticed in the discussion that the irrigation potential had improved due to new irrigation projects and it had a cumulative effect on the improvement of groundwater potential in a few villages. But there was an ongoing struggle to mobilize investment for land development so as to develop the land to a condition that was suitable for growing irrigated crops. The farmers were seen demanding schemes for land development and Juli flower clearance as these two schemes had been discontinued in recent years in all the districts due to misuse of funds based on the findings of the social audit. Doing away with the implementation of such useful schemes was not a judicious choice. Rather, there is a need to build a system with proper governance or to streamline the administration to prevent the misuse of funds and other such lapses.

Land development consists of removing stones and boulders, building stone/rock bunds, levelling and clearing jungles. The farmers from mostly Anantapur and Kadapa districts had demanded this. At the time of the study, agricultural lands in the entire Rayalaseema region had been under continuous drought for a period of two to three years in a row after a year of good monsoon. The farmers used to keep their lands fallow, either partly or fully, depending on the quality of the land. More specifically, the marginal lands without any irrigation facility had been kept fallow for the last several years as the farmers needed huge investments to clear boulders, stones and thorn bushes that had grown in the fields. This was beyond the capacity of the marginal and small farmers, particularly the SCs and STs. In Kadapa district, the MI tanks in Vemuluru GP were filled with backwater due to the additional storage capacity of the Somasila project. The farmers needed huge investment for bringing the fallow lands under cultivation. Due to the lack of investment, many farmers kept their lands fallow in spite of water availability in

the tanks and potential in the borewells. Thus, if land development works had been taken up under the MGNREGS, permanent sources of employment under agriculture would have appeared for many households.

Issues in Preparation of Shelf of Projects

There was not much land to take up works in the GPs of Varikunta in Kadapa district and Aroor in Chittoor district. In the first case, a majority of the land was acquired by the state for the Somasila project while the remaining land after acquisition was very meagre. However, there was about 250 acres of government land under the possession of farmers and they had been cultivating it prior to the commencement of the irrigation project. After acquisition of land in the GP, the lands were neither eligible for crop loans nor for any claims for state benefits, including assistance of Rythu Bharosa. However, a few farmers had been engaging in cultivation without any support. They had been asking for assistance for Juli flower clearance and boulder removal from their lands. The other issue was that the works taken up in the village were limited due to the lack of regular field assistance for the past 3 to 4 years. The employment provided under the MGNREGS was not able to meet the labour demand. The village was located close to a forest where creating a shelf of projects would not have been a problem had regular staff been appointed and special efforts been taken.

In the second case, the land in the GP was allotted for the Sri City Industrial Zone, and thus the scope for preparation of shelf of projects was very limited. There were about one or two MI Tanks in the GP, but irrigation was being provided to the lands belonging to the farmers of Tamil Nadu state. The land in the village was excluded from the acquisition for the Industrial Zone where the villagers could stay in the village but not have rights to sell the land. The majority of the agricultural labour and farmers in the GP began to work as outsourcing staff in various capacities such as sweepers and cleaners, gardeners, watchmen and helpers in the factories. The youth were working as drivers, machine operators and engaged in other activities depending on their technical skills and education. However, many people preferred to work for the MGNREGS (which allowed them to work for half a day) rather than work full day in industries. Such people were mostly the aged and women who had to tend to children and do housekeeping

work, but who needed part time employment under the MGNREGS. However, the work taken up in the village was very limited due to lack of shelf of projects in the village.

In the third case, the main works available in command areas were de-silting of the main branch canal and feeder channels. The farmers opined that they faced difficulty in doing work in mid-summer as the black soil would become too hard for digging, even for de-siltation. During this period, even small and medium farmers participated in MGNREGS work as they were free from having to do agricultural chores in the summer season. The labour exclusively dependent on wage employment would not get work on demand due to the sharing of MGNREGS work by the well-off families. Meeting livelihood needs was difficult for the really poor. The main reason for participation of well-off families in MGNREGS work was that they got a summer bonus and the work was useful for effecting easy flow of water to the fields at the tail end of the canal and also for saving water. Thus, in the command areas, there was no shelf of projects other than de-siltation of work and it was difficult to provide 100 days of employment, particularly to the poorest of the poor.

In the fourth case, the job cards were available for more than 70 per cent of the households. Among them, a sizeable proportion of households were not so poor. They also had a choice to participate in wage employment when they had free time; moreover, the type of work was remunerative. Exercising choice was possible only when the nature of work taken up involved loose soil or the type of work was easy and also during times when the work earned a bonus during summer season. It would, however, minimize the opportunities for the really needy and the poor in doing work. The poor and needy had no option but to work in non-remunerative works too. It was observed that above average or small and medium farmers had been abstaining from work when the work was taken up in hard soils. This was clearly observed even in the command areas in Kadapa district where the black cotton soil become hard in the later part of the summer, as workers would get a low wage per day and it would be non-remunerative for them to work. Only the poor would be willing to do such works for meeting their livelihood needs, but they would have to put in more work to get the mandated wage or have to settle for a low wage. Sometimes, they had to work for two days to get the mandated wage per day. This means that the well-off families had a better bargaining power in using the benefits of the MGNREGS. This problem was observed not only in command areas but also in the case of works taken up in hard

soils where only the economically poor participated in work even for a low wage. In such instances, the labour households exclusively dependent on wage labour had a relative disadvantage in working under MGNREGS.

Demand for 100 Days Work and Utilization of MGNREGS

The job card holders are expected to submit their demand in the form of an application for work to the field assistant. In response to this, the field assistant, in consultation with the technical assistant, must provide work within 15 days after the submission of the application. They are supposed to provide compensation if work has not been provided work within 15 days. The compensation is fixed for each day of the delay after the prescribed time limit (15 days) which is one-fourth of the mandated wage of each day of the delay for the first 15 days after the prescribed limit and 40 per cent of the mandated wage rate, if the work could not be provided after the first 15 days of delay. This provision was made in the Employment Guarantee Act. But in practice, the job card holders neither demanded work nor did they ask for compensation for non-provision of work. The field assistants would simply inform the applicant as and when the work order reached him or just one week before the commencement of the work. In this process, the issue of compensation for the delay in provision of work was not seen at all. It seemed to be just based on mutual agreement between wage seekers and the field assistant/technical assistant. The job seekers never enquired from the field assistants or the GP secretary about work with a view to claim compensation.

There was no preparedness even to demand 100 days of work, leave alone compensation. It was observed from the data that the households submitting work demand application on their own for work was only about 25 per cent out of the total job card households. It was about 35 per cent among non-migrant households and close to 22 per cent among migrant households in both Kadapa and Anantapur districts; it was much lower at 4.5 per cent for migrants and about 21 per cent for non-migrants in Chittoor district (Table 5.1). However, the provision of employment within 15 days on demand was observed in more than half of the households out of the total submitted applications, though the demand for work was very limited (24.7%).

Table 5.1: Submission of Application for Work and Provision of Work

District	Migrants/ Non-Migrants	Total Sample	Job Card Holders	Job Card Holders Submitted Application for Work	Received Employment within 15 days	Reasons for Non-Submission of Work Demand Application	
						1*	2**
Kadapa	Migrants	163 (100.0)	137 (84.0)	31 (22.6)	21 (67.7)	99 (72.3)	7 (5.1)
	Non-Migrants	107 (100.0)	107 (100.0)	39 (36.5)	18 (46.2)	60 (56.1)	8 (7.5)
	Total	270 (100.0)	244 (90.4)	70 (28.7)	39 (55.7)	159 (65.2)	15 (6.1)
Chittoor	Migrants	61 (100.0)	50 (82.0)	11 (04.5)	9 (81.8)	34 (68.0)	5 (10.0)
	Non-Migrants	215 (100.0)	215 (100.0)	46 (21.4)	17 (37.0)	160 (74.4)	9 (4.2)
	Total	276 (100.0)	265 (96.0)	57 (21.5)	26 (45.6)	194 (73.2)	14 (5.2)
Anantapur	Migrants	220 (100.0)	184 (83.6)	37 (20.1)	22 (5.4)	135 (73.4)	12 (6.5)
	Non-Migrants	64 (100.0)	64 (100.0)	23 (35.9)	13 (56.5)	35 (54.6)	6 (9.4)
	Total	284 (100.0)	248 (87.3)	60 (24.2)	35 (58.3)	170 (68.5)	18 (7.3)
Total	Migrants	444 (100.0)	371 (83.6)	79 (21.3)	52 (65.8)	262 (70.6)	24 (6.5)
	Non-Migrants	386 (100.0)	386 (100.0)	108 (28.0)	48 (44.4)	237 (61.4)	23 (59.6)
	Total	830 (100.0)	757 (91.2)	187 (24.7)	100 (53.5)	523 (69.1)	47 (6.2)

Source: Field Survey

*1= Lack of awareness and no such precedence of employment provision on demand for work.

**2= Personal reasons.

The poor submission of demand application for work was mainly due to lack of awareness about the provisions of the Act and lack of encouragement from the state in collecting demand applications from job card holders (69.1%) and not being interested due to personal reasons (6.2%) as seen from the opinions expressed by the sample households.

The provision of employment increased to 150 days for the year 2018-19. However, about half of the households had no awareness of the provision of 150 days of employment. The awareness was quite low at 47.3 per cent of the job card households and it was half among the non-migrant job card households (50.8%) and much lower in migrant households (43.7%). But the awareness levels were relatively better among non-migrants both in Kadapa and Anantapur districts than in Chittoor district (44.1%). However, there was not much of a difference between migrants and non-migrants in Chittoor district (Table 5.2). Of the total households aware of the entitlement (150 days employment), only 77.1 per cent of the total households had asked about it in their application while demanding employment. The most important thing was that the average employment provided was less than 25 days in a few villages, and this shows that the state had not created adequate awareness about the enhancement of the provision of 150 days employment and there had been inadequate efforts in building the capacity of the poor to demand work.

Table 5.2: Awareness on Provision of 150 Days of Employment

District	Migrants/ Non-Migrants	Total Sample	Job card Holders	Awareness on provision of 150 days of employment	Asked for the provision of 150 days of employment
Kadapa	Migrants	163 (100.0)	137 (84.0)	65 (47.4)	52 (80.0)
	Non-Migrants	107 (100.0)	107 (100.0)	64 (59.8)	50 (78.1)
	Total	270 (100.0)	244 (90.4)	129 (52.9)	102 (79.1)
Chittoor	Migrants	61 (100.0)	50 (82.0)	22 (44.0)	15 (34.1)
	Non-Migrants	215 (100.0)	215 (100.0)	95 (44.1)	81 (85.3)
	Total	276 (100.0)	265 (96.0)	117 (44.1)	96 (82.1)
Anantapur	Migrants	220 (100.0)	184 (83.6)	75 (40.8)	54 (72.0)
	Non-Migrants	64 (100.0)	64 (100.0)	37 (57.8)	24 (64.9)
	Total	284 (100.0)	248 (87.3)	112 (45.2)	78 (69.6)
Total	Migrants	444 (100.0)	371 (83.6)	162 (43.7)	121 (74.7)
	Non-Migrants	386 (100.0)	386 (100.0)	196 (50.8)	155 (79.1)
	Total	830 (100.0)	757 (91.2)	358 (47.3)	276 (77.1)

Source: Field Survey

There is a provision for travel allowance for the participants of labour in MGNREGS work if the work provided is more than 5 km away from their native place. Among the households which participated in MGNREGS work, 38.0 per cent of the households reported that they had travelled more than 5 km to do such work. These households were relatively higher in Kadapa and Anantapur districts than in Chittoor district. The cases reported were also relatively higher among migrants than non-migrants in all the districts. The proportion of households that received the additional 10 per cent wage or transport charges was about 60 per cent of such households. This means that 40 per cent of the households had not been provided the transport allowance for attendance (Table 5.3). The interactions with the officials and job card households indicated that there was a dispute with regard to the distance of the work site from the village as the households claimed that it was more than 5 km while the field staff countered their claiming that the distance was less than 5 km. In some villages, the transport allowance was included in the wage payment as reported by the field staff but the participants had not been aware of it. Though the proportion of such cases was quite low, there was a need to increase the awareness about the provisions and entitlements contained in the scheme.

Table 5.3: Proportion of Households which Travelled more than 5 km for Work and Received the Transport Allowance

District	Migrants/ Non-Migrants	Households Participated in work	Households Travelled more than 5 km	Households received 10% additional Wage
Kadapa	Migrants	109 (79.6)	60 (55.0)	38 (63.3)
	Non-Migrants	107 (100.0)	42 (39.3)	25 (59.5)
	Total	216 (88.5)	102 (47.2)	63 (61.8)
Chittoor	Migrants	34 (68.0)	13 (38.2)	8 (61.5)
	Non-Migrants	215 (100.0)	45 (20.9)	20 (44.4)
	Total	249 (93.9)	58 (23.3)	28 (48.3)
Anantapur	Migrants	106 (57.6)	49 (46.2)	30 (61.2)
	Non-Migrants	64 (100.0)	32 (50.0)	23 (71.9)
	Total	170 (68.5)	81 (47.6)	53 (65.4)
Total	Migrants	249 (67.1)	122 (49.0)	76 (62.3)
	Non-Migrants	386 (100.0)	119 (30.8)	68 (57.1)
	Total	635 (83.9)	241 (38.0)	144 (59.8)

Source: Field Survey

Month-Wise Proportion of Employment Generated in a Year in 2018-19

The work under MGNREGS scheme is demand driven and can be availed according to the choice of time and convenience as per the mandated wage prescribed by the state. It was observed from the data that employment was provided for mostly 4 to 5 months in a year. More specifically, February to June was the employment season of MGNREGS, in which more than 93 per cent of the employment was provided and the remaining employment (7%) was provided during the span of the remaining seven months (Table 5.4). The low employment provision in these months was either due to the lack of demand from labour or non-provision of employment from the department. The interactions with villagers revealed that the officials had not provided them work when they were in need of work. Contrary to this, the officials stated that they were not providing work so as to avoid agricultural labour problems in the villages as landowners put pressure on them to refrain from implementing the provisions of MGNREGS works. However, it was seen that the labour had been showing preference for agriculture wage employment when such work was available as they got higher wages from agriculture rather than from MGNREGS. The workers opined that they had to go through periods of short-term idleness without any work even during agriculture seasons.

Table 5.4: Month-Wise Proportion of Employment Generated in a Year in 2018-19

S.No.	Month	Kadapa	Chittoor	Anantapur	Total
1	April 2018	24.2	23.6	26.5	24.1
2	May 2018	25.9	20.7	22.2	23.2
3	June 2018	15.5	11.8	11.7	13.5
4	July 2018	2.1	4.5	2.8	3.3
5	August 2018	0.2	1.9	0.7	1.0
6	September 2018	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.4
7	October 2018	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.4
8	November 2018	0.0	0.6	0.1	0.3
9	December 2018	0.1	0.4	1.2	0.3
10	January 2019	0.8	2.7	3.2	1.9
11	February 2019	10.5	12.5	11.7	11.5
12	March,2019	20.6	19.5	18.4	19.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Total Man Days	67023	69867	11108	147998

Source: Field Survey

There was a demand for work in all the GPs, but the work was not available throughout the year. The households with two and more members enrolled in the job card could complete their eligibility (100 days) within two months, if the work was provided without any interruption. Any delay or interruption in providing the work led to migration. Such households were quite high in number in Anantapur and parts of Chittoor district. They could avail the wage employment for a period of four months in the case of a single member enrolled in the job card. But work was not available on a regular basis for all the households. The other issue was that the work was not easy or worth doing as some of the works, particularly those involving hard soils where they got less than the mandated wage for the day. It was difficult for the poor to maintain their family if the wage per day was less than the mandated one.

Reasons for Non-Utilization of 150 Days of Employment

Out of the sample, only 640 households both migrants and non-migrants (77.1%) had worked under MGNREGS for wage employment or availed the benefits of MGNREGS. The remaining (190 households) were migrants and they had not worked under MGNREGS or availed the benefits of MGNREGS during the year 2018-19. Their proportion was 22.9 % in the total sample and they are 42.8 % in the migrants. The main reason for non-participation was migration and the inherent reason for migration was mainly to generate higher income in the destination. Among them, majority were permanent migrants. The other important feature of them was that majority them were not even have job card, but they have BPL ration card to claim PDS

provision in the village. Lack of job card is not the causative factor for migration as they can get job card like BPL ration card. The social group wise non-participant migrants were quite higher among the OCs (55.7%) and BCs (51.3%) than SCs (36.2%) and STs (16.2%) (Annexure 5.1)

Among the households which participated in MGNREGS, the employment provided was less than 50 days in 37.0 per cent of the households, with 45.3 per cent among non-migrants and 28.3 per cent among migrants. Provision of less than 50 days employment did not have much of an impact on the improvement of livelihood of the poor. The employment generation was above average (51 days to 75 days) in 17.5 per cent of the households. Even this size of employment does not amount to optimum utilization of MGNREGS. The employment generation was 76 days to 100 days in 26.1 per cent of the households, which is fairly good if the entitlement was 100 days. In the year 2018-19, the entitlement was increased to 150 days and the proportion of households which generated above 100 days of employment was only 15.2 per cent, of which 15.3 per cent were non-migrant and 15.0 per cent were migrant households (Table 5.5). Such households were relatively higher among OCs (21.1%), and it was followed by BC (18.0), SCs (10.7) and STs (10.9%). The employment generation from 75 days to 100 days was also relatively better among OCs and BCs than that of the SCs and STs (Annexure 5.1).

Table 5.5: Extent of Employment Provided under MGNREGS

District	Migrants/ Non-Migrants	Nil	Extent of Employment Provided(in Number of Days)				Total
			Up to 50	51-75	76-100	101+	
Kadapa	Migrants	51(31.3)	45(28.7)	27(24.1)	35(31.3)	15(13.4)	112(100)
	Non Migrants	0	48(44.9)	26(24.3)	25(23.4)	8(7.5)	107(100)
	Total	51(18.9)	83(35.5)	53(24.2)	60(27.4)	23(10.5)	219(100)
Chittoor	Migrants	25(41.0)	12(28.8)	6(16.7)	8(22.2)	10(27.8)	36(100)
	Non Migrants	0	99(46.1)	29(13.5)	49(22.8)	38(17.7)	215(100)
	Total	25(9.1)	111(42.5)	35(13.9)	57(22.7)	48(19.1)	251(100)
Anantapur	Migrants	114(51.8)	42(26.5)	20(18.9)	31(29.2)	13(12.3)	106(100)
	Non Migrants	0	28(43.7)	4(6.3)	19(29.7)	13(20.3)	64(100)
	Total	114(40.1)	70(31.2)	24(14.1)	50(29.4)	26(15.3)	170(100)
Total	Migrants	190(42.8)	89(28.3)	53(20.9)	74(29.1)	38(15.0)	254(100)
	Non Migrants	0	175(45.3)	59(15.3)	93(24.1)	59(15.3)	386(100)
	Total	190(22.9)	264(37.0)	112(17.5)	167(26.1)	97(15.2)	640(100)

Source: Field Survey

The reasons for the under-utilization of the scheme could be categorized into two: supply side and demand side deficiencies. The supply side deficiencies can be categorized into three types. One, they are available for work, have asked for it, but have not got work. Such people were 18.2 per cent in the sample and it was relatively higher among the non-migrants (18.2%) than migrants (17.1%). Second, they are available for work, but have not asked for it. Such households were 19.1 per cent in the sample, and it was 20.5 per cent among non-migrants and 17.9 per cent in migrants (Table 5.6). Third, the work has not been available when needed. Such households were 4.6 per cent in the sample and it was 5.8 per cent among non-migrants and 3.4 per cent in migrants. All the three categories of the reasons constituted about 42 per cent in the sample. The implementing machinery and the institutional mechanism need to address the issue of supply side deficiencies.

Table 5.6: Reasons for Not Working 100 Days of Employment in Migrant and Non-Migrant Households

District	Migration Status	Reasons for not working 100 days of employment									Total
		Work on own fields	Available for work and asked but not got	Available but not asked	Low wages	Not interested	Delay in wage payment	Absence during that time	Non-availability of work when need	Other Reason	
Kadapa	Mig.	27(22.9)	31(26.3)	21(17.8)	19(16.1)	3(2.5)	9(7.6)	4(3.4)	2(1.7)	2(1.7)	118(100)
	Non-Mig.	26(29.2)	16(18.0)	14(15.7)	8(9.0)	4(4.5)	7(7.9)	10(11.2)	4(4.5)	0	89(100)
	Total	53(25.6)	47(22.7)	35(16.9)	27(13.0)	7(3.4)	16(7.7)	14(6.8)	6(2.9)	2(1.0)	207(100)
Chittoor	Mig.	11(30.6)	4(11.1)	5(13.9)	9(25.0)	1(2.8)	3(8.3)	2(5.6)	0	1(2.8)	36(100)
	Non-Mig.	25(19.8)	17(13.5)	33(26.2)	20(15.9)	5(4.0)	9(7.1)	9(7.1)	6(4.8)	2(1.6)	126(100)
	Total.	36(22.2)	21(13.0)	38(23.5)	29(17.9)	6(3.7)	12(7.4)	11(6.8)	6(3.7)	3(1.9)	162(100)
Anantapur	Mig.	35(25.5)	21(15.3)	26(19.0)	19(13.9)	3(2.2)	8(5.8)	9(6.6)	8(5.8)	8(5.8)	137(100)
	Non-Mig.	6(14.0)	11(25.6)	6(14.0)	5(11.6)	1(2.3)	1(2.3)	3(7.0)	5(11.6)	5(11.6)	43(100)
	Total	41(22.8)	32(17.8)	32(17.8)	24(13.3)	4(2.2)	9(5.0)	12(6.7)	13(7.2)	13(7.2)	180(100)
Grand Total	Migrants	73(25.1)	56(19.2)	52(17.9)	47(16.2)	7(2.4)	20(6.9)	15(5.2)	10(3.4)	11(3.8)	291(100)
	Non-Mig.	57(22.1)	44(17.1)	53(20.5)	33(12.8)	10(3.9)	17(6.6)	22(8.5)	15(5.8)	7(2.7)	258(100)
	Total	130(23.7)	100(18.2)	105(19.1)	80(14.6)	17(3.1)	37(6.7)	37(6.7)	25(4.6)	18(3.3)	549(100)

Source: Field Survey

The demand side factors could be broadly categorized into two—discouraging factors and personal reasons. Among them, 21.3 per cent of households had not availed 100 days of employment due to discouraging factors such as low wages (14.6%) and delay in wage payment (6.7%). The remaining households (32.5%) had not availed the scheme due to personal reasons, such as households that had to work in their own field (23.7%), were not interested to work (3.1%), were absent during the time (6.7%) and for other reasons such as old age and health

problems (3.3%) All the demand side factors accounted for 58 per cent of non-participation in work by the households. While households also cited personal reasons, these reasons were also seen to be linked to wage rate and timely payment of wages, and the claim of 100 days of employment. Payment of wage rate was on par with agriculture wages which is again treated as a supply side deficiency. Thus, both supply side and demand side factors were found to be interdependent in making productive use of the scheme.

Other Reasons for Low Participation of Households in MGNREGS Works

The participation rate varied between 10 per cent and 80 per cent among the GPs and the hamlets within the GP, depending on irrigation and the availability of employment in farm and non-farm activities. But the data on month-wise distribution of person days of employment indicated that about 90 per cent of the labour budget was being exhausted in the months of March, April, May and June. The labour participation was also very high in these four months, based on month-wise employment generated in the districts as well as in the state. This is attributed to the non-availability of work in agriculture and availability of summer bonus (20 per cent hikes in per-day wage rate) and also participation of higher number of men in the work during this time.

The other aspect is that they started work at 6 am and closed before 11 am. In some villages, they started the work at 5 am and closed by 10 am. It was clearly observed from the discussions that both men and women equally participated in work during the summer season, but the men were away from this work during the busy agriculture season and also other seasons when other work was available. This phenomenon is linked to the availability of employment opportunities for men depending on irrigation, type of crops grown and non-farm employment. There was no work for men in areas that grew a single crop in a year either in the rainy season or even under canal irrigation. But the labour was able to get some wage employment, if the area had potential for groundwater and where crops such as groundnut, vegetables, flowers and other summer crops were grown. Within canal irrigation, the type of crops grown varied from village to village, depending on the type of soil and availability of bore well irrigation.

Among the non-participants, a sizeable proportion of job card holders were engaged in farm and non-farm activities, regular and skilled activities as they were generating a better income from self-employment or wage employment in terms of per-day wage rate. It was clearly observed that

the job card holders preferred wage employment in agriculture to MGNREGS work. This was due to the fact that the wage rate was more than Rs. 300 per day for a work of 5 to 6 hours in a day in agriculture. Apart from this, the wage labourers would also be provided with one-time meal if they did agricultural work, and higher wages if food were not served. There was also a provision for receiving transport allowance, if the work site was located away from the village, depending on the demand for the work.

Along with agriculture, dairy is one of the important income generating activities for most of the landowning classes, particularly for those having irrigation facilities. However, the job card holders would participate in MGNREGS depending on the need for employment, nature of work and availability of free time. It was observed that the participation was relatively higher for the works of de-siltation of canals and field channels during the summer season, when they had no crops and no work in their farms to make up the shortfall in income to meet family expenditure.

Usefulness of works taken up

The type of works taken up under MGNREGS varied from village to village depending on the availability of government and community lands, hillocks and the topography of the region. The main works taken up in the study villages were: juli flora clearance with stump removal; boulder removal; stone bund; farm, dug out and cattle ponds; silt application; check dams; feeder channels; boundary trench with 1.00m depth; percolation and mini-tanks, trenches and staggered trenches; de-siltation works, such as main irrigation canals and field channels of canals and tanks, mini percolation tanks, check dams, existing feeder channels; and construction of approach road to agriculture fields, burial grounds (including rolling) and village drains. The GP-wise works taken up has been shown in **Annexure 5.2**. Apart from these, the major individual schemes implemented under the convergence of MGNREGS were horticulture, housing and Individual Household Latrine (IHL).

It was observed from the study that the individual schemes implemented were mostly useful, as gathered from the interaction with the beneficiaries of the schemes and from the FGDs conducted in the study villages. The works predominantly taken up in villages were farm, dug out and cattle ponds, staggered trenches and long contour trenches. The farm ponds were taken up in community as well as private lands. The usefulness of the works to the farming community

was assessed based on the improvement of groundwater levels. It was found that the works that created a positive impact in the improvement of groundwater levels were very limited. The farm ponds and check dams were however useful in the improvement of groundwater levels in a few isolated places where the works were taken up close to the streams and irrigation sources. The works taken up in uplands and hillocks were mostly useful for groundwater levels only when the area received good rainfall. It was noted at the time of the study that the rainfall had been good in only one or two years since the initiation of the scheme. Hence, the farmers had not agreed strongly with the claim that the works had created an impact on the improvement of groundwater potential, with the exception of a few cases in isolated pockets.

However, the works taken up in some locations in a majority of the villages were just for employment generation—they were not useful for the improvement of groundwater, plant growth or arrest of soil erosion. But these work sites had been identified due to the lack of government and community lands that could have served the dual purposes of employment generation and usefulness to the community. The works had been included in the shelf of projects and also approved for being taken up on account of the lack of alternative sources of employment. Sometimes, works (such as farm ponds) were also taken up in private lands for individual benefit and for employment generation but were not useful in achieving multiplier effects in terms of improvement in ground water levels, plant growth or arresting soil erosion. The works taken up in some villages were far away from the village, with the work sites being mostly on hillocks. The staggered trenches taken up in hillocks and in rocky structures were not useful for the improvement of groundwater and green vegetation. The work sites that were taken up were mostly in community and government land which were far away from the area under agriculture.

In some villages, the farmers expressed doubts about the efficacy of the works on account of a lack of good rainfall in their areas. The bore wells in their areas did not support irrigation in their lands due to the excess drawing of water from new tube wells, an action that had consequences even for many old tube wells. Thus, the ability of the bore wells to provide water had been declining year after year due to the lack of good rains. In such a situation, the farmers were also not able to assert with a strong conviction that there had been an improvement in the groundwater situation due to MGNREGS works, with the exception of a few cases where the

works taken up were close to streams and close to sources with good irrigation potential. In response to the villagers' opinions about the unproductive nature of works, the field and technical staff replied that since they had taken up all the useful works in the initial years or in the first phase, there remained limited scope for the identification of such works later unless the farmers allowed them to take up works in their private lands. In many villages, they had taken up works for land development, jungle and juli flora clearance and stump removal in order to make their land more useful for cultivation. Though there is a lot of demand for such work even now in many of the villages, the state has however blacklisted such work for implementation in all the districts due to the issue of misuse of funds. Abstaining from implementation is not the solution, Institutional mechanism needs to be strengthened for identification of useful work to the community. At present, the farmers were not able to express their priorities in work identification for lack encouragement and motivation to express their views and involvement. Allocation of just for half day to one day time is insufficient for having proper discussions in identification work and finalisation in the Grama Sabhas.

Promptness in Payment of Wages

Generally, the wage payment in agriculture is made to the labour at the end of the day after work or on a weekly basis. In some of the cases, even advance payment is in practice where the demand for labour is more than its supply, particularly during busy agriculture seasons. In the case of MGNREGS, the wage payment is supposed to be made on a weekly basis as per the stipulations of the MGNREG Act. The process of payment starts after the performance of the work, and the submission of the muster rolls of work attendance of all the members by the Field Assistant (FA) to the Technical Assistant (TA) for measuring the work actually done at the end of the week. The TA would hands over the same to the Additional Programme Officer (APO) after due verification in all respects. The APO in turn transfers the funds depending on the availability of funds and prepares pay slips for the individual members. The amount is transferred to the individual members' bank accounts. The pay slips are distributed to the individual members so that they can withdraw their money from the bank account.

The time taken for wage payment to job card holders was classified into four categories: within 15 days, 15 days to 1 month, 1 to 3 months and above 3 months (Table 5.7). The data shows that all the members had received part of their amount within 15 days (39.3%) and the remaining money was received at delayed intervals of 15 days to 1 month (23.7%), 1 to 3 months (29.7%) and more than 3 months (7%). It was clearly observed that the per-day wage rate was relatively better in summer and the wage payment was also regular for two to three months in summer. In the remaining period, the wage payment was irregular and the per-day wage rate also worked out to be lower than in the summer season.

Table 5.7: Wage Payment According to Instalments and their Time Schedule

District	Wage Payments According to Period								
	Below 15 days		15 days to 1 month		1 to 3 months		More than 3 months		Total
	No.	Instalments	No.	Instalments	No.	Instalments	No.	Instalments	
Kadapa	193	458 (38.6)	123	259 (21.8)	163	399 (33.6)	48	72 (6.1)	1188(100)
Chittoor	214	630 (41.5)	138	357 (23.5)	173	427 (28.1)	53	97 (6.4)	1519(100)
Anantapur	144	372 (36.9)	113	264 (26.2)	112	277 (27.5)	59	94 (9.3)	1007(100)
Total	551	1460 (39.3)	374	880 (23.7)	447	1103 (29.7)	160	263 (7.0)	3714(100)

Source: Field Survey

It was also found in all the villages that summer is the lean period for agriculture employment in which the labour turnout is likely to be the peak. In other seasons, only the poor would participate in work whereas the non-poor would devote their time to agriculture and other allied activities. Thus, the genuinely poor would only participate in this period and face various hardships such as delay in payment and reduction in wages. The delay in payment of wages under MGNREGS was the most worrisome phenomenon as expressed by the job card holders in all the villages, particularly by the poor who depended on wage labour for their livelihood. The official reason for the delay was the delay in release of funds from the centre and the state government for payment of wages under the MGNREGS.

Generally, the poor buy provisions for their daily needs on a weekly basis from local markets. If they did not get paid within a week, they were forced to depend on either moneylenders or big farmers. The majority of the labour reported that the tolerable period for wage payment was a maximum of 15 days after work. Beyond this period, it was not bearable for the poor. They were even prepared to work for low wages, provided the payment was made within a week's time or at least within 15 days' time. The delay in payment of wages also led to a loss of interest and

participation in work by the genuinely poor, who would then start looking for alternative sources of employment, including the option of out-migration. There were many households which could not avail their 100 days of employment under MGNREGS and were looking for alternative employment. However, the MGNREGS was useful for those households which did not have any alternative source of employment and also for those who wanted to make use of their leisure time, particularly in lean seasons.

There were many households whose food security could be met by the additional income generated from the works of MGNREGS. There were households whose income deficit was met through alternative sources of wage employment, if available in their vicinity. It means that they had a choice to participate in either MGNREGS or alternative sources of income. Their labour time was productively used among the available sources of employment, depending on the per-day wage rate, regularity in wage payment, type of work, and distance of work site from home. However, there were many villages where the MGNREGS was the only source of employment and where the scope for alternative sources of employment was nil or very limited. Some of the families had no choice but to accept the MGNREGS employment while some of the families had a choice due to the availability of own agriculture. They could divide their labour time between MGNREGS and other alternative sources of employment. It was difficult for the genuinely poor to make ends meet if they had no alternative employment in their vicinity. In the process of their search for better employment and livelihood, a few depended on either seasonal migration or permanent migration, depending on the availability of opportunities and personal family factors.

A Comparative Picture of Wage Rate in Agriculture and MGNREGS

The wage rate under MGNREGS is decided based on the quantum of work completed as per the piece rates prescribed for each task and it is uniform for the entire state and the country irrespective of the local agricultural wages for unskilled labour. The per-day wage rate in the agriculture sector is determined by the factors of supply and demand for labour not only in the village but also in the adjoining villages as movement of labour has improved in recent years due to networking, communication and transportation facilities. It was clearly observed that the labour travelled up and down by bus or auto to work even up to a distance of 10 km.

The transport charges were also being paid partly or fully by the employer, depending on labour demand, supply and urgency of work. Broadly, the per-day wage rate paid to the labour in agriculture is based on the number of hours worked according to the existing wage rate.

There were two patterns of timings that were being followed in the study villages: half day and full day of work. Half day of work comprised five hours and it began around 6 am to 8 am and ended by 11 am to 1 pm, depending on the commencement of work. Full day of work was for eight to nine hours, starting at around 8 am to 9 am and ending by 4 to 5 pm. The prevailing wage rate per day for half day work varied from Rs. 200 to Rs. 400 in the case of men and Rs.150 to Rs.200 for women. For a full day of work, the men would get Rs. 300 to Rs. 500 while women would get Rs. 200 to Rs. 300. Those working for a full day would be provided one-time meal, transport charges and also an additional amount of Rs. 50 for arrack (alcohol). It all depended on local conventions, and the prevailing supply and demand conditions of the labour market in the village. According to a labour ministry notification, an unskilled agriculture labourer would now be entitled to get a minimum wage of Rs. 300 per day in C-category towns as against Rs. 160 while those in B and A category towns will get Rs. 303 and Rs.333 respectively.² In practice, in the Chittoor and Kadapa districts, households were getting agriculture wages higher than that stipulated by the Ministry of Labour while it was much lower in the case of mandated wages under the MGNREGS.

In recent years, many works in agriculture have been allotted on a piece rate per acre basis for activities such as land tilling, sowing, transplantation of paddy and harvesting of major crops. The estimation of piece rate for agriculture work is based on the conversion of expected labour man days for completion of the work and the existing wage rate per day for the work. In the piece rate method, the labour would get the wage rate based on the productivity of work, but not on the basis of hours worked. This method was preferred as a means of earning more by the agricultural labourers who were physically strong and quick in doing the work, and by those inclined to work with their family members, kith and kin, and peer group. In the piece rate

²Read more at:

https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/economy/policy/government-hikes-minimum-wage-for-agriculture-labourer/articleshow/57408252.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst

method, the wage rate varied according to their working capacity and internal agreement of wage rates. Wages based on piece rate method have been the norm in recent years, mainly to avoid the risk of constant supervision and monitoring of work, better time management, and differential wage rate payment for men and women, young and aged depending on their productivity. But, in the case of MGNREGS, the per-day wage rate is uniform for men and women, the young and the aged.

Rationally, the wage labour would prefer to maximize their earnings in allocating their labour time on piece rate work and also among the works relating to agriculture, construction and MGNREGS. The timings of the work and per-day wage rate and work availability varied from village to village, depending on the supply and demand conditions in the labour market. However, there were intra-district and intra-mandal variations in wage rates, depending on the seasons, landholding size of the households, type of crops grown, irrigation, social composition of households in the village, availability of non-farm employment, and supply of labour in the village. As far as the social composition of households is concerned, the SCs and STs are landless, and are mostly dependent on the general category for wage employment across all districts. The STs in the study area were mostly Sugalies/Lambadas living in separate hamlets interior to the main village. They cultivated mostly in the kharif season while a few did so in the rabi season as well by using borewell irrigation. The backward communities were predominant in all the districts, particularly the Boya and the Vaddera community in the Anantapur district. They were mostly small and marginal farmers for whom agriculture was not able to provide a sustainable livelihood. Hence, they also mostly depended on wage labour, both in agriculture and MGNREGS. The per-day wage rate depends on the social composition of people living in the area, type of crops grown, dairy and availability of employment in the non-farm sector. It was observed from the study that agriculture wage rate was quite high in the Chittoor district due to the higher dependence of labour on dairy, particularly for the households having borewell irrigation. Apart from dairy, they also had employment opportunities in non-farm employment such as fruit canning and poultry industry.

Grievance in Measurement of Work

There were no complaints with respect to measurement of work, and the job seekers got the exact wages as measured by the technical and field assistants and received the payment for the quantum of work done by them. However, there were complaints with regard to manipulation of muster rolls by the marking of attendance for those who had not attended. This was observed in three of the study villages as noted from the complaints shared by the job card holders during Focus Group Discussions. According to them, this has increased the chances of less payment for per day work. This was done so as to favour the family members of the mate and to favour the job card holders close to the mate, the field assistant and the technical assistant.

Issues in completion of allotted work to get mandated wage

MGNREGS is a demand-driven employment generation programme, where the individual and public works need to be identified to take up works in rural areas. The government has prescribed a per-day wage rate which is linked to the piece rate of work that one is expected to complete for each day of work. Here, the job card holder needs to complete the volume of work allotted for each day in order to get the prescribed wage per day, but not on the basis of the hours worked in a day. However, the required time to complete the allotted work to get the prescribed wage (Rs. 206 per day) would vary from season to season and also the nature of work; composition of group members in terms of male and female, their age, physical fitness; and team effort and commitment to work completion. Here, the work is allotted for a group of 15 to 30 members depending on the size of the job card holders registered in the group. Though the government has fixed the wage rate per day under MGNREGS, workers would not get the prescribed per-day wage rate (Rs.206) if they were unable to complete the allotted work.

In majority of the villages, it was observed that the labour had not been able to earn the prescribed wage rate due to non-completion of the allotted work. Sometimes, the job card holders completed the volume of work for an amount of just Rs. 50 per day. The low wage rate per day, as reported by them, was mainly due to the allotment of work in hard soils, limited hours of work in a day, and the composition of the group in work participation, with more women members and fewer men. The men preferred to devote their time for the works where they could earn higher wages per day rather than for MGNREGS works. Otherwise, they had to

depend either on borrowings or on selling of assets for meeting their family needs. Migration was another strategy to pool the income for meeting family consumption needs and future needs.

Distributive Justice in the Scheme

Participation of labour in MGNREGS depends on the need of wage employment, wage rate, timely availability of work, and wage payment. It was observed from the data that half of the job card holders participated in the MGNREGS work. The other half had signed up for job cards mainly to avail other benefits of the government schemes such as Housing, Individual Sanitary Latrines (ISL), Horticulture, Land Development, Farm Ponds, Soak Pits, etc., as these schemes were linked to the wage component of MGNREGS works under convergence of schemes. Among them, a majority of the households had own agriculture or were salary and self-employed. The quantum of assistance for horticulture and other schemes under convergence of MGNREGS is much higher than that of the income from wage employment under MGNREGS works. For example, the assistance for mango plantation (horticulture) makes the beneficiary eligible to get more than Rs. 1 lakh per acre, both in terms of cash and kind, for a three-year period. The assistance is available for up to 5 acres and it can go up to Rs. 5 lakhs for horticulture under mango. The project cost is more or less the same even in the case of citrus fruits, sapota and guava. It means that a major chunk of the assistance can be claimed by the households with a higher size of landholdings and with better irrigation facilities. However, the assistance under wage employment for the poor and the landless is very limited.

The poorest of the poor are always in a disadvantageous situation to improve their income and livelihood in spite of many schemes introduced in recent years by the state. Generally, the government provision, in the form of subsidy assistance for any scheme, is inadequate to achieve the expected outcome. When one is in a desperate situation, one tries one's level best to apply for assistance by meeting people, enquiring about the formalities and producing all documents with signatures. This is not an easy task for the poor who are required to leave their day-to-day work as labourers, marginal and small farmers, and other engagements for ensuring their family's survival. In the first instance itself, they are unable to spare their labour time in following up on their application for securing the assistance. Any failure in getting assistance would cost them even more in terms of filing application, thereby leading to further loss of wages for the work

days lost. Even in the event of their successfully receiving the actual assistance after many attempts, they still might apply for any other scheme (even if it was a good scheme that was worth applying for), on account of their earlier bitter experiences.

On the other hand, a person with regular income and without livelihood struggles can easily bank on such schemes. Though he has no immediate worries regarding the family's survival needs, he can aspire to improve his income further, with the help of the available schemes. He has the free time to discuss with people, maintain public relations, and collect information about how to get things done in his favour and in getting government assistance which is worthy of the efforts put in. He would not venture into the small schemes which involve lots of overheads in getting assistance. This is especially true in the case of higher income groups whose target is to get a bigger assistance and not just a trivial one. They are astute in making their calculations and always try to bag a higher amount as assistance. The MGNREGS is a perfect example to illustrate this. The medium and large farmers have availed MGNREGS for the horticulture scheme, with the project being worth more than one lakh per acre as assistance under different components. Many farmers have received an assistance (under horticulture) of more than Rs. 2 lakh within a three-year period, whereas a poor labourer has been required to work for more than 10 years continuously to be in a position to get an assistance of the kind of amount claimed by medium and large farmers. Here, the argument is not about a horticulture scheme, but about the issue of distributive justice as the poorest of the poor are always in a disadvantaged position whenever the government introduces any scheme for the agriculture sector. The medium and large farmers can spare their time in meeting political leaders and officials and they know how to impress them with flattery and bribes. They are able to spare their time in order to get things done in their favour while a landless and marginal farmer has no means of doing the same.

Annexure 5.1: Social Group wise Size of Employment Generated under MGNREGS

Social Group	Migration Status	Nil		Extent of Employment Provided (in Number of Days)									
				Upto 50		51-75		76-100		100+		Total	
		NOs	%	NOs	%	NOs	%	NOs	%	NOs	%	NOs	%
SC	Migrants	47	36.2	27	27.8	22	26.5	23	27.7	11	13.3	83	100
	Non Migrants	0	0.0	74	52.1	21	14.8	34	23.9	13	9.2	142	100
	Total	47	17.3	101	41.6	43	19.1	57	25.3	24	10.7	225	100
ST	Migrants	10	16.7	24	43.7	11	22.0	9	18.0	6	12.0	50	100
	Non Migrants	0	0.0	10	71.4	2	14.3	1	7.1	1	7.1	14	100
	Total	10	13.5	34	49.3	13	20.3	10	15.6	7	10.9	64	100
BC	Migrants	99	51.3	30	24.8	17	18.1	33	35.1	14	14.9	94	100
	Non Migrants	0	0.0	73	45.1	22	13.6	35	21.6	32	19.8	162	100
	Total	99	27.9	103	35.0	39	15.2	68	26.6	46	18.0	256	100
Others	Migrants	34	55.7	8	23.4	3	11.1	9	33.3	7	25.9	27	100
	Non Migrants	0	0.0	27	27.8	14	20.6	23	33.8	13	19.1	68	100
	Total	34	26.4	74	52.1	17	17.9	32	33.7	20	21.1	95	100
Total	Migrants	190	42.8	101	41.6	53	20.9	74	29.1	38	15.0	254	100
	Non Migrants	0	0	24	43.7	59	15.3	93	24.1	59	15.3	386	100
	Total	190	22.9	10	71.4	112	17.5	167	26.1	97	15.2	640	100

Annexure 5.2: Type of Works Taken Up in the Study Gram Panchayats

Districts	Mandals	Villages	Type of Works
Kadapa	Atloor	Varikunta, Thammalagondi Vemuluru	De-siltation of check dams/wells and dug out ponds, cattle ponds, feeder channels and horticulture, trenches and staggered trenches.
	Sundupalle	Yarrinenipalem Rayavaram Madithadu	De-siltation of tanks, check dams/ wells, farm and dug out ponds, feeder channels, trenches, staggered trenches, and horticulture.
	Chapad	Vedururu Chinnaguravalur Alladupalle	Field and feeder channels, de-siltation of check dams/wells and dug out ponds (500 labour in peak time), and horticulture (only two farmers).
Chittoor	Irala	Vadrampalli	No field assistant. Horticulture is the main activity, de-siltation of tanks, check dams/wells, farm and dug out ponds, horticulture.
		Polakala	De-siltation of tanks, check dams/wells; farm and dug out ponds, horticulture, works taken up with the support of an NGO, field assistant role is nominal.
		Kollapalle	No field assistant. Works taken up by forest department with the convergence of MGNREGS. Works taken up were: mainly raising nursery for avenue plantation and also teak plants, de-siltation of tanks and check dams and soil conservation in the forest area.
	Satyavedu	Madananjeri Kannavaram	Field and feeder channels, de-siltation of check dams/wells, dug out ponds, horticulture, soil conservation works, trenches and staggered trenches in the forest area.
		Aroor	De-siltation of tank and drainage system. Potential is very limited due to lack of land as the total land was acquired for Sri City Industrial Zone excluding area under village settlement.
	Thamballapalli	Errasanipalli Kotala Punchalamarri	De-siltation of tanks, check dams/wells, farm and dug out ponds, staggered trenches, trenches, horticulture.
Anantha pure	Nallamada	Maskavankapalli Donnikota Kurumala	De-siltation of tanks, check dams/ wells, farm and dug out ponds, staggered trenches, trenches, horticulture.
	Gumma gattu	Gonibhavi Kalagodu Poolakunta	De-siltation of tanks, check dams/wells, farm and dug out ponds, staggered trenches, trenches, horticulture.
	Vajrakarur	Thatrakal Chabhala Venkatampalli	De-siltation of tanks, check dams/wells, farm and dug out ponds, staggered trenches, trenches, horticulture.

Chapter 6

IMPACT OF MGNREGS IN ADDRESSING THE ISSUE OF MIGRATION

Introduction

Labour migration is associated with lack of employment and income, food insecurity, poverty, depletion of natural resources, family catastrophe, loss of assets and accumulation of debts, life threat due to community rivalry, and gender and social oppression. Any reason perceived to be intolerable could lead to distress migration. Migration by any household member for the purpose of meeting his/her basic needs is also considered to be distress migration. Migration that is used for generating income in terms of saving and investment to secure future prospects is, however, not treated as distress migration. It is difficult to assess the type of migration based on income because the threshold income required for meeting basic needs varies from family to family, depending on the location and area of living, and the household's socio-economic background. Thus, the poverty line is taken as a proxy for assessment of distress migration. According to this, any migration done by the family from the native place in order to improve their income so as to cross the poverty line is called distress migration.

The intensity of poverty in rural areas depends on employment opportunities in the agriculture sector which in turn depends on rainfall, irrigation, area under cultivation, cropping pattern, cropping intensity, and area under Rabi season crops. The study districts are known for frequent droughts, crops failures, lost income, debts and shrinking assets, and migration. People can evolve coping strategies to overcome drought and its associated problems if the occurrence is once in a while. However, it is difficult to manage livelihood, if the droughts are frequent and continue consecutively for more than two years in a row. The available options for the poor to overcome the situation are: minimizing family expenditure, selling assets, borrowing from formal and informal sources, and undertaking seasonal and permanent migration.

The main objective of the implementation of MGNREGS is to provide employment, food and livelihood security. This has consequent effects on mitigating the problem of seasonal and distress migration. This is more so in the case of households where the deficit in income could be matched with locally available resources and the income from employment under MGNREGS.

However, migration is not feasible for some of the households where MGNREGS is one of the important sources of income for livelihood even if it is a small income. It all depends on: family consumption needs; income sources from own agriculture and availability of wage employment; income from allied activities such as dairy and sheep rearing; and demographic factors such as family size, age composition, number of dependants, education and skills of the family members. Though consumption pattern is positively associated with income, each family needs a minimum income to meet their basic needs.

The chapter attempts to study the demographic characteristics of the migrant households, the incidence of natural disasters, the personal problems that might compel migration as well as the duration of migration, wage rates and availability of employment in farm and non-farm sectors, and the driving factors for migration among the sample households. The study documents the patterns of migration in various geographical settings by different communities having varied socio-economic backgrounds in the Rayalaseema region.

Migration was widespread in two revenue divisions in Kadapa district—therefore, two mandals with predominance of migration were selected from there. In Chittoor district, seasonal migration was predominant in four to five mandals in Madanapalle revenue division, hence one mandal was selected. Migration was quite high in Anantapur district and therefore three mandals from three revenue divisions with predominance of migration were selected. In all, data was collected from 444 migrant households in three districts: 163 in Kadapa, 61 in Chittoor and 220 in Anantapur district. The social composition of migrants indicates that 43.3 per cent were BCs, 29.3 per cent were scheduled castes, 13.8 per cent were open category and 13.5 per cent were ST households.

The data shows that migration was done by a single working member in 184 households (41.4%) in the total sample. Their proportion was 75 per cent in Kadapa and it was close to 20 per cent in Chittoor and Anantapur district. The family used to be stationed in the native village while the migrant member stayed at the place of destination to earn for the family. Migration was done by two members in 200 households (45 per cent of the sample) where the migrant pair was mostly wife and husband. Such households were in a majority (62.3 per cent) in Anantapur. The migration was done by three members in the household in the remaining sample (60 households

or 13.5 per cent). Such households were quite substantial in Thamballapalli mandal of Chittoor district. They were mostly permanent migrants. In all, 764 working members migrated for work to different destinations (Table 6.1). All the migrant members had own house in the village and most of the migrant households claimed all the state benefits such as PDS rice, old age pension, job card, Aarogyasree card, membership in women SHG, etc. The households' access to own land was also matched by claim of all input subsidies and crop loans for agriculture. In the case of single member migration, the household members participated in multiple activities for livelihood.

Table 6.1: Number of Migrated Members in the Households

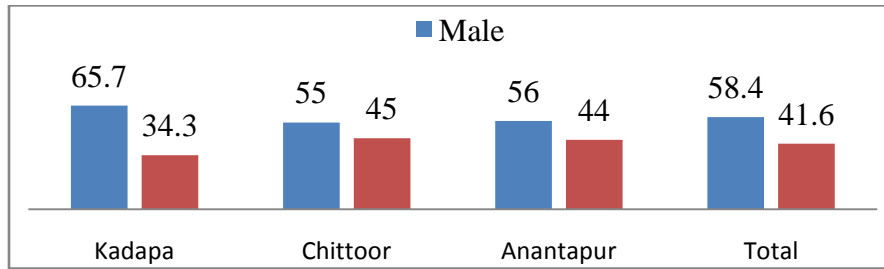
Mandals	Households						Total
	Single Member Migrated		Two Members Migrated		Three Members Migrated		
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Atloor	64	85.3	10	13.3	1	1.3	75(100)
T Sunderpally	59	68.6	25	29.1	2	2.3	86(100)
Chapad	2	100.0	0	0	0	0	2(100)
Kadapa	125	76.7	35	21.5	3	1.8	163(100)
Irala	3	50.0	3	50.0	0	0	6(100)
Satyavedu	4	100.0	0	0	0	0	4(100)
Thamballapalle	5	9.8	25	49.0	21	41.2	51(100)
Chittoor	12	19.7	28	45.9	21	34.4	61(100)
Nallamada	14	21.5	43	66.2	8	12.3	65(100)
Gummigatta	21	22.3	53	56.4	20	21.3	94(100)
Vajrakarur	12	19.7	41	67.2	8	13.1	61(100)
Anantapur	47	21.4	137	62.3	36	16.4	220(100)
Total	184	41.4	200	45.0	60	13.5	444(100)

Source: Field Survey

Demographic Characteristics of the Migrants

The gender composition of migrants indicates that 58.4 per cent were males and 41.6 per cent were females (Figure 6.1). Most of the female members migrated along with their husbands to work at the destination site to support their families. However, the pattern was different in Kadapa district where most of the women migrated independently to work in the Gulf countries. The marital status of the migrants indicates that about 86 per cent were married, 10 per cent were never married and the remaining were widower(s) or had deserted their family members. The pattern was mostly identical in all the districts.

Figure 6.1: Gender-Wise Proportion of Migrant Members (in Percentage)



Age of the Migrants

The age group of the migrants was 26 to 45 years in a majority of the cases (65.3%). The migrant age was between 25 and 35 years in a majority of the cases (53.9 %) in Kadapa district where all the Gulf migrants were found. The age group between 36 and 45 years was quite high (39.1%) in Anantapur district where the nature of work in destination was mostly wage labour in earth work and agriculture (Table 6.2). The proportion of the migration age group above 55 years was very low (6.0%), since the elderly came along mostly to work beside the son.

Table 6.2: Age of the Migrants

Age Group	District			Total
	Kadapa	Chittoor	Anantapur	
Up to 25	25(12.3)	21(16.0)	68(15.7)	114(14.9)
26–35	110(53.9)	23(17.6)	110(25.5)	243(31.7)
36–45	46(22.5)	43(32.8)	169(39.1)	258(33.6)
46–55	18(8.8)	26(19.8)	62(14.4)	106(13.8)
56+	5(2.5)	18(13.7)	23(5.3)	46(6.0)
Total	204(100)	131(100)	432(100)	767(100)

Source: Field Survey

Educational Status of the Migrants

About half of the migrant members in all the districts were non-literates. Their proportion was less than half in Chittoor and Kadapa district and more than half in Anantapur district. Migration among the educated up to the primary level was 14.7 per cent and that up to secondary education was 24.3 per cent. Higher secondary education constituted 6 per cent of the total in all the districts and there was not much difference among the districts (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Educational Status of Migrants

Education Level	District			Total
	Kadapa	Chittoor	Anantapur	
Non-literates	93(45.6)	57(43.5)	230(53.2)	380(49.5)
Up to Primary	33(16.1)	13(9.9)	67(15.5)	113(14.7)
Up to Secondary	45(22.0)	42(32.0)	99(22.9)	186(24.3)
Higher Secondary	16(7.8)	8(6.1)	22(5.1)	46(6.0)
Graduate	15(7.4)	8(6.1)	12(2.8)	35(4.6)
Post-Graduation	2(1.0)	3(2.3)	2(0.5)	7(0.9)
Total	204(100)	131(100)	432(100)	767(100)
Technical Education	4 (2.0)	10 (7.6%)	3(0.6)	17(2.2)

Source: Field Survey

Higher education (graduation and above) was found in only 5 per cent of the households and their proportion was relatively better in Chittoor (8.4%) and Kadapa (8.4%) as compared to Anantapur (3.3%) district. The migrants with technical education like ITI, Diploma and Engineering degrees were found in Chittoor (7.6%), Kadapa (2.0%) and Anantapur (0.6%). Thus, the majority of the migrants (64.2%) were either illiterates or had below primary level of education.

Type and Pattern of Migration

The migration patterns available in the literature are seasonal, cyclical and permanent. The common types of migration as observed in the study were seasonal and permanent migration. The migration pattern was permanent in a majority of the cases in Kadapa district. It was seasonal and permanent in Anantapur and Chittoor districts (Table 6.4). The seasonal migration was mostly from January to May each year but it did vary from region to region within the district.

Table 6.4: Type of Migration among the Districts

District	Type of Migration		Total
	Seasonal	Permanent	
Kadapa	55 (33.7)	108 (66.3)	163 (100.0)
Chittoor	29 (48.3)	32 (51.7)	61 (100.0)
Anantapur	178 (80.9)	42 (19.1)	220 (100.0)
Total	262 (59.2)	182 (40.9)	444 (100.0)

Source: Field Survey

The Sugalies or Lambada tribe in Vajrakarur mandal of Anantapur district used to migrate for one to three months in every agriculture season from November to March. They received payment in cash and kind according to their choice, for harvesting jowar, paddy and other crops. Their preference for the kind component was mainly for achievement of food security. Similarly, the labour in Chittoor district would migrate for doing the loading and unloading work at the Mango market in Karnataka every year between April and June. These two categories of people were found to be migrating mostly due to lack of continuity and adequate employment at their native place. They can be treated as distress migrants. Apart from this, a sizeable proportion of the households used to migrate mostly to Bangalore city, depending on the demand for wage labour in construction activity, and they returned home in June for agriculture work. Among them, a few turned out to be permanent migrants, depending on the comparative advantage of livelihood at their native place vis-à-vis at the destination. This was a transition from seasonal to permanent migration. It was observed in all the study villages that many households settled in Bangalore city, but regularly travelled back and forth to meet their parents and relatives and also to maintain their properties in the village.

The labour from Vaddera community in Anantapur district usually migrated as a family unit (husband-wife and their offspring). Children of school-going age were mostly kept in hostels or left in the village under the care and supervision of their elderly family members, mostly grandparents. Children who were not of school-going age, accompanied the migrant parents. The nature of work that these migrants did was mostly earth work relating to cable lines, drinking water lines, irrigation canals, buildings and apartments, particularly pillar footings and filling with earth. Earth work was their traditional occupation and they were not inclined to do any other work even in the village. They used to depend on migration due to lack of adequate earth work at their native place.

Participation of Migrants in MGNREGS Work

Participation of migrants in MGNREGS work indicated that 68.8 per cent of the migrants either had a job card or had enrolled their name in the job card to work. The remaining had not enrolled their name in the job card, with a view to migration. Out of the enrolled, 82 per cent of the

members had past experience in doing MGNREGS work and only 41.3 per cent had worked in the current year (Table 6.5). However, a majority of their family members had used the job card.

Table 6.5: Participation of Migrants in MGNREGS Work

District	Enrolled	Worked in the past out of enrolled	Worked in the current year out of enrolled
Kadapa	149(73.0)	129(86.6)	66(44.3)
Chittoor	90(68.7)	74(82.3)	33(36.7)
Anantapur	289(66.9)	234(81.0)	120(41.5)
Total	528(68.8)	437(82.8)	219(41.3)

Source: Field Survey

The main reason for the migrant members not working in MGNREGS was of course migration (90%) while the other reasons were low wages (3%), lack of sufficient work available (3%), lack of skilled activity (2%) and personal reasons (2%). The reason behind migration was deep rooted and linked to factors such as low wages and lack of adequate work in the village for livelihood security.

Migration Compelled by the Incidence of Natural Disasters

The study probed whether the households had encountered any catastrophe or natural disasters that were serious in nature and whether this had led them towards migration or distress migration. The capacity of the family to withstand natural disasters depended on the intensity of the problem or nature of loss suffered, economic status of the family, and support from the community and institutional mechanisms. In spite of all the coping strategies, there were households affected by disasters such as droughts and cyclones, pest attacks, seed problems, crop loss, etc., which were beyond the control of the farmers. Sometimes, the recovery from crop loss was difficult and it led to their falling into a debt trap, asset selling or distress migration. Drought and crop loss were the main reasons for livelihood loss in all the districts and the intensity was more severe in Chittoor and Anantapur as compared to Kadapa district (Table 6.6). All the reasons forwarded for crop loss and losing livelihood earnings were the cause and effect of drought, floods and cyclones. There were many households which had lost their investment due to the extremes of drought and excess rains in a particular spell that led to crop loss. The other issue for loss of assets as reported was acquirement of land for irrigation project in Kadapa and for Special Industrial Zone in Chittoor. The affected villagers lost earnings from agricultural

wage employment. The loss of assets was one of the reasons for Gulf migration in many households, particularly for women. Suffering an acute health problem was also a serious issue in many families.

Table 6.6: Incidence of Natural Disasters Prompting Migration

Reasons	Migrant Status	Kadapa		Chittoor		Anantapur	
		Adverse Impact on Livelihood	Prompted to Migrate	Adverse Impact on Livelihood	Prompted to Migrate	Adverse Impact on Livelihood	Prompted to Migrate
Acute Health Problem	Migrants	34(20.9)	32 (94.1)	7(11.5)	2(28.6)	38(17.3)	31(81.6)
Drought/Flood/Cyclone	Migrants	53(32.5)	45(84.9)	27(44.3)	23(85.2)	75(34.1)	72(96.0)
Crop Loss	Migrants	49(30.1)	43(87.8)	33(54.1)	30(90.9)	77(35.0)	64(83.1)
Loss of Assets	Migrants	17(10.4)	15(88.2)	7(11.5)	6(85.7)	15(6.8)	14(93.3)
Loss of Earnings	Migrants	5(3.1)	5(100)	0	0	4(1.8)	3(75.0)
Others	Migrants	30(18.1)	30(100)	3(4.9)	3(100)	6(2.7)	6(100)
Sample	Migrants	163		61		220	

Source: Field Survey

Reasons for Migration

Household migration decision was dependent on multiple reasons but not on single reason. The reasons were classified broadly into two categories: discouraging factors in the implementation of the MGNREGS and personal reasons for migration. In the category of discouraging factors, six factors were identified: non-provision of 100 days of employment; work denied in times of need; inferior work available; lower wages; delay in payment of wages; and being unable to earn minimum wages. Some of the personal reasons were: work was more secure after migration; clearing old debts; generating more income; meeting educational and health needs of children and family members; and others. Among all the 12 reasons, we have asked the five most important reasons for migration in the form of ranks numbered 1 to 5 in the order of their priority. The data on rank-wise migration is available for only 400 migrant households (90 per cent) out of the total sample of 444 migrant households. Here, each household gave five ranks in the order of priority out of 12 reasons. It means that 400 households gave 2000 ranks (400x5 (Table 6.7). This method would provide more realistic assessment of migrant household decisions as it varies from household to household.

Table 6.7: Reasons for Migration in the Sample Districts

Reasons for Migration	Ranks											
	1		2		3		4		5		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Not provided 100 days of employment	19	4.8	14	3.2	21	5.2	19	4.7	32	8.9	105	5.3
Denied work	13	3.3	5	1.2	7	1.7	10	2.5	20	5.6	56	2.8
Inferior work available	4	1.0	16	3.7	13	3.2	28	6.9	49	13.6	110	5.5
Lower wages	5	1.3	23	5.3	28	6.9	38	9.4	59	16.4	154	7.7
Delay in wages	6	1.5	21	4.9	35	8.6	36	8.9	31	8.6	129	6.5
Unable to earn minimum wages	42	10.7	9	2.1	13	3.2	45	11.1	42	11.7	152	7.6
Discouraging factors of MGNREGS	89	22.6	88	20.4	117	28.8	176	43.5	233	64.7	706	35.3
More secure work after migration	6	1.5	16	3.7	16	3.9	20	4.9	22	6.1	81	4.1
Clearing old debts	118	29.9	37	8.6	21	5.2	21	5.2	10	2.8	207	10.4
Generating more income	113	28.7	166	38.5	72	17.7	20	4.9	11	3.1	382	19.1
Meeting educational expenditure	38	9.6	80	18.6	110	27.1	45	11.1	30	8.3	303	15.2
Meeting health expenditure	25	6.3	41	9.5	67	16.5	106	26.2	53	14.7	292	14.6
Others	5	1.3	3	0.7	3	0.7	17	4.2	1	0.3	29	1.5
Personal Reasons	305	77.4	343	79.6	289	71.2	229	56.5	127	35.3	1294	64.7
Grand Total	394	100.0	431	100.0	406	100.0	405	100.0	360	100.0	2000	100.0

Source: Field Survey

As a contributor to migration, the supply side deficiencies in the provision of employment under MGNREGS were only 35.3 per cent, if all the six reasons and all the five ranks were taken into consideration. It was only 22.6 per cent if the 1st rank reason was taken into consideration among the six supply side factors. Among the six factors of the supply side deficiencies of MGNREGS, only two factors were more important for consideration: being unable to earn minimum wages and not being provided 100 days of employment. When taken into consideration in terms of 1st rank, the contribution of these two factors to migration was found only in 15.5 per cent of the households. More specifically, the reasons such as work being denied, inferior quality of work available, and lower wages were reported mostly as the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th rank reasons, but not as the 1st rank reason. It shows that migration decisions were influenced more by personal reasons (64.5%), if all the six factors and all the five ranks were taken together. More specifically, among the migrants, personal reasons accounted for 77.4 per cent, if one took the 1st rank reason from all the six factors. Even among the personal reasons, generating more income

and clearing their old debts were the two most important reasons that contributed to influencing the migration decision.

Place of Migration

Generally, the educated and skilled youth preferred to work in salaried employment in industry and services sector but these were mostly available in urban areas and big cities. Due to lack of employment opportunities, they were prepared to work as wage labour in non-farm activities. Among them, a few improved their skills according to the need of the labour market or by working in salaried jobs or in self-employment. It was observed that the age of the migrants was less than 30 years in a majority of the cases. The destination of migrants was Gulf countries for a majority of the households in Kadapa district (75.5%). The destination was outside the state, mostly Bangalore city, in the case of migrants from Chittoor (73.3%) and Anantapur (66.8%) district (Table 6.8). However, the destination for the Vaddera community in Anantapur district was all southern states and also Maharashtra. In all, only 11.5 per cent of the total migrants migrated to a destination within the state but outside the district. Such migration was done mostly to work in agriculture and wage employment in construction and building activity. The migration done for agriculture work was mostly seasonal and this was a regular feature every year for the households, particularly in Vajrakarur mandal. The destination of migration being within the district was seen for 12.2 per cent households. Such migration was mostly from rural to district headquarters in Kadapa town, and from Thamballapalli mandal to Madanapalle and Tirupati town in Chittoor district.

Table 6.8: Place of Migration

District	Destination of Migration				Total
	Within the district	Outside the district but within the state	Outside the state but within the country	Gulf Migration	
Kadapa	16 (9.8)	4 (2.4)	20 (12.3)	123 (75.5)	163 (100.0)
Chittoor	10 (16.7)	4 (6.7)	44 (73.3)	2 (3.3)	60 (100.0)
Anantapur	28 (12.7)	43 (19.5)	147 (66.8)	2 (0.9)	220 (100.0)
Total	54 (12.2)	51 (11.5)	211 (47.6)	115 (28.7)	443 (100.0)

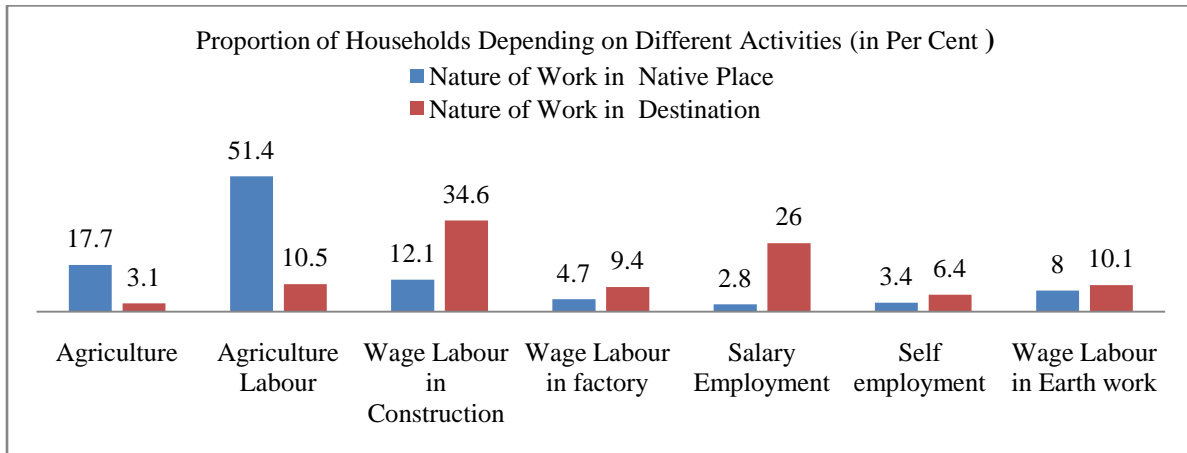
Source: Field Survey

Migrants' Occupation in the Native Village and at the Destination

The nature of work that the migrants used to do at their native place was mostly (80%) agriculture labour; own agriculture; construction labour (both skilled and unskilled work in building activity); and wage labour in earth work (mostly digging canals and cable work). It was very limited as wage labour in factory skilled and unskilled work, salary employment and self-employment in small business and service activities. Among the activities at the native place, wage labour in agriculture was the main activity for 51.4 per cent of the migrant members; own agriculture was limited to 17.7 per cent though more than 60 per cent of the households possessed land in the sample. The migrants at the place of destination were also very limited in pursuing wage employment in agriculture (10.5%), which was mostly done by labour from Vajrakarur that had migrated to Kurnool district. Thus, the majority of the agriculture labour at the native places migrated to the place of destination to work in diversified activities, such as wage labour in construction activity and wage labour in factory employment.

The wage labour in construction activity was 12.1 per cent at the native place but their proportion increased to 34.6 per cent at the destination place. It shows that the wage labour in agriculture were mostly working as wage labour in construction activity and had also diversified in other wage employment and also in salary employment (in factory work). The migration from rural areas to urban areas was mainly due to limited availability of work in rural areas. The other significant growth in the nature of work at the destination was salaried employment and self-employment. The salaried work that the migrants did at the native place was just 2.8 per cent which increased to 26 per cent at the place of destination (Figure 6.2).

Figure 6.2: Occupational Diversification of Migrants from Native Place to Destination



The nature of work that the salaried did at the destination was by the men mostly in transport sector as four-wheeler drivers, and as office and household assistants, mostly in Bangalore city and also in the Gulf countries. Among the Gulf migrants, about half of them were women and they worked mostly as maids and helpers at home as salaried employees. The other salaried works for the migrants at the destination were as watchmen in construction activity and in apartments, and factories and establishments; a few also worked as waste disposal labour under a contractor in various municipal areas of Bangalore city. The youth were mostly working as drivers or office assistants in factories as salaried employees. The educated with professional degrees and technical qualifications worked in industries, software companies and other establishments.

The households that depended on traditional occupations such as being washer men, barbers, carpenters, potters, goldsmith, basket-makers, etc., had been marginalized in the rural sector due to introduction of technology. They were in the process of migrating to urban areas in search of regular employment and income. Apart from these, there was one caste group—Vaddera in Rayalaseema, particularly in Anantapur—which depended on earth works such as constructing irrigation tanks and canals, digging dug wells, and laying rural roads, which was also their traditional occupation. But in recent years, the employment opportunities had been declining for them in rural areas too due to the use of machinery and equipment. There was not much diversification in the nature of their work.

There were many households which migrated as a unit (parents along with their children) to work as casual labour or in part-time work in Bangalore city with a view to the children's education. Apart from these, the migrants also found self-employment in small businesses, transport sector, hair cutting salons, clothes washing and ironing units, and as tractor and cab drivers. A few who migrated from the Thamballapalli mandal were doing the work of loading and unloading at the tomato market in Madanapalle of Chittoor district and the mango market in Srinivasapuram of Karnataka state. The mandal-wise proportion of migrants and their nature of work at the native place and destination is shown in Annexure 6.1. The continuation of work at the destination depended on the nature of work, employment security, wage rate, affordable accommodation for stay and facility for food, hardness of work, and cooperation from the employer.

Duration of Migration

The duration of migration depended on the stipulations of work agreement between the worker and employer, place of work—Gulf countries, outside the state, within the state and district—comparative advantages of work at the place of destination in terms of availability and guarantee of work, wage rate, nature and timings of the work, family consumption patterns, propensity to save and invest, facilities at the place of destination for stay, food and affinity with the peer group, and also social security benefits available from the employer. The main intention behind migration was to earn income for livelihood improvement of the family by pooling income from all sources. While working at the destination, a few chose to settle at the destination for the long-run while a few others returned to their native place. While working at the place of destination, most of them made frequent visits back to their native place, because they continued to avail the benefits of various government schemes such as PDS, social security pension, health insurance (Aarogyasree), MGNREGS, Rythu Bharosa, etc., besides the benefits of housing, horticulture, women SHGs and subsidy inputs for agriculture. Though a majority of them earned their livelihood at the place of destination, their families continued to be stationed in the village. In the case of Gulf migrants, those who had migrated were mostly single members from the household (either husband or wife). In case of two members, one of the children accompanied the parents. The duration of migration was more than one year for a majority of the households (63.8%) in

Kadapa district and they were mostly permanent migrants. Their proportion was 46.7 per cent in Chittoor district and only 12.7 per cent in Anantapur (Table 6.9).

Table 6.9: Duration of Migration

Gram Panchayat	Duration of Migration (in Months)				Total
	Less than 4	4-6	7-12	More than 12	
Atloor	9 (12.0)	9(12.0)	13(17.3)	44(58.7)	75(100)
T Sundupalle	4(4.7)	4(4.7)	18(20.9)	60(69.8)	86(100)
Chapad	2(100)	0	0	0	2(100)
Kadapa	15(9.2)	13(8.0)	31(19.0)	104(63.8)	163(100)
Irala	2(33.3)	2(33.3)	0	2(33.3)	6(100)
Satyavedu	4(100)	0	0	0	4(100)
Thamballapalle	4(7.8)	14(27.5)	7(13.7)	26(51.0)	51(100)
Chittoor	10(16.4)	15(24.6)	7(11.5)	28(45.9)	61(100)
Nallamada	19(29.2)	17(26.2)	12(18.5)	17(26.2)	65(100)
Gummigatta	27(28.7)	41(43.6)	18(19.1)	8(8.5)	94(100)
Vajrakarur	46(75.4)	9(14.8)	3(4.9)	3(4.9)	61(100)
Anantapur	92(41.8)	67(30.5)	33(15.0)	28(12.7)	220(100)
Total	117(26.4)	96(21.6)	71(16.0)	160(36.0)	444(100)

Source: Field Survey

Even among the Gulf migrants, very few had migrated for less than one year. The duration was between 7 to 12 months in 16 per cent of the total sample households. Their proportion varied from 11.5 to 20.9 per cent among the mandals. A majority of the households found regular work at the place of destination and they were likely to become permanent migrants, depending on the need and future prospects at the destination site. The households migrating for four to six months were 21.6 per cent in the sample and they migrated mostly in the months between December and June, depending on availability of work at the native place and the per-day wage rate. Their proportion was relatively higher in some of the mandals in Anantapur and Chittoor. The remaining households (26.4%) had migrated for a period less than four months and they are mostly seasonal migrants. Such cases were quite substantial in the case of scheduled tribes, Sugalies or Lambadas of Vajrakarur mandal where majority of the labour went for a short period of one to three months, mainly during agriculture seasons of harvesting, sowing and weeding.

In the case of Gummigatta mandal, the duration and migration pattern varied among the communities such that the Vaddera community which stayed outside the state throughout the year, depending on the availability of work. They used to visit the village twice a year for attending two festivals: one in the month of August and the other in the month of February. They

visited on other occasions too including the death of close family members or important marriages, long term idleness due to lack of work at the place of destination, and any health emergency for them or their close family members and relatives. They did not return to the native place for short-run idleness at the destination, such as for one to two weeks. Mostly they moved from place to place, depending on the availability of work.

Number of Man Days of Work Available at the Village and at the Destination

Availability of employment depends on the interplay of supply and demand factors within and outside the village. The supply depends on the proportion of landless, small and marginal farmers in the village and adjacent villages too. In all, employment was available for five to six months in a year. But the actual employment available was mostly less than 120 days in a year, after deducting days not reporting to work and non-availability of work. The farmers expressed that the maximum employment available to them was 30 to 40 days during the time of sowing and transplantation, 30 days during the time of weeding and another 30 days during the time of harvesting the crops, and that there was no work for employment other than these tasks in the agriculture seasons for a majority of the wage labourers.

Access to wage employment in agriculture at the native place was less than 60 days in a year for 27.7 per cent of the migrant members. It was to 60 to 120 days for 28.7 per cent of the migrant members; 121 to 180 days of employment for 18.3 per cent of the migrants; 181 to 240 day employment for 9.8 per cent of the migrants and the remaining (14.0%) had access to more than 241 days of employment. The households with more than 180 days of net employment were relatively higher in Kadapa district due to irrigation under command area or canal irrigation. It was followed by Chittoor and Anantapur with bore well and tank irrigation.

The number of days worked at the place of destination was up to 60 days for 8.8 per cent of the migrants, 61 to 120 days for 13.4 per cent, 121 to 180 days for 16.5 per cent, 181 to 240 days for 20.8 per cent and more than 241 days for 40.5 per cent of the migrants (Table 6.10). This shows that the majority (61.3%) of the migrants had migrated to the place of destination to work for more than 180 days in a year. In the case of Gulf migrants, it was more than 300 days of employment for salaried work and less than 200 days for labour depending building construction work.

Table 6.10: Number of Man Days of Work Available in Native Place and Destination

Mandal	No. of Man Days Worked										Total
	Up to 60		61-120		121-180		181-240		241 and above		
	N	D	N	D	N	D	N	D	N	D	
Atlur	18(20.7)	6(06.9)	29(33.3)	12(13.8)	21(24.1)	4(04.6)	13(14.9)	4(04.6)	6(06.9)	61(70.1)	87(100)
T Sundupalle	27(24.3)	3(02.7)	32(28.8)	6(05.4)	22(19.8)	4(03.6)	13(11.7)	19(17.1)	17(15.3)	79(71.1)	111(100)
Chapada	0	0	1(50.0)	0	0	0	0	1(50.0)	1(50.0)	1(50.0)	2(100)
Irala	2(25.0)	2(25.0)	2(25.0)	1(12.5)	2(25.0)	1(12.5)	1(12.5)	0	1(12.5)	4(50.0)	8(100)
Satyavedu	1(25.0)	0	3(75.0)	0	0	0	0	2(50.0)	0	2(50.0)	4(100)
Thambalapalli	18(15.3)	3(02.5)	38(32.2)	17(14.4)	24(20.3)	20(16.9)	11(09.3)	21(17.8)	27(22.9)	57(48.4)	118(100)
Nallamada	15(11.8)	4(03.1)	36(28.3)	23(18.1)	33(26.0)	25(19.7)	20(15.7)	22(17.3)	23(18.1)	53(41.7)	127(100)
Gummagatta	87(46.8)	10(05.4)	50(26.9)	16(08.6)	18(09.7)	40(21.5)	5(02.7)	78(41.9)	26(14.0)	42(22.6)	186(100)
Vajra Karur	43(35.8)	39(32.5)	39(32.5)	27(22.5)	20(16.7)	32(26.7)	12(01.0)	12(01.0)	6(05.0)	10(08.3)	120(100)
Total	211(27.7)	67(08.8)	230(30.1)	102(13.4)	140(18.3)	126(16.5)	75(09.8)	159(20.8)	107(14.0)	309(40.5)	763(100)

Note : N= Native Village D= Destination

Source: Field Survey

The migration was nil or limited in villages where the availability of employment was more than 120 days in a year. It was clearly observed that agriculture in Chepad mandal was under canal irrigation where employment was available for more than 120 days from agriculture while dairy provided subsidiary income for a majority of the households. Similarly, employment was available in both farm and non-farm sectors in the mandals of Irala and Satyavedu. Hence, there was no migration in these mandals. There were also households that reported that they had migrated in spite of the better access to employment (more than 180 days) at their native place. This was mainly to earn more income from migration.

The labour from Vaddera community worked under a labour contractor who was mostly from their own community. On mutual agreement between contractor and labour, the labour family used to get an interest-free loan ranging from Rs. 50,000 to Rs.150,000 from the contractor to work for one year. Showing work on piece rate was the responsibility of the labour contractor. The contractor would get work done from private people and agencies on a piece rate basis and entrust the same to the labour, keeping some margin to cover his risk and investment.

Per-Day Wage Rate at the Village and at the Destination

Generally, the wage rate was determined by the supply and demand for labour in the villages. However, the wage rate was determined by the surplus or profit generated by the farmers too. The area kept fallow in drought-prone areas had increased due to higher labour cost and risk of investment loss in cultivation where the per-day wage rates had not increased at par with the rise of the price index of consumer goods. Thus, the per-day wage rate of farm and non-farm

employment for unskilled labour was important for livelihood security of the family. But, the per-day wage rates for farm and non-farm employment had been varying from area to area, depending on irrigation, adoption of technology, cropping pattern, crop profitability and availability of non-farm employment in the area. The use of technologies for substitution of manual labour was found in many agriculture operations in the study area. For instance, the farmers giving preference to the use of tractors, and harvesting machinery and their being prepared to pay more than the cost of manual labour for the same quantum of work in order complete the work more quickly and to become risk free. However, there was no substitute for human labour in some tasks and operations of agriculture for certain crops. The majority of the households (70.4%) expressed that the wage rate to work for five to six hours in a day or half day work was just Rs.250 for men and Rs.200 for women at the place of destination and nobody was working at such a wage rate at the destination site. The minimum wage at the place of destination started at Rs. 300 per day and the proportion of migrants working there was 30.1 per cent (Table 6.11). The wage rate at the destination was more than Rs. 500 per day for 22.3 per cent of the migrants. Such wage rate was mostly available for the Gulf migrants. The daily wage rates for men and women were relatively lower than the Kadapa and Chittoor districts.

Table 6.11: Per-Day Wage Rate in Village and Destination

Mandal	Per Day Wage Rate (in Rs.)										Total	
	Up to 250	251-300		301-400		401-500		501-700		701+		
	N	N	D	N	D	N	D	N	D	N		D
Atlur	43(49.4)	39(44.8)	14(16.1)	5(05.7)	19(21.8)	0	19(21.8)	0	16(18.4)	0	19(21.8)	87
T Sundupalle	41(36.9)	47(42.3)	5(04.5)	21(18.9)	14(12.6)	2(01.8)	20(18.0)	0	54(48.6)	0	18(16.2)	111
Chapada	2(1.0)	0	1(05.0)	0	1(05.0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Irala	4(50.0)	2(25.0)	3(37.5)	2(25.0)	3(37.5)	0	2(25.0)	0	0	0	0	8
Satyavedu	2(50.0)	2(50.0)	0	0	3(75.0)	0	1(25.0)	0	0	0	0	4
Thambalapalli	69(58.5)	42(35.6)	42(35.6)	6(05.1)	30(25.4)	1(00.8)	18(15.3)	0	18(15.3)	0	10(08.5)	118
Nallamada	112(88.1)	11(08.7)	59(46.5)	3(02.4)	39(30.7)	1(00.8)	22(17.3)	0	6(04.7)	0	1(00.8)	127
Gummagatta	149(80.1)	30(16.1)	63(33.9)	5(02.7)	56(30.1)	2(01.1)	43(23.1)	0	21(11.3)	0	3(01.6)	186
Vajrakarur	115(95.8)	2(01.7)	43(35.8)	3(02.5)	37(30.8)	0	37(30.8)	0	3(02.5)	0	0	120
Total	537(70.4)	175(23.0)	230(30.1)	45(05.9)	202(26.5)	6(00.8)	162(21.2)	0	118(15.5)	0	51(06.7)	763

Note: N= Native Place; D- Destination

Source: Field Survey

The Vaddera community labour shared that they used to get Rs.1000 to Rs.1500 per day for both wife and husband. They had earned even up to Rs. 2000 per day on some occasions in the past. It all depended on the soil's hardness, type of work and the piece rate negotiated with the work provider and the rate given by the contractor. The piece rate varied from place to place and also the type of work. The main worry of the labour was that the work would not be available on a regular basis. They had to move from place to place in search of work. Sometimes, the work got

completed within a week and they needed to move to another place for work. They had to spare their labour time for construction of temporary sheds and arrangements for water and electricity, depending on the feasibility in the area. Sometimes, they had to live without electricity too. The expenditure incurred on transport of labour and their belongings depended on the mutual agreement between the contractor and the labour. The other serious issue was that they were forced to stay idle if the contractor could not find them work. Sometimes the idle period varied from 10 to 20 days. In this period, their savings would get exhausted. In spite of all the limitations, they stayed at the place of destination for six months at a stretch if they had no health problems or had no social functions like marriage or death of a close relative to attend. Sometimes they returned in the middle too, depending on the travel cost and idle period.

Average Size of Income Generated from Local Sources and from Migration

The annual average income generated by the migrant households was Rs. 241,067 and by the non-migrant households it was only Rs. 98,537. It shows that average income of migrant households was more than twice that of non-migrant households. The migrants enjoyed a double advantage in that they could generate income not only at their native place but also at the destination site. There were wider variations in the average income among districts (Table 6.12). This is due to variation in the nature work at the destination, skill levels, duration of migration and place of destination.

Table 6.12: District-Wise Average Income for Migrants and Non-Migrants

District	Migration Status	Sample	Average Income at the Native Place	Average Income at the Destination	Total Income	Average Income Per-migrant Member
Kadapa	Migrants	163	67108(25.5)	196298(74.5)	263406(100)	159383
	Non-Migrants	107	94487(100)	0	94487(100)	0
	Total	270	77958(39.7)	196298(60.3)	196464(100)	0
Chittoor	Migrants	61	79598(27.1)	213904(72.9)	293503(100)	102713
	Non-Migrants	215	95846(100)	0	95846(100)	0
	Total	276	92255(66.1)	213904(33.9)	139531(100)	0
Anantapur	Migrants	220	66730(31.8)	143246(68.2)	209976(100)	
	Non-Migrants	64	114346(100)	0	114346(100)	74845
	Total	284	77461(41.1)	143246(58.9)	188426(100)	
Total	Migrants	444	68637(28.5)	172430(71.5)	241067(100)	101458
	Non-Migrants	386	98537(100)	0	98537(100)	
	Total	830	82542(47.2)	172430(52.8)	174782(100)	

Source: Field Survey

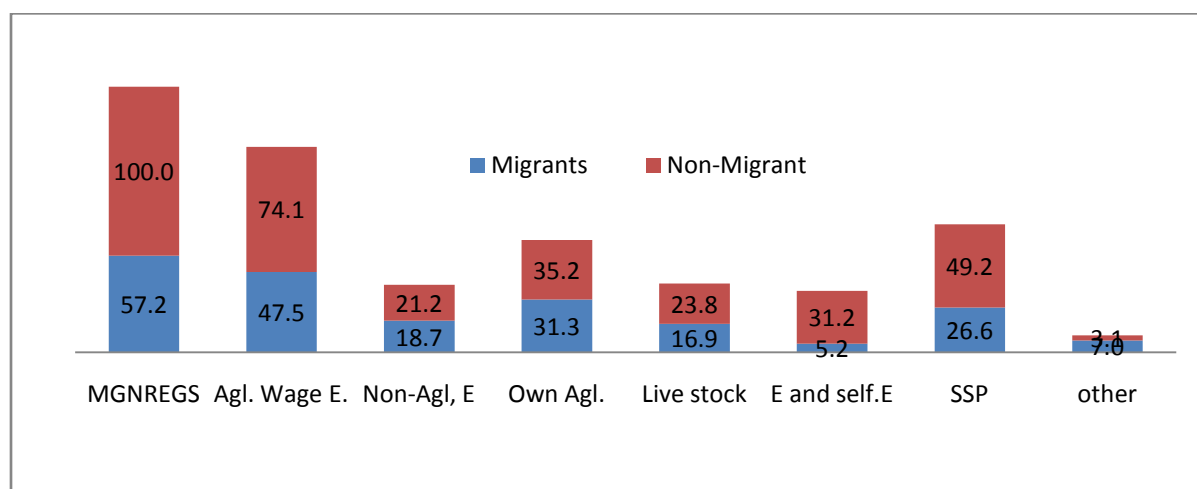
The average income among the non-migrants was just Rs. 98,537 in all the districts taken together and the variations were not much among the districts when compared to the variations among the migrants. It was a little higher in Anantapur (Rs. 114,346) compared to Chittoor (Rs.95,846) and Kadapa (Rs. 94,487). It shows that the average income among the non-migrants was one-third as that of the migrants in Chittoor while it was more than a half in Kadapa district and close to half in Anantapur.

The variation in income among the migrants was mainly due to the number of working members in the family that worked at the place of destination. According to per migrant person, it was relatively higher in Kadapa (Rs.159,383) compared to Chittoor (Rs.102,713) and Anantapur (Rs.74,845). The average income was higher in Kadapa due to the fact that the majority of the migrants had been working in Gulf countries while the income was low in Anantapur mainly due to the fact that the migrants mostly worked as wage labour at the destination.

Dependency of Households on Different Activities for livelihood in Native Place

Households were pooling income from different occupations for livelihood. It was observed that all the non-migrant households had worked or availed the benefits under MGNREGS while it was only 57.2 per cent of the migrants were worked or availed under MGNREGS. Among the migrants, half of the households were not even possessed job cards and others have job cards but not worked due to migration. The important activity for large number households was wage employment in agriculture where the dependency of non-migrants was 74.1 per cent and it was much less in the case of migrants (47.5 %). This was followed by own agriculture which was 35.2 per cent for non-migrants and 31.3 per cent for migrants. Fixed tenure employment and self employment was 31.2 per cent among non-migrants and it was only 5.2 per cent for migrants where they have such activity in the destination. Livestock income was available for 23.8 per cent of the non migrants and it was for 16.9 per cent of the migrants (Annexure 6.3).

Figure 6.3: Dependency of Households on Different Activities for Livelihood in Native Place



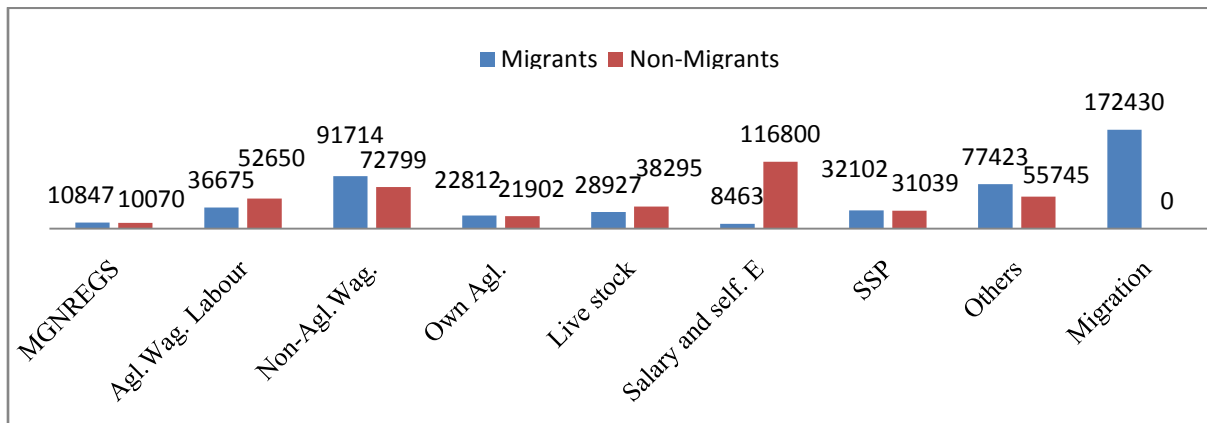
Average Income from Different Sources at the Native Place

A majority of the families, both migrant and non-migrant, had been depending on different sources of income at the native place. Among all the sources, the average income from fixed tenure (salary) and self-employment activity was quite substantial (Rs. 99,733) for the non-migrants. Such income was relatively higher at the place of destination for the migrants than the income of the non-migrants at the native place. The next in the order of higher average income was in non-agriculture wage employment, which was Rs.82,314 among all households and it was relatively higher among the migrants (Rs. 91,714) than non-migrants (Rs. 72,799). This was followed by wage labour in agriculture (Rs. 45,881) for all households and it was relatively higher among non-migrants (Rs.52650) than migrants (Rs. 36,675).

Livestock income was Rs. 34,088 for all households and it was higher among non-migrants (Rs. 38,295) than migrants (Rs. 28,927). The income from Social Security Pensions (SSP) was Rs.31,446 for all households and there was not much difference between migrants and non-migrants. Own agriculture was Rs. 22,362for all and there was not much difference between migrants and non-migrants. Finally, the average income was the lowest for MGNREGS among all activities—it wasRs.10,378 for all households and there was not much difference between migrants and non-migrants. For details with regard to district-wise and activity-wise variation in average incomes, see Annexure 6.4. The average income from migration was quite substantial in the total income and the MGNREGS could not match it. Thus, the majority of the households

had migrated, mainly to earn higher income to live a comfortable life rather than just for food security.

Figure 6.4: Average Income from Different Sources



The proportion of migration income in the total income of the migrants was 71.5 per cent and the remaining proportion of the income (28.5 per cent) was generated from different sources at their native place either by them or by their family members. The proportion of income from destination and native sources was also around the same among all the study districts. It shows that migration income was quite substantial for their family livelihood.

In the case of non-migrants, the proportion of income from salary and self-employment was 27.4 per cent in the total. It varied from 19.0 per cent to 33.2 per cent among the districts. This was followed by agriculture wage income (28.8 %), which was 21.7 per cent in Chittoor, 31.2 per cent in Anantapur and 44.7 per cent in Kadapa district. Non-agriculture wage employment for the non-migrants varied between 7.6 per cent and 13.0 per cent among the districts; social security pensions was close to 10 per cent of the total income; and it was less than 5 per cent of the total income for each of the remaining sources such as MGNREGS, own agriculture, livestock income and other sources. However, the contribution of MGNREGS income was more than 7 per cent in the total income of the non-migrants, which was better than own agriculture, livestock income, and other sources (Table 6.13).

Table 6.13: Proportion of Income Generated by Migrants and Non-Migrants from Different Sources

District	Migration Status	MGNR EGS	Agr. Wage	Non-Agr. Wag.	Own Agr.	Live stock	Salary and Self-employment	SSP	Others	All Local Sources	Migration	Total
Kadapa	Mig.	2.8	7.7	5.6	2.4	2.1	.5	3.2	.2	24.4	75.6	100.0
	Non-Mig.	7.0	44.7	7.6	5.0	4.4	19.3	11.1	0.8	100.0	.0	100.0
	Total	3.7	16.2	6.1	3.0	2.6	4.8	5.0	0.4	41.7	58.3	100.0
Chittoor	Mig.	2.6	6.8	6.1	3.3	3.6	.0	3.3	1.0	26.7	73.3	100.0
	Non-Mig.	7.3	21.7	13.0	5.8	5.8	33.2	11.4	1.8	100.0	.0	100.0
	Total	5.6	16.2	10.4	4.9	5.0	20.9	8.4	1.5	72.8	27.2	100.0
Anantapur	Mig.	2.4	7.0	8.8	3.3	1.3	.0	3.9	4.5	31.3	68.7	100.0
	Non-Mig.	8.3	31.2	11.2	6.2	13.1	19.0	10.9	.2	100.0	.0	100.0
	Total	3.3	10.9	9.2	3.8	3.2	3.1	5.1	3.8	42.4	57.6	100.0
Total	Mig.	2.6	7.2	7.1	3.0	2.0	.2	3.5	2.1	27.8	72.2	100.0
	Non-Mig.	7.4	28.8	11.4	5.7	6.7	27.4	11.3	1.3	100.0	.0	100.0
	Total	4.2	14.3	8.5	3.9	3.6	9.1	6.1	2.0	51.5	48.5	100.0

Source: Field Survey

The more important contribution of MGNREGS was that it provided employment opportunities to a large number of households. It was observed that the wage employment in agriculture was not a source of income for many households, but MGNREGS was one of the important sources of income for them. Even the activities such as own agriculture, livestock, non-farm employment, SSP, and salary and self-employments provided very limited income to a number of households as compared to MGNREGS.

Level of Poverty in Migrant and Non-migrant Households

Monthly Per Capita Expenditure (MPCE) is a better estimate of poverty and standard of living of the family. The pattern of MPCE is linked to size of income, savings, assets owned, and credit mobilizing capacity. There are families which spend more than the income earned, a spending which is mobilized from savings, loans and disposal of assets. The available data as of now on poverty line and ratios of poverty for the country and the states is the Tendulkar Committee estimate of 2011-12. According to this, a Monthly Per capita Consumption Expenditure (MPCE) of Rs. 860 in rural areas and Rs.1009 in urban areas is treated as the poverty line for the erstwhile Andhra Pradesh. Critics argue that the Tendulkar line was too low to allow even above-subsistence-level of existence and it would be helpful to pull people up from destitution levels, if economic policies are properly targeted and executed¹. The Planning Commission had

¹ Arvind Panagariya (2013) "Leave Tendulkar poverty line alone", Times of India, February,9 (<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/edit-page/Leave-Tendulkar-poverty-line-alone/articleshow/18405192.cms>).

appointed the Rangarajan Committee² for defining the poverty line considering the variations in consumer price of food and non-food items. According to this, MPCE of Rs. 1060 in rural areas and Rs. 1410 in urban areas were treated as the poverty line. But the critical argument is that the Rangarajan committee estimate of poverty line was just Rs.200 to Rs.300 higher than the Tendulkar committee estimate, which was also not sufficient for securing the well-being of the family.

It was observed from the study that the household MPCE was less than Rs. 1060 in 5.0 per cent of the total sample households. Their proportion was 5.0 per cent among non-migrants and 5.2 per cent among migrants. It shows that 5 per cent of the households were living below the poverty line, based on the Rangarajan Committee estimate of poverty. However, there was much variation among the districts—it was 10 per cent in Kadapa but it was much lower in Chittoor (2.6 %) and Anantapur (2.9 %) and there was not much variation in the level of poverty between migrants and non-migrants among the districts (Table 6.14). Any enhancement in the definition of poverty line based on the consumer price index for recent years, would make the poverty levels swell. There were 14.1 per cent households in the total with MPCE between Rs. 1061 and Rs.1500; their proportion was 15.1 per cent among migrants and 12.9 per cent among non-migrants. They were on the verge of poverty, if the poverty line was revised for recent years based on the consumer price index.

² Planning Commission(2014)“Report of the Expert group to Review the Methodology for Measurement of Poverty”, (Ranga Rajan Committee Report), Government of India, New Delhi.

Table 6.14: District-Wise MPCE of Migrant and Non-Migrant Households

District		Per capita Monthly Consumption of the Households								Total
		Less than 960	961-1060	1061-1500	1501-2000	2001-3000	3001-4000	4001-5000	Above 5000	
Kadapa	Migrants	14 (8.6)	2 (1.2)	29 (17.8)	39 (23.9)	48 (29.4)	17 (10.4)	8 (4.9)	6 (3.7)	163 (100)
	Non-Mig.	8 (7.5)	3 (2.8)	20 (18.7)	18 (16.8)	31 (29.0)	18 (16.8)	5 (4.7)	4 (3.7)	107 (100)
	Total	22 (8.1)	5 (1.9)	49 (18.1)	57 (21.1)	79 (29.3)	35 (13.0)	13 (4.8)	10 (3.7)	270 (100)
Chittoor	Migrants	1 (1.7)	0	4 (6.7)	6 (10.0)	23 (38.3)	14 (23.3)	5 (8.3)	7 (11.7)	60 (100)
	Non-Mig.	5 (2.3)	1 (0.5)	23 (10.6)	48 (22.2)	85 (39.4)	36 (16.7)	8 (3.7)	10 (4.6)	216 (100)
	Total	6 (2.2)	1 (0.4)	27 (9.8)	54 (19.6)	108 (39.1)	50 (18.1)	13 (4.7)	17 (6.2)	276 (100)
Anantapur	Migrants	3(1.4)	3 (1.4)	34 (15.5)	58 (26.4)	82 (37.3)	27 (12.3)	8 (3.6)	5(2.3)	220 (100)
	Non-Mig.	0	2(3.1)	7 (10.9)	18 (28.1)	30 (46.9)	4 (6.3)	2 (3.1)	1 (1.6)	64 (100)
	Total	3 (1.1)	5 (1.8)	41 (14.4)	76 (26.8)	112 (39.4)	31 (10.9)	10 (3.5)	6 (2.1)	284 (100)
Total	Migrants	18 (4.1)	5 (1.1)	67 (15.1)	103 (23.3)	153 (34.5)	58 (13.1)	21 (4.7)	18 (4.1)	443 (100)
	Non-Mig.	13 (3.4)	6 (1.6)	50 (12.9)	84 (21.7)	146 (37.7)	58 (15.0)	15 (3.9)	15 (3.9)	387 (100)
	Total	31 (3.7)	11 (1.3)	117 (14.1)	187 (22.5)	299 (36.0)	116 (14.0)	36 (4.3)	33 (4.0)	830 (100)

Source: Field Survey

A majority of the households (58.5%) were in the MPCE range between Rs.1501 and Rs. 3000 and there were wide variations among the districts and also between migrants and non-migrants. Households with MPCE above Rs. 3000 were 22.3 per cent in the total households, their proportion being relatively higher in Chittoor (28.9%) but much lower in Anantapur (16.0%). The expenditure pattern of the family gives a broad picture of the trends in the living pattern of the households and it varied within the districts, mandals, GPs and also among the social groups, depending on the socio-economic background and savings habits of the households.

Acquirement of New Skills and Contacts for Better Livelihood due to Migration

Migration benefited many households by enhancing the acquirement of new skills and new contacts for livelihood improvement. Such improvement was reported by more than 60 per cent of the households, though it varied among the mandals (Table 6.15). The migration was concentrated in certain pockets mainly due to public relations, information sharing and acquirement of new skills among them. The migrant households' efforts to improve their asset levels in terms of purchase of house sites in urban areas and agriculture lands, and remittance to their family members for children's education and improvements in household items had a demonstration effect on their relatives and also on the other villagers. This demonstration effect among the households was possible because migration was more concentrated among relatives

and occurred in certain pockets as gleaned from the focus group discussions conducted in the villages.

Table 6.15: Contribution of Migration for Acquirement of New Skills and Contacts for Better Livelihood

Gram Panchayat	New Skill for Better Livelihood		New Contact for Better Livelihood		Total
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	
Atloor	44	58.7	41	54.7	75(100)
T. Sundupalle	61	70.9	49	57.0	86(100)
Chapadu	2	100.0	2	100.0	2(100)
Kadapa	107	65.6	92	56.4	163(100)
Irala	5	83.3	5	83.3	6(100)
Satyavedu	3	75.0	3	75.0	4(100)
Thamballapalle	34	66.7	31	60.8	51(100)
Chittoor	42	68.9	39	63.9	61(100)
Nallamada	42	64.6	40	61.5	65(100)
Gummigatta	71	75.5	59	62.8	94(100)
Vajrakarur	41	67.2	37	60.7	61(100)
Anantapur	154	70.0	134	60.9	220(100)
Total	303	68.2	267	60.1	444(100)

Source: Field Survey

Conclusion

Migration is dependent on inter play of several push factors from the native place and pull factors towards destination. In literature on labour migration, the main push factors associated with migration were lack of employment and income, food insecurity, poverty, depletion of natural resources, family catastrophe, loss of assets, and accumulation of debts, life threat due to community rivalry, and gender and social oppression. The pull factors towards destination on the other hand were identified as higher wages and income, skill up-gradation, contacts and public relations, and better social and economic infrastructure in the destination. It was observed in the study that the households' push towards migration was mainly to generate higher income in the destination to clear their debts and to improve savings and investments in majority of the cases and the migration due to distressed condition in terms of food insecurity and poverty were observed in the case of households dependent on seasonal migration, particularly for wage employment in agriculture and construction labour. The households that migrated to use better social infrastructure like health and education in urban areas were very limited. However, the

households migrated with a view to earn more income to provide better and private sector education to their children was evident, particularly in gulf migrants.

Migration contributed significant income for livelihood improvement of the poor. The implementation of MGNREGS, food security under PDS, social security measures and subsidy schemes for poverty alleviation did not stop people from migrating. The extent of income generation from all the government support measures and all own income sources at the native place was much less than the income generated at the destination. The income from MGNREGS was a significant source for the non-migrants for a substantially large number of households. The most important thing was that the wage employment under MGNREGS was provided during the lean seasons of agriculture. There were many households that did not participate in wage employment in agriculture, but participated in MGNREGS which shows its importance.

Annexure 6.1: Occupation at the Native Village and at the Destination Site

Mandal	Nature of Work												Wage Labour in Earth work		Total
	Agriculture		Agriculture Labour		Wage Labour in Construction Activity		Wage Labour in Factory Work		Salary Employee		Self-Employed in Non-Farm Activity				
	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	
Atlur	12 (13.8)	2 (2.3)	57 (65.5)	1 (1.1)	12 (13.8)	38 (43.7)	3 (3.4)	8 (9.2)	1 (1.1)	32 (36.8)	2 (2.3)	6 (6.9)	0	0	87 (100)
T Sundupalle	8 (7.2)	1 (0.9)	76 (68.5)	2 (1.8)	12 (10.8)	22 (19.8)	0	11 (9.9)	7 (6.3)	71 (64.0)	8 (7.2)	4 (3.6)	0	0	111 (100)
Chapada	0	0	0	0	1 (0.5)	0	1 (0.5)	0	0	1 (0.5)	0	1 (0.5)	0	0	2 (100)
Irala	2 (0.3)	0	2 (0.25)	0	2 (0.3)	2 (0.25)	0	0	1 (0.1)	4 (0.5)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	0	1 (0.1)	8 (100)
Satyavedu	1 (0.3)	0	1 (0.25)	0	1 (0.3)	0	0	2 (0.5)	0	1 (0.2)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.3)	0	0	4 (100)
Thamballapalli	35 (29.7)	3 (2.5)	59 (50.0)	0	5 (4.3)	37 (31.4)	8 (6.8)	24 (20.3)	8 (6.8)	44 (37.3)	3 (2.5)	7 (5.9)	0	3 (2.5)	118 (100)
Nallamada	23 (18.1)	2 (1.6)	79 (62.2)	7 (5.5)	12 (9.4)	47 (37.0)	2 (1.6)	21 (16.5)	3 (2.4)	30 (23.6)	8 (6.3)	18 (14.2)	0	2 (1.6)	127 (100)
Gummagatta	19 (10.2)	3 (1.6)	48 (25.8)	9 (4.8)	40 (21.5)	80 (43.0)	14 (7.5)	6 (03.2)	1 (0.5)	11 (05.9)	3 (1.6)	8 (4.3)	61 (32.8)	69 (37.0)	186
Vajrakarur	35 (29.2)	12 (1.0)	70 (58.3)	61 (50.8)	7 (5.3)	38 (31.7)	8 (6.7)	0	0	4 (03.3)	0	3 (3.3)	0	2 (1.7)	120 (100)
Total	135 (17.7)	23 (3.1)	392 (51.4)	80 (10.5)	92 (12.1)	264 (34.6)	36 (4.7)	72 (9.4)	21 (2.8)	198 (26.0)	26 (3.4)	49 (6.4)	61 (8.0)	77 (10.1)	763 (100)

Annexure 6.2: District-Wise Incidence of Problems Prompting Migration

Reasons	Migrant Status	Kadapa		Chittoor		Anantapur	
		Adverse Impact on Livelihood	Prompted to Migrate	Adverse Impact on Livelihood	Prompted to Migrate	Adverse Impact on Livelihood	Prompted to Migrate
Acute Health Problem	Migrants	34	32	7	2	38	31
	Non-Mig.	35	0	69	0	18	0
	Total	69	32	76	2	56	31
Drought / Floods / Cyclone	Migrants	53	45	27	23	75	72
	Non-Mig.	17	1	57	1	24	3
	Total	70	46	84	24	99	75
Crop Loss	Migrants	49	43	33	30	77	64
	Non-Mig.	20	2	64	2	33	1
	Total	69	45	97	32	110	65
Loss of Assets	Migrants	17	15	7	6	15	14
	Non-Mig.	5	1	7	0	10	0
	Total	22	16	14	6	25	14
Loss of Earnings	Migrants	5	5	0	0	4	3
	Non-Mig.	1	0	7	0	0	0
	Total	6	5	7	0	4	3
Others	Migrants	30	30	3	3	6	6
	Non-Mig.	2	2	1	0	1	0
	Total	32	32	4	3	7	6
Sample	Migrants	163	163	61	61	220	220
	Non-Mig.	107	107	215	215	64	64
	Total	270	270	276	276	284	284

Annexure 6.3: Proportion of Households depending on Different Activities in the Native Place

District	Migration Status	MGNR EGS	Agr. Wage	Non-Agr. Wage	Own Agr.	Live stock	Salary and Self-Epl.	SSP	Others
Kadapa	Mig.	68.7	58.3	23.3	28.8	24.5	14.1	23.3	2.5
	Non-Mig.	100.0	88.8	15.9	29.9	15.0	24.3	43.0	2.8
	Total	81.1	70.4	20.4	29.3	20.7	18.1	31.1	2.6
Chittoor	Mig.	59.0	39.3	16.4	44.3	19.7	0.0	26.2	1.6
	Non-Mig.	100.0	62.3	24.7	34.4	24.7	34.9	52.1	3.7
	Total	90.9	57.2	22.8	36.6	23.6	27.2	46.4	3.3
Anantapur	Mig.	48.2	41.8	15.9	29.5	10.5	0.0	29.1	11.8
	Non-Mig.	100.0	90.6	18.8	46.9	35.9	34.4	50.0	1.6
	Total	59.9	52.8	16.5	33.5	16.2	7.7	33.8	9.5
Total	Mig.	57.2	47.5	18.7	31.3	16.9	5.2	26.6	7.0
	Non-Mig.	100.0	74.4	21.2	35.2	23.8	31.9	49.2	3.1
	Total	77.1	60.0	19.9	33.1	20.1	17.6	37.1	5.2

Annexure 6.4: District-Wise Average Income in Different Activities for Migrants and Non-Migrants

District	Migration Status	MGNR EGS	Agr. Wage	Non-Agr. Wage	Own Agr.	Live stock	Salary and Self-Epl.	SSP	Others	Migrants	All Local Sources
Kadapa	Mig.	10431	34195	62120	21413	21943	8463	35579	21150	196298	258708
	Non-Mig.	8233	59021	56353	19401	34813	93262	30152	33133		117149
	Total	9357	46608	60337	20598	25620	53458	32607	26286	196298	280109
Chittoor	Mig.	13234	51344	110450	22278	55068		37500	180000	213904	298494
	Non-Mig.	10504	49919	75415	24287	33719	136395	31460	69318		143425
	Total	10895	50135	80976	23750	37660	136395	32215	81616	213904	348215
Anantapur	Mig.	10475	35409	118491	24046	27435		28688	82135	143246	213017
	Non-Mig.	11683	48524	84542	18685	51261	77818	30844	15000		141096
	Total	10930	40480	109823	22353	39348	77818	29406	79648	143246	229776
Total	Mig.	10847	36675	91714	22812	28927	8463	32102	77423	172430	241535
	Non-Mig.	10070	52650	72799	21902	38295	116800	31039	55745		135755
	Total	10378	45881	82314	22362	34088	99733	31446	71373	172430	273425

Chapter 7

SUMMARY AND FINDINGS

Introduction

The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) is projected as a rights based social security scheme for poor depending on wage employment. In the drought year 2018-19, the provision of 150 days of employment for each job card holder at the mandated wage rate (Rs. 206 per day) was expected to provide them an amount of Rs. 31,200. The provision was deemed reasonably effective to arrest migration and to aid in livelihood improvement of the poor, provided the scheme was properly implemented and utilized by the poor households. Though MGNREGS is self-targeting, the question is whether the poor households are able to get the assured volume of employment, payment of mandated wages on time, apart from other entitlements for workers. Any incompatibility between demand and supply factors results in incidence of migration. The study is undertaken to assess the supply and demand side factors and their interplay with work, and the determinants of migration especially distress migration, among the workers in the villages. The proposed objectives of the study were as follows:

Objectives of the Study

1. To review and assess the impact of MGNREGS on the process, pattern and level of migration across the state of Andhra Pradesh,
2. To examine the impact of MGNREGS on reducing distress migration from rural to urban areas,
3. To assess the extent to which the scheme has helped in creating employment opportunities,
4. To identify the reasons for disinterest in MGNREGS for the migrating families and
5. To suggest measures for better targeting of the vulnerable households so as to arrest migration in the state.

Methodology

The study was mainly based on primary and secondary data. The primary data was collected through two sets of interview schedules that were to be canvassed by: household and field assistant. Apart from this, a checklist was used for collection of data and qualitative information from Panchayat Secretary, mates of Shrama Shakiti Sangas (SSS) or group leaders and technical assistants. In order to assess the direct and indirect benefits of MGNREGA, data was collected from 830 households — 444 migrants households and 386 non-migrants households in 27 Gram Panchayats across nine mandals in three Rayalaseema districts of Andhra Pradesh. The mandals and GPs selected based on the criteria of migration intensity; and low, medium and high participation in terms of average days of employment provided under MGNREGS.

Trends in Performance of MGNREGS in Andhra Pradesh and GPs under Study

The state of Andhra Pradesh has been the front runner in the country in the implementation of MGNREGS. The cumulative number of job cards issued in the state was 89.43 lakh households and the number of members registered for work was 1.79 crore, up to March 2020. It means, on an average, two members had been registered in each job card. However, the participation of job card households in work had peaked at 56 per cent in 2008-09 and it had declined to 43 per cent in the year 2019-20. In terms of individual members, it had peaked at 46 per cent in 2011 and had declined to 36 per cent in 2019-20. Employment provided in terms of average days for a year had also declined to 50 days in 2019-20 from its peak (66 days) in 2011-12. In spite of the enhancement of the provision from 100 to 150 days of employment in 2018-19 as a drought relief measure, the annual average employment provided had been only 58 days. It shows that labour participation rate in MGNREGS did not increase at the same rate as the growth of job cards issued.

The cumulative number of job cards issued in the 27 sample Gram Panchayats (GP) under study was 13,904 households up to March 2019 and the enrolment in all the job cards was 25,930 members. The participation rate in terms of households was 59.86 per cent (7808 job cards) and 52.84 per cent (12,874 members) in terms of individual members. It shows that the participation rate in terms of job card households and individual members was relatively better than the state

average. However, about 40 per cent of the job card households and about 47 per cent of the enrolled members did not participate in the MGNREGS works.

The secondary data shows that the incidence of migration was quite high in three to four GPs where the average employment was also substantially high (about 100 days). It shows that there was a positive association between participation and intensity of migration. This trend was particularly observed in the GPs where the area was exposed to severe drought as a regular feature and whose irrigation potential was also low. On the other hand, the intensity of migration was nil or very low in the three GPs in which the participation rate in MGNREGS was also low and where a negative association was found between participation and migration. However, the area was relatively better off in terms of irrigation potential and employment opportunities in agriculture. Meanwhile, there was no migration even if employment provided by MGNREGS was much lower in a few GPs where agriculture employment was also limited, but the non-farm sector employment was relatively better off. Thus, migration was not only dependent on provision of employment under MGNREGS, but also dependent on many other factors such as irrigation, rainfall and availability of farm and non-farm sector employment.

Influence of Socio-Economic Factors on Work Participation and Migration

This section is based on the primary data collected from sample households. The profile of the 830 sample households indicated that all the households, with the exception of four, had ration cards to claim provisions of the Public Distribution System (PDS). It means that 99.5 per cent of the sample households were under the category of Below Poverty Line (BPL). About 37 per cent households had been claiming Social Security Pensions (SSP). The proportion of migrants among the STs and BCs was relatively higher than non-migrants in the same category, while the proportion of non-migrants among SCs and OCs was higher than migrants among them. Thus social background was not the influencing factor for migration.

Higher education (graduation and post-graduation) was seen as a factor that played a vital role in upward social mobility, migration and participation in productive employment opportunities. But the category of non-literates and those educated up to the primary level accounted for about half of the total migrants in the total and it varies among the districts. The migration at higher level of education varies among districts between migrants and non-migrants. There was no clear relation

between education and migration among households in general, but the literacy levels were relatively lower among the migrants depending on wage labour in agriculture and construction activity and it was secondary and above secondary level in the case of households dependent on fixed tenure income (salary) and non-farm sector employment.

The data shows that 41.1 per cent of the households were landless and the remaining (58.9%) had access to own land. The data shows that landlessness was quite substantial among non-migrants of SC and STs than the migrants while the landless were relatively higher among migrants than the non-migrants in the case of OCs and BCs. It indicates that landlessness was not considered as one of the factors of migration among the SCs and STs, while it was considered as one of the factors in the case of BCs and OCs. The migration intensity in terms of proportion was much lower among the BCs and OCs than among the SCs and STs. Migration was observed equally in households with access to own land and also land with or without irrigation.

The labour participation in MGNREGS was relatively higher among the landholding households than the landless ones. The participation of households was as high as 50 per cent among households which possessed land of more than 5 acres. Their proportion was 39.4 per cent among the households which possessed land of 2.50 to 5 acres and 36.4 per cent among the households which possessed land less than 2.50 acres (marginal farmers); and it was only 26.8 per cent among the landless. The households possessing land depended more on MGNREGS during lean seasons which was an incentive for them to stay back in the village while the landless and marginal farmers had to choose either other employment opportunities or migration.

The participation rate in MGNREGS works varied from 10 per cent to 80 per cent among the GPs. Among the low and non-participants, the majority of the job card holders had their own engagement in farm and non-farm activities, regular and skilled activity as they were earning a better income from fixed tenure income (salary), self-employment and wage employment in terms of per-day wage rate while the remaining job card holders depended on out migration. The participation in MGNREGS work and out migration was not dependent on social category, landlessness, access to own land and level of education.

Extent of Employment Generated under MGNREGS

Out of the sample, 190 migrant households had not worked under MGNREGS in the year 2018-19. Their proportion was 22.9 per cent in the total sample and it was 42.8 per cent in the migrants. The other important feature of them was that majority of them were not even possessed with job card, but they have BPL ration card. Lack of job card is not the causative factor for migration as they were not inclined to take job card. The inherent reason was to generate higher income from migration in the destination. Among them, majority were permanent migrants. The social group wise non-participant migrants were quite higher among the OCs (55.7%) and BCs (51.3%) than SCs (36.2%) and STs (16.2%).

Among the households which participated in MGNREGS, the employment provided was less than 50 days in 37.0 per cent of the households, with 45.3 per cent among non-migrants and 28.3 per cent among migrants. Provision of less than 50 days employment did not have much of an impact on the improvement of livelihood of the poor. The employment generation was 76 days to 100 days in 26.1 per cent of the households, which is fairly good if the entitlement was 100 days. In the year 2018-19, the entitlement was increased to 150 days and the proportion of households which generated above 100 days of employment was only 15.2 per cent, of which 15.3 per cent were non-migrant and 15.0 per cent were migrant households. Such households were relatively higher among OCs (21.1%), which was 18.0 per cent among BCs, 10.7 per cent among SCs and 10.9% among STs). Thus, MGNREGS was relatively higher utilisation among OCs and BCs than SCs and STs.

Extent of Income Earned by Households under MGNREGS

The main objective of the implementation of MGNREGS was to accrue direct benefits of income to the poor through provision of wage employment. The average income generated for the participant households was Rs. 10,500 per annum and it was relatively higher in Anantapur (Rs.11,132) compared to Chittoor (Rs. 10,788) and Kadapa (Rs. 9689) district. The average income was higher among non-migrants than migrants in Anantapur district while it was higher among the migrants than non-migrants in both Chittoor and Kadapa districts. Thus, MGNREGS has proved to be a very important source of income for the poor of both migrant and non-migrant households.

The proportion of households which earned more than Rs. 10,000 from MGNREGS was higher among the open category (41.3%) followed by BCs (34.3%), SCs (31.3%) and STs (27.7%). It means that the SCs and STs depended more on wage employment in agriculture and other activities including migration while the OCs and BCs depended on agriculture and allied activities and also wage employment under MGNREGS. Though the participation and size of income was lower among the SCs and STs, it was very critical for their livelihood in times of need, particularly in the lean agricultural seasons as they could not afford to remain idle.

Impact of MGNREGS on the Livelihood of the Households

The impact of MGNREGS on household well-being was measured based on the perceptions of the households on a three-point scale—high, low and no impact—with regard to additional income and food security, land development, improvement in irrigation potential, credit access, health care, children’s education and repayment of debts. The indirect impact of MGNREGS that had a potential to improve the well-being of the poor included the increased wages and employment opportunities in agriculture and allied activities, equal wages for men and women, and availability of community facilities. About 140 households did not reveal their perception of the impact due to non-participation in MGNREGS work.

The perceptions indicate that the majority of the participant households (73.6%) had substantially achieved food security due to the implementation of MGNREGS. However, the impact on improvement of food security was relatively higher among non-migrant households (80.3%) than migrant households (66.1%). No impact was expressed by only 2.5 per cent non-migrant and 8.3 per cent migrant households, among those participating in MGNREGS works. The remaining households expressed low positive impact on improvement of food security due to limited employment or income generated from MGNREGS.

The majority of the households opined that MGNREGS has had a positive impact (both higher and lower) on improvement in children’s education and health. The income generated from MGNREGS was very useful for the poor in meeting the emergency needs of the family. The impact was relatively higher among non-migrant households than migrant households. However, about one fifth of the households also expressed that there was no positive impact on

improvement of children's education as they had availed limited days of employment under MGNREGS.

That MGNREGS had a positive impact in reducing distress migration was stated by about one-fourth (25%) of the total households, which was relatively higher among non-migrants than migrants. In the focus group discussions, many households opined that the intensity of migration had declined in the recent years compared to the period before the implementation of the MGNREGS. This might be not only MGNREGS but also cumulative effect other welfare programmes such as PDS, social security pensions, health insurance, housing, and other subsidy schemes that had caused the change.

Half of the sample households (both higher and lower impact) reported that their credit access and repayment capacity had improved due to the MGNREGS. More than half of the households had taken up house construction and repairs due to the assistance received under the convergence of MGNREGS. Among them, a majority of the households also received assistance for construction of Individual Household Sanitary Latrine (IHSL). Having one's own house and other facilities and being engaged in wage employment had led many households to stay back in the village and also claim other benefits from the state.

More than half of the households affirmed that the employment opportunities had improved in rural areas after the introduction of the MGNREGS due to growth of horticulture and dairy activities, which had seen an increase in employment opportunities. Many households had been purchasing feed and fodder for their dairy animals, particularly in the summer season, using the income generated from wage employment under MGNREGS. The construction of check dams, connected to streams, had also increased the scope of improving groundwater potential in a few cases; and with the farm ponds providing support for farmers in irrigation in isolated pockets. All these had an indirect impact on cultivation of irrigated crops using bore wells and this has had a bearing on the growth of employment opportunities in a few cases.

State intervention in the labour market had enhanced the bargaining power of labour such that they could demand a higher wage rate in the initial years of MGNREGS implementation. The wage hike in agriculture was clearly visible due to the implementation of MGNREGS works.

The demand for equal wages had also increased even for other works in agriculture and other activities with similar nature of work for both men and women in the villages. The bargaining power of agricultural labourers had increased due to the availability of alternative employment.

The impact of MGNREGS on improvement of community assets such as rural roads, approach roads to agriculture fields and burial grounds, and improvement in the drainage system was observed by only one-third of the households in all the districts taken together. This was mainly due to the focus on only employment generation rather than building of community assets among the wage labour and implementing machinery as it was felt that these could be taken care of by the funds made available under the Department of Roads & Buildings and Engineering wings.

Usefulness of works taken up under MGNREGS

The most useful works taken up in the study villages were de-siltation of main canals and feeder channels in command areas. No doubt that the check dams and farm ponds would have been also useful in improvement of the groundwater levels if the works had been taken up properly in appropriate locations. There is a dichotomy of opinion among the public about the usefulness of works with regard to some works such as dug out and cattle ponds, staggered and long contour trenches, etc. as the works were taken up mostly on hillocks and rocky structures where there was no agriculture activity in the vicinity. The farmers could not say with strong conviction that the schemes were very useful to them.

The works taken up in the initial years were relatively more useful than the works taken up in the later years as observed at the field level. At the time of the study, the grass root level staff at the GP and mandal was struggling to create a shelf of projects for meeting the labour demand. The job card holders in a majority of the study villages also stated that the works taken up in loose soils had been exhausted and they were now forced to do work on hard soils. The work sites were also available mostly far away from the villages as the government or community lands were not available in the close vicinity of the villages.

The farmers did not accept taking up works in their fields as they feared losing their lands if they took up any works. Thus, the proposed works were mostly located on the hillocks and government lands, if available in the vicinity. But the farmers believed that the works taken up

on the hillocks were not useful to them other than for employment generation. They had demanded works for land development in terms of jungle clearance, bolder removal and stone bunds and silt application as these works had been stopped in all the districts due to the reported misuse of the scheme in the earlier years as revealed in the social audit.

Discouraging Factors in Participation in MGNREGS Works

The micro-level factors that discourage labour participation were identified in terms of status of demand and provision of work; continuity of work, and usefulness of works; grievances about the measurement of work; promptness in payment of wages; and comparative advantage of MGNREGS and agriculture wage rates.

There was demand for work in all the GPs, but the work was not available for the entire year. The data shows that employment was available mostly in the summer season, starting from January and ending by the end of June. Almost 92 per cent of the annual employment provision was made in only five months— February, March, April, May and June—while the other 8 was generated in the remaining 7 months of the year. This was mainly due to the suspension of MGNREGS implementation during the agriculture season. No provision of work or any delay in provision of work or idleness due to lack of work was simply not affordable to the poor. In any such situation, they looked for alternative sources of employment for livelihood security.

The job card holders were expected to submit their demand to the field assistant for work and receive an acknowledgement for the same. But, in practice, the field assistants simply asked for the demand application as and when work order was received in hand and work schedule was finalized. In this, there was demand of employment issue for both job seekers and providers and it happened on just mutual agreement. The job seekers expressed that they neither had any awareness about the claims of compensation nor was there any precedent of payment of compensation for non-provision of wage employment.

The households with two and more members enrolled in the job card could complete their eligibility (100 days) within two months, if work was provided without any interruption. Any delay or interruption in the provision of work led to migration. Such households were quite high in number in Anantapur and parts of Chittoor district. But work was not available on a

regular basis for all the households. The other issue was that the work was not easy or worth doing as less than the mandated wage for the day was paid for some of the works, particularly those involving hard soils.

The labour which depended exclusively on wage employment for livelihood would expect daily wage rate at par with that paid in agriculture. But the mandated wage under MGNREGS was Rs.206 per day in 2018-19 which was lower than that of the agriculture wage in all the districts with the exception of one or two mandals in Anantapur. In a majority of the villages, the wage rate worked out to be less than Rs. 150 per day. This was mainly happening for work on hard soil, limited hours of work participation, lack of coordination and cooperation among the members of the group, and the work participation by mostly women members rather than men. Thus, wage labour could not generate adequate income for livelihood if the workers depended exclusively on MGNREGS. However, the farming community could allocate their time partly to MGNREGS and partly to working in their own fields unlike the landless.

The reasons for the under-utilization of the scheme could be categorized into two factors: supply side and demand side deficiencies. The supply side deficiencies can be further categorized into three types: One, they are available for work, have asked for it, but have not got work. Such people were 18.2 per cent in the sample. Second, they are available for work, but have not asked for it. Such households were 19.1 per cent in the sample. Third, the work had not been available when needed. Such households were 4.6 per cent in the sample. All the three categories of the reasons together constituted about 42 per cent in the sample. The implementing machinery and the institutional mechanism need to address the issue of these supply side deficiencies.

The demand side factors could be broadly categorized into two: discouraging factors and personal reasons. Among them, 21.3 per cent of households had not availed 100 days of employment due to discouraging factors such as low wages (14.6%) and delay in wage payment (6.7%). The remaining households (32.5%) had not availed the scheme due to personal reasons, such as households that had to work in their own field (23.7%), were not interested to work (3.1%), were absent during the time (6.7%) and for other reasons such as old age and health problems (3.3%) All the demand side factors accounted for 58 per cent of low participation in work by the households. MGNREGS wage rates were not on par with agriculture wages, which

is again treated as a supply side deficiency. Thus, both supply side and demand side factors were found to be interdependent in productive use of the scheme.

Factors Influencing Migration

Household migration was dependent on multiple reasons and the reasons were classified broadly into two categories: i) discouraging factors in the implementation of the MGNREGS, and ii) personal reasons which have nothing to do with the scheme. In the category of discouraging factors, the six factors identified were: non-provision of 100 days of employment; denial of work; lower wages; delay in wages; and unable to earn minimum wages. The six personal reasons identified for migration were: demand for more secure work; need to clearing old debts; desire to generating more income; need to meet education needs; need to meeting health expenditure, etc. In all, the five ranks were given out of 12 reasons by 400 (90%) migrant households out of the total. Here, each household gave five ranks in the order of priority out of the 12 reasons. It means, 400 households were supposed to give 2000 ranks (400x5). Generally migration decisions not dependant on single factor it could be many. Collection data with single reason from each household is not appropriate. Hence, five reasons were considered according to order of priority (ranks one to five) for all the households to get appropriate picture of the reasons for migration.

The supply side deficiencies in the provision of employment under MGNREGS were only 35.3 per cent contribution to migration if all the six reasons and all the five ranks were taken into account. It was 22 per cent if the 1st rank reasons were taken into consideration for the six supply side factors. Among the six factors of the supply side deficiencies of MGNREGS, only two factors were found to be more important for consideration. These were: unable to earn minimum wages and not being provided 100 days employment. These two factors taken into consideration in terms of 1st rank, its contribution to migration was found only in 15 per cent of the households.

It was found that migration decisions were influenced more by the personal reasons (64.5%), if all the six factors and all the five ranks were taken together. More specifically, personal reasons contributed in about 78 per cent among the migrants, if one took the 1st rank reasons for all the six factors. Even among the personal reasons, generating more income and clearing their

old debts were the two important reasons that contributed the most to influencing the decision to migrate.

Nature of Work at the Native Place and Destination

The nature of work that the migrants used to do at their native place was mostly agriculture labour (80%), own agriculture, construction labour both skilled and unskilled work in building activity. Thus, the majority of the agriculture labour at the native place migrated to the place of destination to work in many diversified activities, such as wage labour in construction activity, wage labour in factory employment and fixed tenure employment (salary) in establishments and factories. It was found that the wage labour in construction activity was 12.1 per cent at the native place and its proportion increased to 34.6 per cent at the destination. Similarly, fixed tenure employment was found only in 2.8 per cent of the households at the native place but it increased to 26 per cent at the destination. The nature of work done at the destination by the Gulf migrants was four-wheeler drivers, office and households assistants, wage labour in construction and factory work for men, and house maids/helpers at home and office work for women.

The households that depended on traditional occupations, such as being washer man, barber, carpenter, potter, goldsmith, basket maker, etc., had been marginalized in the rural sector due to introduction of technology. They were in the process of migration to urban areas in search of regular employment and income. Apart from these, there was one caste group, Vaddera in Rayalaseema, particularly in Anantapur, which depended on earth work as their traditional occupation. But in recent years, a majority of them have been engaged in the activities associated with cable work for telephones and electric lines, drinking water pipelines, irrigation canal works and earth work for footings of buildings and apartments in the designation.

Stay Period at the Destination Site of Migration

The duration of migration was more than one year in 36 per cent of the total migrants. The proportion of such households was a majority (63.8%) in Kadapa district, it was 45.9 per cent in Chittoor and 12.7 per cent in Anantapur. Among the migrants in Kadapa, the majority were Gulf migrants and the family members continuing to reside in the native village. The households migrating 7 months to 12 months were 16 Per cent and majority of them are in transition to

permanent migration. The households migrating less than 4 months were 26.4 per cent in the total sample and they are mostly seasonal migrants mostly in the months between December and June, depending on availability of work at the native place. Their proportion was relatively higher in Anantapur (41.8%) and their proportion was low in Chittoor (16.4%) and Kadapa(9.2%). There was a mass migration among the Sugali tribe in two GPs of Vajrakarur mandal of Anantapur and the duration was mostly for one to three months in a year between December and February. This type of migration is considered to be distressed as they are going for agriculture work in the destination and the destination wage rate was also not more than Rs. 400 per day. This type of migration could be arrested if the supply side deficiencies are improvised in implementation MGNREGS works.

In the case of Gummigatta mandal, the duration and migration pattern varied among the communities with the Vaddera community staying outside the state throughout the year, depending on the availability of work. They visited the native village twice a year for attending two festivals, one in the month of August and the other in the month of February. The main intention behind migration was to earn income for livelihood improvement of the family by pooling income from all sources. Though a majority of them earned their livelihood at the destination, their families were stationed at the village to claim the benefits of the state.

Income Generated at the Destination Site

The annual average income generated by the migrant households was Rs. 241,067 but it was only Rs. 98,537 among the non-migrants. It shows that migrant household average income was more than twice that of non-migrant households. The share of the destination income was quite substantial (71.5%) in the total income and there was not much variation in the proportion of income in the destination and the proportion of income in the native place among districts. But there are high variations in migrant household incomes among the districts. The variation in the income among migrants was mainly due to the number of working members in the family working at the place of destination. In terms of per migrant person, income was relatively higher in Kadapa (Rs.159,383) compared to Chittoor (Rs.102,713) and Anantapur (Rs. 74,845). Even then, there were wide variations in the average income among migrants due to variation in the nature work at the destination, skill levels, duration of migration and place of destination.

The average income among the non-migrants was just Rs. 98,537 in all the districts together and the variations were not much among the districts when compared to the variations among the migrants. Among all the sources, the average income from fixed tenure (salary) and self-employment activity was quite substantial (Rs. 99,733) for the non-migrants. The next in the order of higher average income was non-agriculture wage employment, which was Rs. 82,314 among all households and it was relatively higher for the migrants (Rs. 91,714) than the non-migrants (Rs. 72,799). This was followed by wage labour in agriculture (Rs. 45,881) for all households and it was relatively higher for non-migrants (Rs.52,650) than migrants (Rs. 36,675); livestock income was Rs. 34,088 for all households and it was higher for non-migrants (Rs. 38,295) than migrants (Rs. 28,927); the income from Social Security Pensions (SSP) was Rs.31,446 for all households and there was not much difference between migrants and non-migrants; own agriculture was Rs. 22,362 for all and there was not much difference between migrants and non-migrants; and among all activities, the average income was lowest for MGNREGS where it was Rs.10,378 for all households and there was not much difference between migrants and non-migrants.

Monthly Per Capita Expenditure (MPCE) is a better estimate of poverty and standard of living of the family. According to the Rangarajan Committee, the poverty line based on MPCE of a family was Rs. 1060 for rural areas and Rs. 1410 for urban areas. The households MPCE was less than Rs. 1060 in 5.0 per cent of the total sample households. Their proportion was 5.0 per cent among non-migrants and 5.2 per cent among migrants. It shows that 5 per cent of the households were living below the poverty line based on the Rangarajan Committee estimate of poverty. However, there was much variation among the districts: it was 10 per cent in Kadapa but was much lower in Chittoor (2.6%) and Anantapur (2.9%). However, there was not much variation in the level of poverty between migrants and non-migrants among the districts. Any enhancement in the definition of poverty line based on the consumer price index for recent years, would make the poverty levels swell. There were 14.1 per cent of households in the total with MPCE between Rs. 1061 and Rs.1500. they are in the verge of poverty. In spite of all efforts in pooling income from different sources including migration still households are living under poverty.

Conclusion

This study was an attempt to analyse the micro-level issues of the poor resulting in lower work participation and under-utilization of the scheme's entitlements, and determining the causative factors for migration in the context of different geographic regions and varied socio-economic backgrounds of the rural poor. Migration contributes significant income for the livelihood improvement of the poor. The implementation of MGNREGS, food security under PDS, social security measures and poverty alleviation schemes did not prevent the labouring poor from migrating. The income generation from all the government support measures and all own income sources together at the native place was much lesser than the income generated at the place of destination. The income from MGNREGS was an important source during lean agriculture seasons for the non-migrants for a substantially large number of households. There were many households that did not participate in wage employment in agriculture, but participated in MGNREGS which underlines its importance for livelihood improvement of the poor.

Migration is dependent on inter play of several push factors from the native place and pull factors towards destination. In literature on labour migration, the main push factors associated with migration were lack of employment and income, food insecurity, poverty, depletion of natural resources, family catastrophe, loss of assets, and accumulation of debts, life threat due to community rivalry, and gender and social oppression. The pull factors towards destination on the other hand were identified as higher wages and income, skill up-gradation, contacts and public relations, and better social and economic infrastructure in the destination. It was observed in the study that the households' push towards migration was mainly to generate higher income in the destination to clear their debts and to improve savings and investments in majority of the cases and the migration due to distressed condition in terms of food insecurity and poverty were observed in the case of households dependent on seasonal migration, particularly for wage employment in agriculture and construction labour. The households that migrated to use better social infrastructure like health and education in urban areas were very limited. However, the households migrated with a view to earn more income to provide better and private sector education to their children was evident, particularly in gulf migrants.

Suggestions

1. The field assistants used to ask for the demand application only when work order was in their hands and work schedule had been finalized and there was just one week left to go the commencement of work. In this, there was no demand issue of employment provision and it was happening on just mutual agreement between job seekers and job providers. The state needs to build the capacities of the job seekers to demand the work for 100 days and other entitlements.
2. The peak season for MGNREGS employment was in the months starting from March to May of every year. There was demand for work in all the GPs, but the work was not available round the year. There was discontinuation in work provision when they are in need as observed from the interactions with mates and job card holders. Thus employment needs to be provided without any interruption for the poor, particularly in times of scarcity of employment during the lean agriculture season.
3. The majority of the job card holders in the study villages also expressed that the works taken up in loose soils had been exhausted and they were now forced to do work on hard soils. They were unable to complete the allotted work as per the stipulation of the working hours to qualify for minimum wage prescribed under MGNREGS. Thus, the piece rate for works needs to be increased as per the rates prescribed for hard soils in order to get remunerative wages. Otherwise, the households exclusively dependent on wage labour would have no option for livelihood other than migration.
4. The labour was supposed get wage payment on a weekly basis. But, it was observed that they had been waiting for more than two months for some of the instalments due to delay in budget release at the state level. Such long delay was not manageable by the poor as they needed to meet their family expenditure on a day-to-day basis. It was found that delay in payment of wages was one of the main reasons for the poor to opt for migration. They shared that the wage payment in agriculture work was mostly on the day of the work and sometimes, they got an advance too. Thus, the wage payment for all instalments of labour needs to be made at least once every fortnight, if not every week.

5. There were a few complaints and grievances in a few study villages with regard to manipulation of muster roles by marking attendance of those who had not attended as noted in the interactions from the job card holders. According to the respondents, the manipulation of muster rolls had allowed greater scope for reduction of per-day wage rate for labour. This could have been made possible only by a collusion between the mate, the field assistant and the technical assistant. Manipulation of muster rolls would affect the participation rate of labour and work performance and create scope for misuse of funds. Thus, adequate care is required to address these issues by the conduct of meetings at villages at periodic intervals.
6. The major works taken up in drought-prone areas were farm and dug out ponds, and staggered and long contour trenches. Most of these works were taken up in government lands and hillocks which were mostly away from agriculture fields. There was no demand from farmers for such works. The farmers pointed out in many villages that these works were useful for employment generation but not useful in improving groundwater level, arresting soil erosion and green vegetation in rural areas. Thus, works taken up need to be checked with the farmers for identification and inclusion in the programme.
7. It is important to note that the farmers would have come forward to take up these works in their own fields if the works taken up under MGNREGS had been really useful to them. But the farmers were not willing to take up works in their own fields in the study villages with the exception of farm ponds in very few cases where they had been taken up to generate employment mainly for their family members and peer group. There were many instances where the farm ponds were closed for cultivation after a social audit. Thus, large-scale motivation is required to persuade farmers to take up works on private lands if the works are to prove really useful to the farmers.
8. It was observed from the interaction with the farmers that there is lot of demand for land development in terms of Jali flora clearance with stump removal, boulder removal, stone bunds forming and silt application. But implementation of these works was stopped due to misuse of funds and governance issues. Abstaining from the implementation of such

works is not the solution. Thus, such works need to be identified that not only provide employment, but are also useful to the community.

9. The farmers had not received all the components of the budget, as observed in the field. The budget for compost pit in the field and fencing of the garden was not received as observed in the interactions with the farmers. The implementation was given to different departments within the district and there was ambiguity in their budget, project cost and delivery procedures. Thus greater awareness needs to be created with regard to the component wise budget available and procedure to claim the budget of horticulture.
10. Horticulture schemes were implemented with the convergence of MGNREGS where the price fixed to purchase good quality plants was insufficient. The price fixed for mango was Rs. 35 which needed to be enhanced to acquire good plants.
11. The other issue was that there was delay in the process of budget release for plants supply or purchase. Many of the farmers purchased the plants after the end of the monsoon season which was a loss to the farmer in many respects in terms of survival of plants and foregoing of the budget for watering, watch and wards, and other inputs for the year. The farmers having investments could have purchased the plants on their own during monsoons and submitted the bills for claim from the government. But this was not feasible for the farmers belonging to small income groups. The other issue with regard to horticulture was that the input cost of fertilisers and pesticides was pending for the past one year in many villages. Thus the horticulture scheme needs to be made pro-poor in terms of timely disbursement of scheme inputs and all components.
12. Distress migration was observed in some of the GPs in Anantapur district partly due to supply side deficiencies for lack of continuity of work, delay in payment, low wage in MGNREGS, better wage in destination and partly due to lack of local employment even after availing the 100 days employment. Thus, employment needs to be provided more than 100 days as an exceptional case in GPs where seasonal migration was predominant.