



Changing patterns of migration in Jharkhand: Indentured to contemporary forms of migration

Shubham Kumar¹, Dr. Aditya Raj²

¹ PhD Scholar, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology, Patna, Bihar, India

² Associate Professor, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology, Patna, Bihar, India

Abstract

This paper is based on organized and systematic review of existing literature on migration from Jharkhand. This province has a significant role in indentured migration from India during the British colonial period. Indenture is synonymous with 'hill coolies,' formed from Oraon tribal groups from Jharkhand's uplands and are portrayed as the most vulnerable of India's inhabitants. Based on the available studies, this paper analyses the historical perspective of migration from Jharkhand. It also analyses trends and patterns of migration such as seasonal, tribal, rural-urban, labour and women's migration. Migration plays very crucial role in growth and development of Jharkhand. It concludes by examining the growth and development of Jharkhand in context of migration. Despite having indentured migration from Chota nagpur plateau, it is understudied. The paper will discuss the historicity of indentured migration and labour from Jharkhand. It will also discuss the broad relationship between identity and indentured migration.

Keywords: Migration, trend, Jharkhand, indentured, hill coolies

Introduction

Migration is one of the most dynamic human activities since the beginning of human existence. In early times, people moved from forest to forest in search of products. Later, when they chose a civilized life, they developed relationships with animals and fertile land. United Nations Multilingual Demographic Dictionary (United Nations, 1956) [39] defined migration as a form of spatial or geographical mobility that takes place between two geographical units. In most cases, it involves moving from the origin to the destination. People moved from early civilized areas to other parts of the world, sometimes for agricultural purposes or trade. People from all parts of the country migrate to major cities, bringing with them a variety of social and cultural backgrounds. When people from different backgrounds meet in cities, acculturation takes place. As a result, cultures are more liberal and materialistic. An important part of population studies is the study of migration, which occurs for a variety of social, political, and economic reasons. Studying how people move throughout a large country like India can help us better understand the dynamics of the social structure. There hasn't been much migration in the past on the Indian subcontinent. This fact has been explained by researchers like Davis (1951) to elements like the extensive caste system, traditional values, joint families, variety of language and culture, low levels of education, influence of agriculture, and semi-feudal land relations. However, the rapid economic growth of India, developments in education, transportation, and communication infrastructures have all added to the upward trend that has been influencing Indians' migration trends recently. India's 2011 census estimated the total number of internal migrants based on last residence at 450 million, representing nearly 37% of the total population.

The formation of Jharkhand is the culmination of a 200-year struggle by the people of Jharkhand (Louis, 2000) [27]. Jharkhand was formerly a part of Bihar. After a longstanding tribal movement, Jharkhand became India's 28th state on November 15, 2000. The term Jharkhand

means "land of forest" and is geographically known as Chhotanagpur Plateau. There are many economic, political, cultural and administrative reasons for the movement in Jharkhand. The movements in South Bihar and Santhal Parganas were not political before the 1940s; they were only aimed at tribal awakening and social and economic upliftment. Later, however, the leaders of the movements realized that they could not help their people unless they expel the leaders from North Bihar and other 'outsiders' from positions of power and authority. The main reasons for tribal unrest in this region fall into four categories: Alienation from the forest, tribal unemployment, cultural conflicts, and uneven development.

Jharkhand is a major source of migrant population, according to the Economic Survey of India 2016-17. According to the overview, Jharkhand's working-age population decreased by about 5 million between 2001 and 2011, with an average of 5% of the working-age population migrating each year. It is important to study the migration of people to understand the transitional phase of development in Jharkhand. Jharkhand, without a hearty water system framework, is as yet prevalently a mono-cropped zone. Moreover, in the absence of fundamental modern facilities, individuals are left without work for just about half a year. The tribal people of Jharkhand's Chotanagpur and Santhal Pargana regions have been emigrating continuously from their home country for over 100 years in search of a better way of life. Due to the government's development policies, large dams and industries were built on tribal peoples' lands and forests. Tribal people in Jharkhand experienced a crisis of livelihood as a result of this government possession, and those who were displaced were compelled to move to urban areas in search of work at extremely low wages. These development initiatives also have a negative impact on women, who are crucial to raising families and children (Deogharia, 2012) [9]. The central objective of the study is to understand and describe migration in Jharkhand. The main purpose behind including migration in the study is to understand the

problem and its impact on social status, which is directly related to the development and empowerment of all sections of the society. The articles selected for the study focused mainly on the historicity of migration from Jharkhand.

Materials and Methods

We conducted a comprehensive literature search to identify the published academic literature on indentured migration to develop a clear understanding of this field of study. We

identified commonly used keywords to search for articles that are predominantly used in the literature. Scopus database was selected to search for the relevant articles for this study. We conducted this literature search in January 2024 using the terms indentured, migration, girmitiyas, Jharkhand, Bihar, hill coolies. All keywords were then searched individually in the publication’s title and abstract. We only considered English language peer-reviewed articles for this study, published between the years 1998 and 2023.

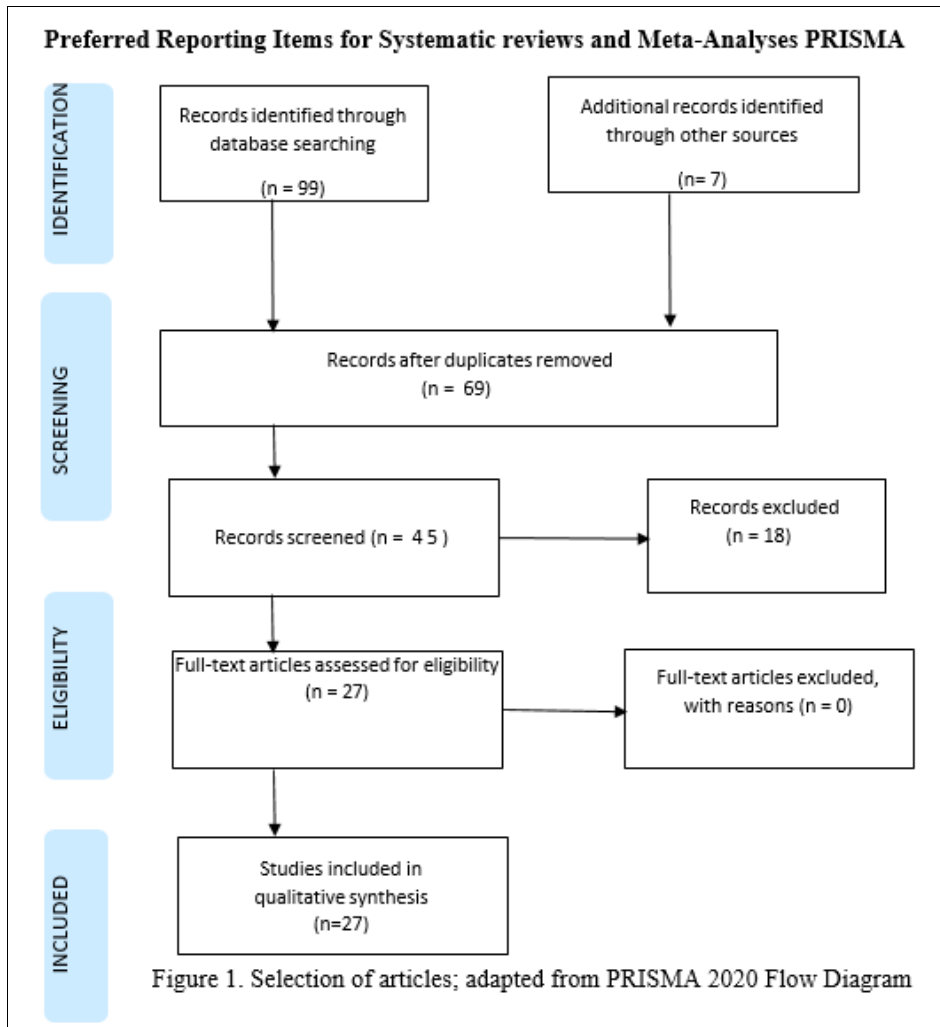


Fig 1

Results

The collective findings of these studies provide a comprehensive understanding of the intricate dynamics and lasting impacts of colonialism, indentured labor systems, and migration on various communities.

Indentured Migration from Jharkhand

Indians were employed as indentured labourers in the Caribbean between 1838 and 1918, totaling close to 500,000. The Caribbean’s sugar plantations were the origin of the Indian indentured labour system, but it quickly spread to Africa and the South Pacific. It was initially unregulated to hire and transport this labour. The Indian colonial government did, however, set up a set of rules and a framework for administration with Act V of 1837 (Tinker, 1974) [37]. This legislation took the chance of institutionalising the contract labour system and subjecting it to political control, all the while guaranteeing the contract

free labour system (Wang, 1997) [41]. Nevertheless, planters were aware of the difference between free labour and contract labour; one of them remarked, "We want Indians as contract labour, but not as free men." The rights and obligations set forth in the Indenture contract were similar to those of a standard contract; the migrant was not allowed to negotiate or modify them. In contrast to the nature of his contractual obligation, the migrant faced criminal rather than civil penalties for violating the terms. The working conditions were precisely defined in a set of rules, and those covered by the contract were bound to a specific employer and accommodation. This form of labour, which can be called slavery, was not governed by the rationality of the market and did not conform to traditional liberal standards of free alienation of labour, since it was highly regulated and migrants could not legally change jobs. Indenture has come to be known as Hill Coolies. In the late nineteenth century, the term was applied to a variety of tribal groups

from the highlands of what is now Jharkhand in eastern India, but with little ethnographic accuracy. These communities made up a large proportion of the original migrant workers, and those who resisted their abuse in the international labour market portrayed them as the most uncivilised and unprotected of Indians.

The reason for their preference over the others was that the British saw them as industrious, simple people with limited needs who would work in such far-flung places under the Indentured Persons system according to the exploitative rules and circumstances of the sugar plantations. Moreover, unlike the Hindus, they had no inhibitions about going to such distant places and crossing the oceans, then called "Kala Pani." From 1834 to 1843, thousands of Adivasis were recruited as contract labourers in Mauritius. For example, thirty-six Hill Coolies, including six women, were on the first voyage to Mauritius on the ship *The Atlas* in 1834. They arrived at the historic site of Aapravashi Ghat in Mauritius on November 2 (Peerthum and Gopauloo, 2017) [26].

Planters were often friends with immigrant protectors, and both groups shared a similar social class as well as common interests. A very high suicide rate, 35% of which occurred in the first year of employment, shows how harsh conditions were for the recruited Indians. Workers often reacted to institutional conditions such as indenture, poor working conditions, and persistent mistreatment. Daily actions were the primary means of protest. Workers under indentured servitude created a system of protests and avoidances that they used on a daily basis (Scott, 1985) [29]. These included neglect, idleness, petty theft, damage to the employer's tools and property, and absenteeism. Through the establishment of funds based on donations from individuals and used to pay fines, workers also created a variety of self-help initiatives. Deserters were often protected by free Indians. Resistance by indentured labourers often met with strict laws designed to prevent collective action, and those considered leaders of the protest were almost always criminalised and exiled (Tinker, 1974) [37]. However, regardless of how it was expressed, the resistance of forced labourers persisted and intensified as they became used to their new environment. The instability of the system was not only caused by the resistance of indentured labour. The British government was involved in the story of labour migration from India, as were the colonial governments of India and the plantation colonies, as well as the plantation owners. Each of these parties pursued different interests that were frequently at odds with one another. Although the state managed the system on behalf of the interests of the plantation owners, it did not only do so. The Colonial Office in London was aware that the anti-slavery movement was still causing issues (Tinker, 1974) [37]. Local reformers from both the Indian and British communities who were involved in indenture migration from the start had to deal with the colonial authorities in India. They established a committee in 1838 to address the export of coolies in response to their demands. The Governor General's Council adopted law XIV on May 29, 1839, in response to the committee's report, making it illegal to leave India to work as unskilled labourers abroad and punishing those who did so with a fine of 200 rupees or three months in jail. Emigration organisations recruited people across India with a permit from the Protector for emigrants in Calcutta and Madras (Tinker, 1974) [37]. Both the "pull" and "push" factors for

labour migration were shaped by the colonial encounter. An examination of conditions in British-ruled India reveals a critical connection between colonial institutionalisation and the internationalisation of Indian labour.

Large numbers of Indians were transported via the indenture system as a direct result of the British invasion of the entire economic and social structure of Indian society. One of the push factors, guaranteed employment, most likely had a greater influence on migrants' decisions to work abroad than other pull factors. People from all over India were recruited by emigration agencies, per the Protector's approval. Peasants in India experienced hardship in the second half of the nineteenth century as a result of the colonial focus on export-oriented agriculture, extensive destruction of livelihoods through the elimination of old industries, restructuring of local economies, new cash payment requirements for rising rents, increased evictions, and high unemployment. For the majority of Indians, bonded labour was more of an exile into slavery than an opportunity (Tinker, 1974) [37].

Migration after Independence of India from Jharkhand

Over a relatively long historical period, the Jharkhand region, which was originally carved out of the erstwhile Chhotanagpur and Santal Paraganas plateau, has seen significant migration flows. Because the region is rich in mineral resources, mining began in districts such as Dhanbad, Koderma, and Giridih in the mid-nineteenth century. Similarly, Jharkhand (particularly the Chhotanagpur region) experienced significant infrastructure development early on, which resulted in some far-reaching demographic changes in the region over time. For example, the Jharkhand region had begun to act as a magnet for many people from outside the region. Beginning in the last decade of the nineteenth century, there has been a steady influx of people into the Jharkhand region. Indeed, in Manbhum (a large part of which became merged with present-day Dhanbad), the percentage share of migrants from north Bihar alone increased from about 10% in 1881 to nearly 40% in 1951 (Bandopadhyay, 1999) [3]. Industrialization and urbanisation processes in Jharkhand were continued through five-year plans, after independence (Dutt, 2012) [11]. Industrialisation and urbanisation processes in Jharkhand became even more intense, thereby maintaining and perhaps accentuating the historical push forces for tribal migration from the region and as time went on, it got worse. Additionally, the area evolved into the hub of industrialization in India after independence (Sharma, 2005) [31]. These processes emphasised the migration behind the region's out-migration even more. 90% of those who were migrated from Jharkhand between 1951 and 1995 were tribal people, according to Bhusan and Hazra's (2009) [6] writing. In addition, Jharkhand's rapid urbanisation during the post-independence era brought in a sizable influx of outsiders. This resulted in the alienation of land and the eviction of tribal people from their traditional lands (Areeparampil, 1996) [1].

The studies carried out in Jharkhand have aged and only concentrate on labour migration; the exodus of students from the state has always been disregarded or not taken into account in migration papers (Basu & Rajan, 2018; Dutt, 2012) [4, 11]. People from the area migrated because of colonial policies during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century (Dutt, 2012; Tudu & Michael,

2018) ^[11, 38]. Due to the extensive industrialization and exploitation of the area, this trend persisted even after the country gained its independence. In the name of development, people were forcibly removed from their homes and properties (Breman, 1985; Sharma, 2015) ^[7, 32]. However, the original residents of the area did not benefit financially from these developments, and they continued to leave the area in search of better economic opportunities elsewhere (Maharatna & Chikte, 2004) ^[21].

Migration after formation of Jharkhand

More than 20 years have passed since Jharkhand became a new state in 2000, but the general economic situation of its citizens has barely improved (Dutt, 2012; Sucharita, 2020) ^[11]. The region is still plagued by widespread poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, lack of development, and out-migration (Sucharita & Rout, 2020) ^[36]. Since its inception, the state has expanded significantly, but the growth hasn't been distributed fairly (Kumar & Deogharia, 2017; Tudu & Michael, 2018) ^[17, 38]. As significant development has occurred in industrial and urban centres, remote areas have lagged behind (Kumar, 2021) ^[18]. The region has very high migration rates related to studies as a result of the lack of better higher education institutions, which forces students to leave the area in search of a quality education (Sharma & Sharma, 2015; Bastianon, 2018; Schlimbach, et al., 2019; Kumar & Sati, 2022, 2023) ^[32]. Along with this, there has been a sizable influx of outsiders and extensive deforestation, which has resulted in a mass exodus of locals who are still struggling with the same problem as they did before the state was created (Sharma, 2005; Sharma, 2012) ^[31]. Another important factor in the widespread exodus of people is the need for livelihoods, the desire to reduce risk (such as drought, crop failure, etc.), and liquidity restrictions (Singh, 2021) ^[33].

The literature on migration in Jharkhand has been organized into four themes. First, seasonal migration; second, rural-urban and labour migration; third, tribal migration; and fourth, women's migration.

1. Seasonal migration

Sucharita and Rout (2020) ^[36] examined how seasonal migration is related to its determinants, particularly socioeconomic status. Migration is more likely to occur among socioeconomically disadvantaged and marginalised groups, indicating the distress-driven nature of migration. Horo (2017) ^[13] found in her study that seasonal migration is higher in remote villages with a larger proportion of tribal population. Nevertheless, the percentage of seasonal out-migration is low in semi-urban villages. Shah (2006) ^[30] discussed in her paper that seasonal migration of casual labour migration needs to be understood as a socio-political process rather than a purely economic process. There are several pull and push factors due to both hardship and development, such as low economic, educational, and social status (Sucharita and Rout, 2019; Horo, 2017) ^[13]. Dry six months due to lack of proper irrigation facilities for agriculture force people from the studied villages to become seasonal migrants and earn income for the household (Horo, 2017; Shah, 2006) ^[13, 30]. In Ranchi in Jharkhand district and other similar districts with large rural population, there is almost absolute dependence on agriculture and there are hardly any employment opportunities. With regard to the reasons for Jharkhand residents migrating seasonally,

particularly to brick kilns in other states, Shah (2006) ^[30] offered a different perspective. She made an argument that migrants don't just view their migration in terms of the economy. The author pointed out that migration to a brick kiln, in particular, provides a short-term breathing space to escape the moralising view that powerful Adivasi and Jharkhandi activists had built, which was seen as a threat to tribals' ability to maintain their social order and sexual integrity. The brick kiln migration is not viewed by migrants solely in terms of economic benefit, nor do they perceive it as the endless suffering and labour described in most literature. Instead, they see the movement as an opportunity to partially free themselves from the difficulties at home, explore a new place, lose ties with their parents, and rebuild their lives. Based on the 64th round of NSSO (National Sample Survey Organisation) migration data, Bhagat (2016) claimed that seasonal migration is more prevalent in the rural areas of India's northern and eastern states. Jharkhand has a very low out-migration rate 56 per 1,000 people, compared to the national average 128 per 1000 people, but its seasonal out-migration rate 46 per 1,000 people, which is significantly higher than the national average 28 per 1000 people, is quite high.

Deogharia (2012) ^[9] mentioned that dry season or disappointing crop yields are one of the main reasons for migration. Dry periods force families to move to larger cities. This increases the number of people moving and also the duration of the movement. Some transients who find themselves in difficulty stay out of town during festivals such as Sarhul, Karma, and Diwali (Sohrai). With improved economic and educational status, temporary and seasonal migration decreases. Residents of rural areas with high incomes are less likely to migrate temporarily. Social factors significantly influence migration decisions.

2. Tribal migration

Jharkhand's tribal people rely on the land and the forests for their very existence. Deogharia (2012) ^[9] mentioned that Jharkhand was the tribal people's favorite destination in the ancient and medieval periods. The Santhals and the Oraon were two of the many tribes that migrated to this region and settled there, leading somewhat isolated lives away from the outside world. The Oraon tribe, the second-most populous tribe in the region, migrated into this area during the late 14th century following the decline of Rohtasgarh fort. The momentum of migration in Jharkhand started in the eighteenth century with the exodus of Santhals from Hazaribagh to Damin-e-Koh. The government's development initiatives, such as the construction of large dams and industries, also contributed to migration. Baa (2017) in his study found that out-migration is seen as a "safety valve" in underdeveloped areas and is thought to have some positive effects. In Bishunpur Block, Gumla district, Jharkhand, the Oraon tribal people are aware that migration is a safety valve to get out of poverty and unemployment. This is deeply embedded in the tribal Oraon people, so whenever things appear to be not going well and the village's means of subsistence are at risk, people start choosing the path of migration. Forced to migrate are the people who are poor, the weak, the marginalised, and tribal groups. It is believed that for the Oraon tribal people, migration is now a sign of hope.

A study by the Planning Commission (2010) found that the nature and pattern of tribal migration had significantly

changed in the 4 states with the largest concentration of tribal people: Jharkhand, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, and Chattisgarh. This study determined that among India's Scheduled Tribes, seasonal migration was the most common type of migration. This study contends that tribal migration during the colonial era was forced, but that voluntary tribal migration in search of work began in the end of the 20th century. Another change took place was the migration of tribal people to Bihar and West Bengal's rural areas between 1950 and 1980, primarily to work as agricultural labourers. Tribal people began to migrate to larger cities such as Delhi, Kolkata, and Mumbai in the late 1980s. The recent trend shows tribal women migrating to cities in search of work, where they are vulnerable to exploitation.; unlike the previous trend where men only migrated to urban centres.

It is beyond dispute that migration helps migrants' families and workers by providing for their immediate needs and improving their economic conditions. But over time, it is becoming a problem for both families and immigrants. The decline of social, cultural, and political traditions has caused a great deal of concern. Migration has become the only means of sustaining family and individual existence for the Oraon tribal people. Family, community and village all suffer heavily as a result of migration because whenever migrants return to the village, they encourage other young people to join them. Due to this, even children of school-age stop attending and migrate to distant cities. Contrarily, other respondents claim that there aren't many excellent jobs in the village, which causes unemployment and poverty and forces people to leave for a better life. Additionally, it is asserted that migration is the final option as a means of support for one's livelihood (Baa,2017). The tribal community, which is weak, marginalised, and at risk of poverty and unemployment, benefits the family, society, and community through migration. However, migration impacts the community and culture because people leave behind their traditions, knowledge of hospitality, as well as other tribal knowledge in order to fit in at their new workspace.

3. Rural-urban and labour migration

Sucharita (2020) found in her research that Jharkhand is becoming less dependent on agriculture and that it no longer provides permanent jobs. Since there are few regular jobs in rural areas, many rural residents—especially young people—migrate there in search of more opportunities and income. Because they are often subsistence farmers or landless, most migrants are young men who must migrate in search of wage labour to supplement their incomes. According to these findings, poor households participate in temporary labour migration. Lack of employment opportunities in rural areas is a major driver of migration, so the Indian government enacted the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) to create jobs there. One of its objectives is to reduce distress-driven migration. According to a study by Kumar and Deogharia (2017) ^[17], the sample household had no interest in working under the MGNREGA programme due to irregular work schedules and late wage payments. The sample household claimed that their living conditions had not improved since joining MGNREGA, suggesting that MGNREGA's efforts to minimise migration were insufficient.

Dayal and Karan (2003) discovered that one-third of the households had at least one member migrate to states like

Bihar, Jharkhand, Gujarat, and Madhya Pradesh in their study of twelve villages in the tribally forested state of Jharkhand. Temporary migration occurs quite frequently (30–50 migrants per 1,000 people). According to Keshari & Bhagat (2012), Jharkhand (36), Gujarat (34), Madhya Pradesh (33), West Bengal (30), and Rajasthan were the main states with higher-than-average rates of temporary labour migration. Between 2001 and 2011, migration caused Jharkhand to lose more than 5 million of its working-age population (Government of India, 2017). More than 5% of the population leaves each year due to a lack of employment opportunities, poverty, and loss of traditional means of subsistence. Additionally, this represents the greatest net outflow rate in the nation.

4. Women migration

Since the tribal and forest economies are essentially "women-centred," women have been more affected by "development" than men. Women are in charge of surviving and thriving. food, fuel, fodder, and water management and distribution to the family as well as within their community. According to Rao (1982) ^[28], women no longer solely follow their family heads' judgments passively.

In her study, Wadhawan (2013) ^[40] observed that living in a city typically promises women access to public spaces and a variety of employment opportunities. However, tribal women's access to urban areas and employment opportunities is generally restricted to domestic labour. In her research, she discovered that domestic work was performed by 78% of all migrant women, making it the most prevalent category of work for women in the surveyed village. The Oraon community demonstrates how caste/tribe, gender, and other social processes interact to cause migration for domestic work. Being tribal contributed to the perception that these women were hard-working and loyal to their employers. In addition, they are preferred as live-in domestic workers to their lower-caste counterparts who are still stigmatised due to the prevalent caste-based notions of purity pollution (Neetha 2003) ^[24]. Kujur (2018) in her study found that migration surely influences tribal women's social status, role and position in society. Many migrant women see domestic work as their only means of getting out the village because they are aware that there are opportunities in the city thanks to their networks of friends, family, and former domestic workers.

In their study, Kurane and Topno (2006) ^[19] discovered that there are a number of push and pull factors that influence the migration of tribal girls to major cities. Pull factors include the high demand for domestic workers in cities, the availability of work, competitive pay, and attraction to city life, while push factors include poverty, unemployment, a lack of proper education, and larger family sizes. Given that performing chores at home is still not regarded as "work" that promotes capital accumulation and social production. One of the biggest issues the tribal society in Jharkhand is currently facing is the rapid rise in the migration of tribal girls to cities for domestic work.

Natural resources are becoming scarce due to so-called "state development," forcing tribal women to find additional sources of income to support their families. According to Neetha (2004) ^[25], the women who are involved in the migration process for domestic work and systems need to reevaluate the viability of some of the theories that have gained widespread acceptance in the migration literature. In

their study, Singh and Jha (2004) [34] discovered that there is an independent group of tribal women from Jharkhand, which is the major source of domestic workers employed in Delhi. Therefore, autonomous migration concerns not only male migrants but is also very popular among tribal women. Hence, the need of the hour is to examine the situation because tribal women cannot be clubbed together with other women of the class society.

Conclusion

The use of slavery as a derivative discourse of analysis, as well as slavery in the analogous sense with servitude, is at the root of the problem in assessing the issue of indentured migrant labour. The origins of the indenture system in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as its structure, institutions, and operation, were discussed in this article. It is to emphasise the importance of reassessing this long-running debate beyond these institutional terms and tracing the various meanings of slavery and labour based on different situations, perspectives, and necessities. We can't understand the history of peoples of Indian origin in the various plantation/Girmit countries unless we understand the larger contexts in which Indian indentureship occurred and was abolished. We also misunderstand their potential role in world history. It has highlighted the migration in Jharkhand after the independence and reasons for this migration. The article also assesses trends and patterns of migration in Jharkhand after its formation. Some of the patterns such as Tribal Migration, Seasonal Migration, Women Migration, Rural-Urban and Labour Migration has been observed. Seasonal migration is prevalent in Jharkhand, especially among socio-economically disadvantaged and marginalized communities. The study discovered a significant inverse relationship between economic status and temporary migration. Seasonal migration is more common among socioeconomically disadvantaged and marginalised groups, such as Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, reflecting the distress-driven nature of Jharkhand. Migration from rural to urban areas accounted for more than half of seasonal migration. Rural-urban mobility is more prevalent for economic reasons. Migration is a byproduct of developmental processes in some ways. Furthermore, there is no need to stop it because doing so would deprive people of jobs, an economic base, and much-needed exposure to the world beyond their villages. Migration is both a cause and an effect. As everyone has the right to move and settle anywhere in the country so the flow of migration cannot be stopped. Jharkhand needs to have a new research perspective and alternative planning prescriptions concerning migration. It should have a strong plan and successive operations to benefit poor migrants. Then only, it will be able to handle the negative effects of urbanization and bring upward transformation. A policy can be created to target (or minimise) a particular group of migrants such as distress-driven migrants. There must be an analysis of the reasons why migrant households migrate, as well as the obstacles that non-migrant households face. To frame subsequent policy discussions and rural development planning, understanding the barriers to and within migration is required. A mechanism for improving access to services and food, as well as reducing potential harassment, is required. Because migration affects Jharkhand in various ways, it must be prioritised with specific policy interventions. Governments and policymakers can play an important role in ensuring that migrants migrate safely.

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