

UNDERSTANDING THE ROLE AND CONTRIBUTION OF MGNREGA IN CONTEXT OF EMPLOYMENT, CREATION OF DURABLE ASSETS, MIGRATION, WOMEN EMPOWERMENT AND LOCAL SELF GOVERNANCE

Sunny Devel

M. Phil. Scholar, Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health, Jawaharlal Nehru University,
New Delhi.

Received: April 03, 2019

Accepted: May 06, 2019

ABSTRACT: *The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), 2005, was notified on 7 September 2005. The mandate of the Act is to provide 100 days of guaranteed wage employment in a financial year to every rural household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work. The present paper is to understand the role and contribution of MGNREGA in the context of employment generation, creation of durable assets, women empowerment and local self-governance. The study area was identified on the basis of secondary data and then primary data were collected from the field by the researcher. The findings shows that MGNREGA has significant role in providing employment, creation of durable assets, reducing migration, women empowerment and strengthening of local self-governance.*

Key Words: *MGNREGA, Employment, Assets Creation, Migration, Women Empowerment and Local Self Governance.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), 2005, was notified on 7 September 2005. The mandate of the Act is to provide 100 days of guaranteed wage employment in a financial year to every rural household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work. The present paper is a part of my original M. Phil. Dissertation work. The study area is Raidih block of Gumla district, Jharkhand where the researcher collected primary data from the field and based on those data researcher tried to analyse the outcomes of the programme in the selected study area.

2. DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL RURAL EMPLOYMENT GUARANTEE ACT.

In the post reform period the annual growth of rural population was 1.7 per cent whereas the rural employment was at the increase of 0.54 per cent¹. This gap was a matter of serious concern and there was an urgent need to make an investment in creating employment opportunities in rural area. Then the idea of providing an employment opportunity in the rural area came into debate. The proposal was to provide 100 days of employment to one third of rural household which needs an investment of 1.55 per cent of GDP. This estimated cost of the programme was around Rs. 44000 -53000 crore per year. Further it was thought that providing employment will generate income and increase the purchasing power of poor which would increase the demand along with multiplier effect on the economy. Another argument was given as the creation of permanent assets, the productivity of rural household will be increased with the positive effect on rural economy (Ghosh, 2004).

In post-independence India, several attempts have been taken in the form of programmes for the eradication of poverty. Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme is one among the all. This was considered as the flagship programme of Govt. of India. MGNREGP was introduced in India to guarantee employment for those who are willing to work and are unskilled. It is an important Employment Generation Scheme (EGS) introduced in India. It is a policy of direct transfer to the poor through the provision of public works (Drèze and Sen, 1991; Lipton 1996; von Braun, 1995).

The Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA), 2005, was notified on 7 September 2005. The mandate of the Act is to provide 100 days of guaranteed wage employment in a financial year to every rural household whose adult members volunteer to do unskilled manual work. The objectives of the programme include:

¹ Rural Employment as Policy Priority by Jayathi Ghosh(Frontline,16 july 2004)

- Ensuring social protection for the most vulnerable people living in rural India through providing employment opportunities,
- Ensuring livelihood security for the poor through creation of durable assets, improved water security, soil conservation and higher land productivity.
- Strengthening drought-proofing and flood management in rural India,
- Aiding in the empowerment of the marginalised communities, especially women, Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs), through the processes of a rights-based legislation,
- Strengthening decentralised, participatory planning through convergence of various anti-poverty and livelihoods initiatives, Deepening democracy at the grass-roots by strengthening the Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs),
- Effecting greater transparency and accountability in governance.

3. METHODOLOGY

The theoretical understanding of the programme was necessary for the development of the research. The proposed research study moves to the exploratory research design as the secondary data has established the performance of the programme in the state. Towards the exploration of the reasons the well performing block the researcher met the key officials in the district and civil society members for digging out the information.

The research study conducted in both quantitative and qualitative method, where the quantitative data was collected with the exclusively developed *interview schedule* with 125 questions related to the socio economic profile of the households in the selected area. The questions in the interview schedule includes primary information of the household, households' experiences with MGNREGA and it has impact on Employment and Income Generation, Migration, Asset Creation, Women Empowerment and Local Self Governance.

3.1 Research Design

The research study is designed to look at the socio economic impact of the flagship programme of the country on the employment. The exploratory research design is the most suitable way for conducting the proposed research. The initial investigation was done with the secondary data available with the programme and official data sets. The study proposes the mixed method of data collection which implies a mix of quantitative and qualitative to present the valuable experiences and understanding of the issue. The required quantitative data for the proposed study, the researcher had developed exclusive *interview schedule* for the sampling of 100 households in the study area. The questions in the interview schedule includes primary information of the household, households' experiences with other government schemes like PDS, education, health services accessibility, migration pattern, food security. And women empowerment.

3.2 Selection of Study Area

Based on the secondary data available on the official website of MGNREGA, Raidihblock of Gumla district in Jharkhand was identified as best performing block in terms of employment generation in 2015-16 period. Four villages namely Turidih, Jadi, Silam and Telea of Sikai, Kansir, Silam and Parsa Panchayats respectively were identified for the data collection. Among four villages two villages were CFT (Cluster Facilitation Team) and two were non CFT villages.

3.3 Sampling Method

The researcher selected one fifth of the total households participated in the quantitative sample collection which basically is *systematic random sampling method*. So he interviewed one of the adult members of the households fallen into the category of MGNREGA beneficiaries in study area. The researcher purposively selected 20 households for his qualitative data collection. The sampling was purposive on the basis of number of days worked under the programme. The data were collected from the field by the researcher from 25th September to 10th November 2015.

4. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE STUDY AREA

Gumla is one of the drought prone districts in Jharkhand. Geo- ecological condition make it difficult region for the agricultural activities. 61.22% of populations have lands ownership and rests 38.78% of population are landless or landless labourers. Irregular rainfall and unavailability of irrigation facility create this region is hard for the agriculture activities. People can only harvest the Kharif season (July- October) crops in one year cycle. Apart of this constrain agriculture is the main occupation in the region. Paddy and lentils (Urad) are two main crops in a year. There are acute crises of other livelihood option. Hidden and under

unemployment is common phenomenon due to lack of livelihood option in the region.

Name of the Panchayat	Name of the Village	Total No. of Household	Total population	Total Male Population	Total Female Population	Sex Ratio
Sikoi	Turidih	119	505	253	252	996
Kansir	Jadi	168	858	441	417	945
Silam	Silam	135	703	348	355	1020
Parsa	Telea	79	469	231	238	1030

Source: Census 2011

The four villages selected from four different panchayats of the Raidih block. The numbers of households in a village varies from 79 to 168. The population according to census 2011 varies from 469 to 858. The sex ratio varies from 945 to 1030 which is much higher than national average. Greater number of girls per 1000 boys shows positive sex ratio among the indigenous population.

Name of the Village	SC Population	ST Population	Total Literacy (In Percent)	Male Literacy (In Percent)	Female Literacy (In Percent)
Turidih	5(0.9%)	416(82.3%)	61.5	67	55.6
Jadi	77(8.9%)	642(74.8%)	57	63.6	50
Silam	58(8.2%)	473(67.28%)	57	62	52.2
Telea	0	433(92.3%)	60.6	68.3	53

Source: Census 2011

The villages selected for the study are dominated by the tribal population. Tribal population varies from 67.2% to 92.3% while Schedule Caste Population varies from 0% to 8.9%. Total literacy rate varies from 57% to 61.5% of total population. Male literacy rate varies from 62% to 68.3 % while female literacy rate varies from 50% to 55.6%. The female literacy rate is lower than male literacy rate.

Name of the Village	Male Participants (In %)	Female Participants (In %)
Turidih	52	48
Jadi	40	60
Silam	64	36
Telea	58	42

Source: Field Work Data

Adult member of the households are the key respondents for the study. The above table shows that respondents from both gender male and female have significant representation which seems good for quality information and research.

4. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1. Employment Generation

The farmers of study villages are dependent on monsoon based agriculture. They remain unemployed during lean season of agriculture prior to MGNREGA. On an average six to eight month in a year they are dependent on other sources of employment during the lean season of agriculture.

A study based on the secondary data evaluating the MGNREGA work in 19 districts of West Bengal in which the programme was implemented in three different phases suggests that 85 percent of rural households (13.8 million) enrolled under the programme 47 percent of households participated in the programme. There is a continuous increase in the employment provided from 2007-08 to 2013-14 (Dey, 2016). The NSSO data estimates unemployment in the economy as a whole is 9.4 percent with 7.4 percent in urban and 10.1 percent in rural during 2009-10 period. And it was expected that MGNREGA will be effective in absorbing the increasing rural unemployment. The average person days employment per household in 2006-07 was 43 which was increased to 54 days in 2009-10 and again came down to 46 days which far behind the 100 days of guaranteed employment as per provision. (Tripathi, 2015).

Table No.- 4 Average Person Days Generated in the Study Villages in Last Two Years

Name of Panchayat	Name of Village	No. of Days Villagers Need Employment in a Year	2014-15	2015-16 (Till September 2015)
Sikoi	Turidih	180-240	42	40.6
Kansir	Jadi	180-240	35.6	37.8
Silam	Silam	120-150	20	19.4
Parsa	Telea	90-120	22	12

Source: Field Data

The above data shows that MGNREGA is successful in providing 22-42 days of employment to the job card holders. Although number of employment days generated under the programme is not enough to fulfil their job demands but it has provided some relief to the unemployed labour in the very lean season of agriculture.

Table No.- 5, Average Income per Household from MGNREGP During Last Two Years

Village	2014-15 (Amount in Rs.)	2015-16(Till Sep 2015) (Amount in Rs.)
Turidih	6801	6577
Jadi	5670	6123
Silam	3240	3142
Telea	3564	1944

Source : Field Data

The field work data shows households incomes from MGNREGA during 2014-15 period are Rs. 6802, Rs. 5670, Rs.3240 and Rs.3,564 and during 2015-16 (Till Spetember) period are Rs. 6577, Rs. 6123, Rs.3142 and Rs. 1944 in Turidih, Jadi, Silam and Telea villages respectively. This shows that MGNREGA is successful in providing employment to the villagers in the lean season of agriculture and generating additional income to the households income.

4.2 Assets Creation

Gumla is a drought prone district with 70.15 per cent of agriculture lands are un-irrigated and produce seasonal unemployment. Rural connectivity, water conservation, water harvesting and irrigation facilities are the focus of the assets creation in the district. The assets created under programme has contributed in increasing agriculture production and rise in households income. During last two years the focus was on the creation of small ponds and animal sheds at individual lands. Since assets are created with the future perspective and will be beneficial in long term.

Sanyaro Devi, 45, is a tribal woman belongs to Oraon caste lives in Telea village of Parsa panchayat and owns 2 acres of land. Her husband Manoj Oraon is a farmer is illiterate. They have three sons Sourabh (10 yrs.), Surjeet (8 yrs) and Sanjeet (6 yrs) studying in class 5th, 2nd and 1st respectively in government school. She also worked with her husband for 60 days of employment created by MGNREGA, for digging of the same pond from which they earn about Rs. 10,000, which is a huge contribution in the household income. Getting employment is not the only benefit of MGNREGA, she is also benefited by pond given by MGNREGA. Small ponds have dual use, for irrigation and fisheries. She invested Rs. 500 for fish seeds which let her earn Rs. 5000 in 3 months period.

Saroj Ekka (46 yr) wife of Khoras Ekka (49 yr), have two daughters Usha Ekka (25 yr) a graduation student and Asha Ekka (20 yrs.) and two sons Sandeep Ekka (22 yrs.) a graduation student and Wilson Ekka (11 yrs). She has two acres of land but the irrigation completely depends on monsoon season which lead to unstable economic status of family, her family bared with any resources to do irrigation in lack of monsoon which further worsen economic status of family. She got one well under the asset creation programme of MGNREGA during 2010. She also got employment of 50 days and earn about Rs. 8000. Now she grows seasonal vegetables, her family use that vegetable at her home also which increase nutritional value in her family as well as in one season she earns Rs. 5000 to 6000 by vegetables, which further increases the economic status of her family.

4.3 Migration

To reduce rural-urban migration by providing employment at the village level and also strengthening the rural economy was one of the important objectives of the Employment Guarantee Programme.

In the lean season of agriculture few days of employment opportunities under the programme encourage to stay in the village. Some marginal farmers who own lands prefer to migrate to the urban area keeping their lands barren due to high labor cost. But this trend is observed only for male adult members of very few households. The majority of respondents prefer to stay with their family and work under the programme (Kundu, 2015). A study from the field from Villupuram district of Tamilnadu suggests that with the implementation of MGNREGA poor households have alternative employment opportunity and it has a positive impact in reducing bondage labor and migration (Marious, 2009).

The findings of the role of MGNREGA in reducing rural out migration suggest that it has impact on reducing seasonal in two forms: first completely and second partially (duration of migration). The issue of seasonal migration was more prevalent in Turidih and Jadi village due to lack of other alternative employment opportunities during lean season of agriculture. Since the inception of Pradhan (2014-15) the performance of MGNREGA work has improved both in terms of generation employment days per households and creation of durable assets. The increase in employment days encouraged people to stay in the village during the lean season of agriculture.

Shankar Baraik, husband of Suganti Devi (Jadi Village) migrates to Himachal Pradesh in the lean season of agriculture with other men from the same village. He was working as a construction worker and earning Rs.5000-6000 per month and was sending Rs.2000-2500 per month to his family. In agricultural season he returns back to his village and again in slack season he migrates to Himachal Pradesh with his friends from the same village.

4.4 Women Empowerment

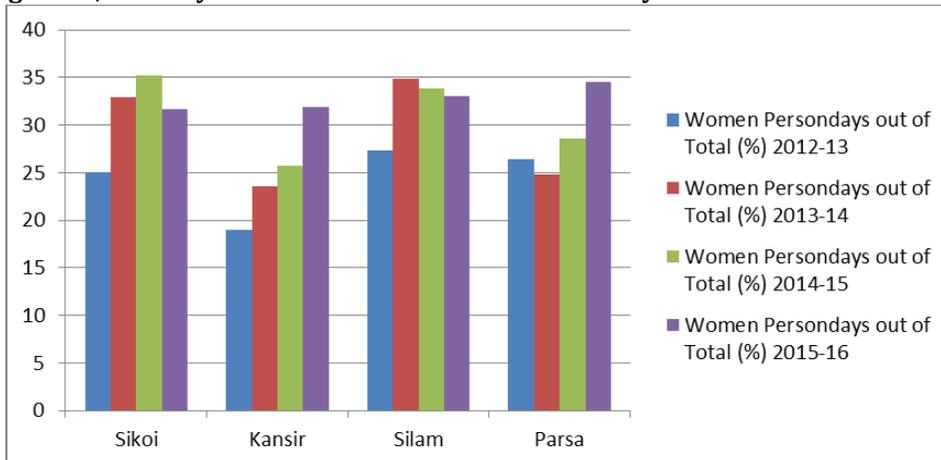
Women empowerment was not the main objective of the employment guarantee programme but the provisions like ensuring one third reservations for women, providing employment within five kilometer of radius, equal wages for men and women, facility for child crèches has made the programme women friendly and encourages the women to participate in the programme.

Role of MGNREGA in women empowerment can be measure on two levels: First, Intra-Household level (Income consumption effect, decision making) and second at community level (Participation in development programme, equal wages and gender relation) (Pankaj and Tankha, 2010).

The villages selected for the study are tribal dominated villages. Women are given equal status in tribal community but even then their role in decision making at household level is dominated by the male

who is the earning member of the family. The roles and participations at community level have increased due to increased representation in local self-governance.

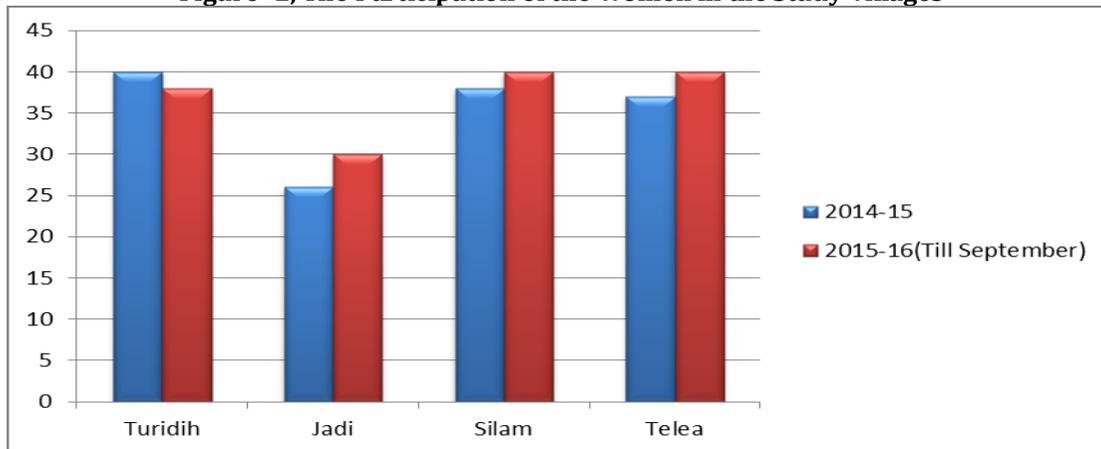
Figure -1, Panchayat Level Data for Women Person Days Out of Total Person Days



Source: MGNREGA Official Website

Even after the mandatory provision to ensure one-third participation of women in total employment generation the programme is unsuccessful to ensure one third participation of women at various levels. The panchayat level data shows that even among the best performing state Raidih Block is lagging in terms of ensuring women participation at the minimum one third as per the provision of the programme.

Figure -2, The Participation of the Women in the Study Villages



Source: Field Data

The findings from the study villages suggest that the percent of women participations are higher in the study villages compared to the women participation at panchayat level official data. And even there are variations among the percentage of women participations in the four study villages. Turidih village where Pradan is working as CFT the women are involved in planning and implementation process which was not there before the 2013 when the concept of CFT had emerged. The high participation of women in planning, implementation process encourage more women to participate in the programme. However at the same time the unemployment is high in this village so male cannot be ignored to participate in the programme.

Before the implementation of MGNREGA the women were getting very less amount for same amount of work as men, after MGNREGA they get Rs.162 per day which is much higher than the amount earned as agricultural labour and both men and women earns equal amount of money, which empowers the women to earn equal money as of men by working at home place, thus woman are showing more interest in MGNREGA employment.

Women empowerment, in this regard, can be assessed both at the household level and the community level. After the implementation of MGNREGA roles of women have changed at both the levels in

the study villages. Women are participating in the programme with more enthusiasm due to provision of equal wages. Women whose husbands have migrated to other states, widows, single women are getting work in their village which is a great support for them. After the Direct Cash Transfer (DCT) scheme, the women are enjoying more power at the household level. The provision of the programme facilitates the beneficiaries with the cash transfer in the joint account of both husband and wife of the households. This facility empowers the women to make better decisions and manage the resources at home, thereby allowing her to influence the household budget. Prior to the Direct Cash Transfer scheme, the wages which were mostly received by the males in the households were used up for consumption of liquor. They income from MGNREGA has provided decision making power to the women to expense money as they wish.

4.5 Local Self Governance

The women participation in the gram sabha has increased after the implementation of the programme. Kangra with 88.7 per cent women participation in gram sabha is at highest followed by Dungarpur with 55.3 per cent, Ranchi with 25.7 per cent and Gaya with 13.6 per cent. 73.2 per cent of women raised their voices in the gram sabha and 46.5 per cent of women interacted with government officials (Pankaj & Tankha, 2010).

Table: 4.10- Effect on Gram Sabha after the implementation of MGNREGA

Name of the Village	No. of Gram Sabha Meetings in a year		Average no. of Participants in Meetings		Average percentage of women participants (In Percentage)	
	Before	After	Before	After	Before	After
Turidih	Half Yearly	Monthly	15	150	0	85%
Jadi	Yearly	Monthly	12	110	0	75%
Silam	Yearly	Every two months	15	120	0	50%
Telea	Half Yearly	Monthly	10	120	0	80%

Source: Field Data

There is significant change in the local self-governance after the implementation of the MGNREGA. The MGNREGA which is a demand based scheme and which guarantee the employment for 100 days for every adult member of household who are willing to work but this can only be possible if people demands the work otherwise they don't get employment. For the demand of the work it needs planning at local level and must be approved by the gramsabha then only the work will be allotted to the job card holders. Planning is an important step for the demand of work and this can be done through the gramsabha only and hence there is significant development in the number of meetings in a year, numbers of participants and also there is sharp increase in women participation in the gramsabha meetings.

It is important to understand the trend of change in the local self- governance after the implementation of MGNREGA. The villages *Turidih* and *Jadi* where PRADAN is working as CFT (Cluster Facilitator Team) there is trend of monthly gram sabha meeting and also there is huge participation the women in the gram sabha meetings and women of these villages are actively participating in planning and implementation of the scheme. Pradan which is working in Gummy district for a long time has a significant contribution in empowering the women through its SHGs(Self Help Groups) programme. It has strong hold in above all the villages but it is working as CFT only in *Turidih* and *Jadi*. In these villages the SHGs are actively participating in the planning exercise of the scheme therefore, there is high number of women participation of in the gram sabha.

Telea is very ideal village and has set an example for the development through the active participation of its people in the Raidih block. The people of this village showed how the development

schemes are implemented in the village. Here the gram sabha is organized on the monthly basis and women of this village participate actively. *Silam* is situated just 3 km from the Gumla town where they get higher wage compare to MGNREGA and also the average land holding size is higher compared to other three villages. There is a factory of grain food for the poultry which is providing employment to many households. The large size of the land, food processing factory and being situated near the district town- all the three factors are responsible for the less interest in the working in the MGNREGA. The participation in Gram sabha is very less if we compare to the population in this village. There is increase in women participation in gram sabha in all the villages compared to period before the MGNREGA because it provides employment opportunity at village level and also ensures equal wages to female which encourage women to participate in this scheme.

5. CONCLUSION

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme, the world's largest employment guarantee programme was launched in 2006 with the objectives to provide livelihood options to the rural poor in short term and to create durable assets to improve the agricultural production which would in turn increase the household income in long term. The idea behind this programme was to increase the household's income which will increase the purchasing power and create demands which has multiplier effect on the rural economy. The creation of durable assets will strengthen the water resources and there will be shift from non-agricultural work to agricultural work. The improved livelihood options in the village will be effective in reducing migration. Better agricultural production will reduce the dependency of rural population on the state sponsored schemes in long term.

As we know that agricultural economy is a substantial economy, there is no alternative source of income. In the times of crisis there is difficulty in managing cash in the households. MGNREGA, which is providing 22-45 days of employment to the households in non CFT villages is contributing on an average Rs.3200 – 7500 which is a significant contribution in the household's income.

The programme also contributes to an additional source of income for the households by creating durable assets. These assets in return also help in increasing the productivity of agriculture, thus fulfilling the objectives of the programme. Since the implementation of programme, various water conservation sources, rural connectivity projects, irrigation facilities and animal sheds have been created in the study villages. Rural connectivity works in villages have improved the connectivity which further improved the access of the population to better health, education and market.

Women are participating in the programme with more enthusiasm due to provision of equal wages. The provision of the programme facilitates the beneficiaries with the cash transfer in the joint account of both husband and wife of the households. This facility empowers the women to make better decisions and manage the resources at home, thereby allowing her to influence the household budget.

MGNREGA has significant role in strengthening the local self governance. For the planning purpose people started conducting regular Gram Sabha on monthly, quarterly basis and have significant participation of the people from the community. There is increase in women participation in gram sabha in all the villages compared to period before the MGNREGA because it provides employment opportunity at village level and also ensures equal wages to female which encourage women to participate in this scheme.

So we can say from the above findings that MGNREGA has significant role in providing employment, creation of durable assets, reducing migration, women empowerment and strengthening the local self governance.

Bibliography

1. Athreya, V.B., M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation (Chennai, India), World Food Programme (Eds.), 2008. Report on the state of food insecurity in rural India. M.S. Swaminathan Research Foundation ; World Food Programme, Chennai : New Delhi.
2. Banerjee, K., Saha, P., 2010. The NREGA, the Maoists and the Developmental Woes of the Indian State. *Econ. Polit. Wkly.* XLV, 42–47.
3. Bhargava, D.R., 2013. An Empirical Study of Assets Creation through Employment Generation by MGNREGA in Rajasthan. *J. Econ. Sustain. Dev.* 4, 117–126.
4. Bhatia, B., Drèze, J., 2006. Employment Guarantee in Jharkhand: Ground Realities. *Econ.Polit. Wkly.* 41, 3198–3202.
5. Bhatt, W., 2009. The gender dimension of migration in India: the politics of contemporary space in Orissa and Rajasthan. *Dev. Pract.* 19, 87–93.
6. Borah, K., Bordoloi, R., 2014. MGNREGA and its Impact on Daily Waged Women Workers: A Case study of

- Sonitpur District of Assam. IOSR J. Econ. Finance 4, 40-44.
7. Datta, S.K., Singh, K., 2012. Women's Job Participation in and Efficiency of NREGA Program—Case Study of a Poor District in India. *Int. J. Public Adm.* 35, 448-457.
 8. Dey, D.K., 2016. Employment Generation and Asset Building through MGNREGA: Reflections from West Bengal. *J. Rural Dev.* 35, 51-76.
 9. Dr.G.Prathap, P.Venkataramana, M.Subbaramaiah, 2014. Income And Employment Generation Through Mgnrega: A Case Study In VontimittaMandal of Kadapa District. *Paripex - Indian J. Res.* 3, 41-45.
 10. Duraisamy, M., Duraisamy, P., 2016. Gender wage gap across the wage distribution in different segments of the Indian labour market, 1983-2012: exploring the glass ceiling or sticky floor phenomenon. *Appl. Econ.*
 11. Dutta, P., Murgai, R., Ravallion, M., van de Walle, D., 2014. Right to Work?: Assessing India's Employment Guarantee Scheme in Bihar. The World Bank.
 12. Esteves, T., Rao, K.V., Sinha, B., Roy, S.S., Rao, B., Jha, S., Singh, A.B., Vishal, P., Nitasha, S., Rao, S., Murthy I K, Rajeev Sharma, Ilona Porsche, Basu K, N H Ravindranath, 2013.Agricultural and Livelihood Vulnerability Reduction through the MGNREGA.*Econ.Polit. Wkly.* xlviil, 94-103.
 13. Gahukar, R.T., 2011. Food Security in India: The Challenge of Food Production and Distribution. *J. Agric. Food Inf.* 12, 270-286.
 14. Gaiha, R., Imai, K., 2010. Rural Public Works and Poverty Alleviation--the case of the employment guarantee scheme in Maharashtra. *Int. Rev. Appl. Econ.* 16, 131-151.
 15. Ghosh, J., 2006. The "Right to Work" and Recent Legislation in India. *Soc. Sci.* 34, 88-102.
 16. Haque, T., 2011. Socio-economic Impact of Implementation of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act in India. *Soc. Change* 41, 445-471. doi:10.1177/004908571104100307
 17. Jakimow, T., 2014. Breaking the backbone of farmers': contestations in a rural employment guarantee scheme. *J. Peasant Stud.* 41, 263-281.
 18. Jha, R., Bhattacharyya, S., Gaiha, R., Shankar, S., 2009. "Capture" of anti-poverty programs: An analysis of the National Rural Employment Guarantee Program in India. *J. Asian Econ.* 20, 456-464.
 19. Khera, R., 2008. Empowerment Guarantee Act.*Econ. Polit. Wkly.*
 20. Kumar, M.D., Bassi, N., Sivamohan, M.V.K., Niranjana, V., 2011. Employment Guarantee and Its Environmental Impact: Are the Claims Valid? *Econ. Polit. Wkly.* XLVI, 69-71.
 21. Kundu, A., 2015. Effectiveness of Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme to Check Migration Among the Rural Households. *J. Rural Dev.* 34, 123-133.
 22. Lakha, S., Taneja, P., 2009. Balancing Democracy and Globalisation: The Role of the State in Poverty Alleviation in India. *South Asia J. South Asian Stud.* 32.
 23. Pankaj, A., Tankha, R., 2010. Empowerment Effects of the NREGS on Women Workers: A Study in Four States. *Econ. Polit. Wkly.* XLV, 45-55.
 24. Tiwari, R., Somashekhar, H.I., Parama, V.R.R., 2011. MGNREGA for Environmental Service Enhancement and Vulnerability Reduction: Rapid Appraisal in Chitradurga District, Karnataka. *Econ. Polit. Wkly.* XLVI, 39-47.
 25. Tripathi, K.K., 2015. Rural Employment, Wage and Wage Guarantee: Is MGNREGA on the Right Track? *J. Rural Dev.* 34, 439-456.