RURAL OUTMIGRATION FROM BUNDELKHAND REGION OF UTTAR PRADESH: A STUDY OF PUSH FACTORS

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ABSTRACT: Out-migration from rural areas to earn livelihood is a common phenomenon in Bundelkhand region of Uttar Pradesh. Such a process not only accelerated in recent years but also changed in character. Earlier it used to be the male oriented, but gradually it is turning to couple migration as well as the family migration, both seasonally and permanently. The present study attempts to study the out-migration streams from the rural Bundelkhand along with the reasons behind such a forced migration. Based on data collected from the secondary sources including government records, along with non-government agencies/media reports, the study concludes that the major push factors working behind the forced rural-urban migration are poverty, underemployment and unemployment, caused due to climatic extremes, frequent crop failure, low agricultural productivity and poor demand for non-farm goods and services as the alternate sources of income. Debt-ridden households, marginal farmers and agricultural labourers are forced to move out to urban areas to find other sources of employment.

Keywords: Out-migration, debt-ridden, regional backwardness, unemployment, poverty

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Introduction

Migration is the geographic movement of people away from their usual residence, establishing a new temporary/permanent residence due to environmental, social, economic, and other causes (Das and Saha, 2012). Lee (1966) explains, peoples are "pushed" out from their places of origin, where they are dissatisfied (for socio-economic, or other reasons) and "pulled" by destination places where they can "better" themselves.

Rural to urban migration in a developing country like India mostly takes place due to push factors (like poverty, unemployment, natural calamities and under development etc.) of the places of origin, not pull factors of destinations (Das and Saha, 2012). It has been observed that extreme poverty, stressed ecosystems, climatic hazards, and socio-political shocks force people to move away from their places of origin (Parkins, 2010). In fact, this type of migration indicates wide range of disparities in economic and social conditions between places of origin and destination (UNFPA, 1993). Migration from a particular region to developed states or big cities in search of better employment opportunities shows the state of underdevelopment, and agrarian structure. It also reflects a very high level of regional disparities in development. In India, similar pattern of migration is very common, where rural out migration is directly linked with the rate of development in the concerned states.

In EAG (Empowered Action Group) states including Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Uttaranchal and Uttar Pradesh, the rate and volume of out-migration is higher than other states due to low levels of urbanization, lack of industrialization, underdeveloped agriculture, and lack of transport and communication

facilities (Mukherjee and Das, 2011). In this group of states, Uttar Pradesh is the state where out-migration has been adopted as a common livelihood strategy due to wide spread rural poverty and underdevelopment, and thus the state has emerged as a major supplier of cheap labour within and across the national borders (Ahmad, 2018). Data available from the Census of India (2001) reveals that Uttar Pradesh contributes the largest number of net-migrants (-2.6 million), who move out from the state with the reason of 'Work/Employment' and/or 'Moved with households' among all states. Uttar Pradesh alone shares 23.0 per cent of country's total out-migration (Census of India, 2001), against its share of 16.0 per cent in total population of the country.

Within Uttar Pradesh, Bundelkhand region is identified as one of the least developed part of the country, making media headlines for severe draughts, suicides by debt-ridden farmers, eating hay bread due to extreme poverty, starvation deaths, large-scale migration of marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, and also youth-outmigration for livelihood in cities (Samara, 2008). For decades, rural out-migration is a common phenomenon in Bundelkhand region. But in the last few years the process accelerated and also changed its character. Earlier only male member/s of the family used to migrate to the cities for employment, but presently not only the male migration is happening, but also couple migration, and complete household migration have been added, both seasonally and permanently.

Research Objectives

In the light of the above statements, the present paper sets the following research objectives for their investigation. These included the study of-

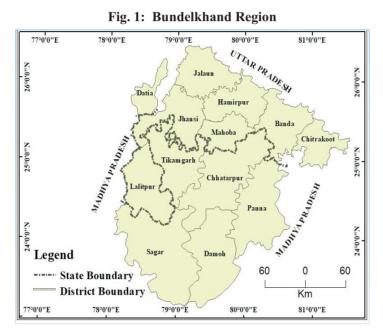
- 1. The magnitude and the direction of out-migration from rural Bundelkhand within the state of Uttar Pradesh,
- 2. Factors working behind the out-migration;
- 3. Changes in migration strategies, and
- 4. Demographic and socio-economic implications of the out-migration.

Study Area

Bundelkhand, a historic and geo-cultural region of the Central India, lies in dry Vindhean plateau area. It comprises of 13 districts (seven from southern Uttar Pradesh) and the remaining six from Madhya Pradesh. These included Chitrakoot, Banda, Jhansi, Jalaun, Hamirpur, Mahoba and Lalitpur from the former and Datia, Tikamgarh, Chhatarpur, Damoh, Panna, and Sagar from the latter. The topography of Bundelkhand is filled with uneven rocky hills and deep ravines. The region has abundance in natural resources. However, the ground water is not only found at considerable depth but also its quality is highly poor. Mostly it is unfit for drinking purposes. The draught conditions, infertile land, and the lack of irrigation facilities are the main problems of this region.

The present study covers the former seven districts from Uttar Pradesh, called as Bundelkhand region of Uttar Pradesh. It lies between $24^{\circ} 10^{1}$ N to $26^{\circ}25^{1}$ N and $78^{\circ} 10^{1}$ E to $81^{\circ}35^{1}$ E, extending over an area of 29,148 sq. km. and 12.2 per cent in total land of the state

of Uttar Pradesh. As per 2011 Census, the total population of this region was 96.82 lakh, making only 5.2 per cent in total population of the state. Evidently, Bundelkhand is a sparsely populated part of Uttar Pradesh. This is further supported in low population density of 338 persons per sq. km. in comparison of the state average of 828 persons per sq. km. In addition, it is a highly rural and agricultural part of the state. Nearly 77.0 per cent of the total population of the region is living in the rural areas. In other words, less than 23.0 per cent population lives in urban areas. Almost the same is true for the state as a whole. However, if we exclude Jhansi district, having about 42.0 per cent of urbanization level in 2011, from the Bundelkhand region, urbanization level comes down to less than 18.0 per cent, and urbanization level in Chittrakoot district is less than 10.0 per cent. One-third of total households are officially covered in Below Poverty Line (BPL) and entitled in state's welfare schemes (Draught Assessment Report, Bundelkhand, UP, 2016).



It is clear that the Bundelkhand is one of the most backward parts of Uttar Pradesh (Human Development Report, UP, 2012) and the country as well. Its social backwardness is also clear from social composition of population. The majority of population (53.0 per cent) belongs to Other Backward Castes (OBCs), and another one-fourth (25.0 per cent) to scheduled castes are 25.0 per cent. About one-fifth population belongs to Rajputs and Brahmins, owning the majority of agricultural land.

More than 80.0 per cent workforce of this region is still engaged in agriculture as cultivators or labourers, showing a high dependence on agriculture. Living conditions especially of the of rural poor are very bad. They are highly vulnerable to agricultural droughts. On other side, illiteracy coupled with lack of employment opportunities lead to serious socio-economic distress.

Data Sources and Methodology

This study is mainly based on secondary sources of data/information. This included Census of India (2001) Data Highlights– Migration Tables D1, D2 & D3; Census of India: Primary Census Abstracts 2001 & 2011; Census of India (2011) B-3 Main Workers, Marginal Workers, Non-Workers and Those Marginal Workers, Non-Workers Seeking/Available For Work Classified by Educational Level And Sex- 2011; Socio-Economic and Caste Census (2011); Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India, NSSO (2010); Migration in India, National Sample Survey Organization, Ministry of Statistics and Planning Implementation, Government of India, Report No. 533; 64th round data, collected during July, 2007–June, 2008, Niti Aayog (2015) and Human Development Report: Bundelkhand 2012. In addition, government reports, research journals, websites, and NGO and media reports have also been pressed into service. Various cartographic and statistical techniques have been for mapping and data analysis and interpretation.

DISCUSSION, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Causes of Migration

Rural to urban migration in India is associated with pushed and pull factors. In the former case, people feel motivated due to a desire of getting better employment possibilities, higher wages, and good quality of education and better living standard of the destination place. In the latter case, it happens due to various push or distress factors at their place of origin. Some of these factors are drought or extreme weather conditions, agricultural failure, lack of alternative employment opportunities, low wages, and debt etc. (Bhaduri and Marglin, 1990; Haan, 1999; Srivastava, 2005 and Kundu, 2008).

According to the data available from the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO, 2010), rural people migrated to cities mainly for four reasons: Economic, Educational, Social and Others. The majority of rural workers (55.4 per cent) do migrate to cities for economic reasons (Table 1). The next important reason for migration is education (26.6 per cent). Due to lack of education facilities in the villages, people migrate to cities. Social and other reasons constituted another about 3.0 per cent and 15.0 per cent, respectively. Other Studies also show that the main reason behind rural-urban is the economic (Kundu, 2008). In a study of Bundelkhand region (UP), Prasad (2016) identified the two main reasons for out-migration: lack of gainful employment and the low wages. For example, 40.0 per cent from Banda district and 46.7 per cent from Hamirpur district do migrate to urban areas for non-availability of work at their native places.

Census of India (2001) has also listed six main reasons of migration (work/employment, business, education, marriage, moved after birth, moved with household and others) for the period of 1991 to 2001. Table 2 presents information on the reasons for out-migration from Uttar Pradesh. This is based on the duration of last residence of migrant outside the state, between 0-9 years. There have been significant variations in the reasons for migration between male and female migrants. Among males, seeking employment was the most

important reason, while the marriage constituted the main reason for migration among the females. In the former case, it 45.3 per cent and the latter case it was 57.8 per cent.

Reason for migration	Percentage
Economic	55.4
Education	26.6
Social	02.7
Others	15.3

Table 1: Bundelkhand: Reasons for Rural-Urban Migration, 2008

Source: Prasad, S. (2016). Socio-economic characteristics of rural households in Bundelkhand region, Uttar Pradesh. *Journal of Regional Development and Planning*, 5(2): 69.

Note: Economic: In search of better employment, In search of employment, to take up employment/better employment, Transfer of service/contract, Business, Post retirement, Education, Social and Others: Acquisition of own house/ flat, Proximity to place of work, Natural disaster (drought, flood, tsunami, etc.), Social/political problems (riots, terrorism, Political refugee, bad law and order, etc.), Displacement by development project, Health care.

If we study on push and pull factors of rural-urban migration, then it is better to exclude marriage from the list of reasons. It being a social phenomenon does not fall under the push or pull factors. Then we shall be able understand the actual causes behind rural-urban migration.

Another interesting fact coming out of data presented in the table 2 is the migration with entire household. It was 30.9 per cent in the case of males and 27.8 per cent in the case of females. Notably, moving with household (migration along with family) is also a part of migration for work and employment. This happens in two ways: (i) if the male member of the family migrates for employment, and finds a proper arrangement for stay in the city, then he takes his family to urban area, and (ii) if the migration takes place due to extreme poverty and starvation or due to non-availability of any alternative source of income in the village, then in such cases the household moves to the city as a survival strategy.

Reasons for migration	Percent migrants (duration 0-9)					
	Persons	Male	Female			
All migrants	100.0	100.0	100.0			
Work/employment	21.5	45.3	7.6			
Business	0.7	1.2	0.4			
Education	3.0	6.9	0.7			
Marriage	36.9	1.1	57.8			
Moved by birth	0.7	1.0	0.5			
Moved with household	28.9	30.9	27.8			
Others	8.3	13.6	5.2			

Table 2: Uttar Pradesh: Reasons behind out-migration for 0-9 years duration, 2001

Source: Census of India (2001). *Migration data, Abstract on Data Highlights- Table D1, D2 & D3*. Retrieved from https://censusindia.gov.in/Data_Products/Data_Highlights/Data_Highlights_link/data_highlights_D1D2D3.pdf

This reflects the practice that the rural women are less likely to marry across states, and more likely to move when their household moves (Migration Report, 2017). And if we combine both reasons, migration for work and migration with family, it can be said that the male migration from rural to urban areas is mainly for employment. Only a small proportion of the migrants do migrate for business (0.7 per cent) or educational purposes (3.0 per cent). It makes evidently clear that rural-urban in Uttar Pradesh is not by choice but a sort of

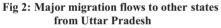
compulsion to earn livelihood. Bundelkhand, which is an economically backward part of Uttar Pradesh, contribute to rural-urban migration mainly because of the fact that the rural economy of region fails to provide gainful employment to those seeking or available for employment.

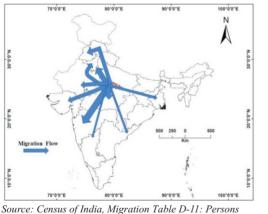
It is quite interesting to note that Kanpur Nagar, followed by Fatehpur and Kapur Dehat are the three major destinations for the rural migrants from Bundelkhand region. These three districts, in combine, received more than seven of each ten migrants from the Bundelkhand region (Table 3 and Fig. 3). Kanpur Nagar alone receiving nearly three of each ten migrants from the region. Kanpur city located in Kanpur Nagar district is the nearest metropolitan city capable of providing job to employment seekers not only from the hinterland region but also other parts of the state as well as other states in India. Ghaziabad and Gautam Buddha Nagar, other two important urban-industrial centres in the state received, in combine, only about 6.0 per cent of all migrants from Bundelkhand region. The distance of place of destination from the place of origin plays an important role. More than nine-tenths of all migrants migrant to districts located within a radius of 150 km. from the region.

Table 3: Bund	elkhand Region (UP): Major migration flows to other districts of the state	
OTHER	Name of district	

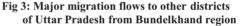
OTHER .	Name of d	listrict						
DISTRICTS OF	Jalaun	Jhansi	Lalitpur	Hamirpur	Mahoba	Banda	Chitrakoot	Total
UP 🚽								
Kanpur Dehat	15,805	806	39	6,212	216	2,662	109	25,849
Kanpur Nagar	7,189	3,424	200	18,240	1,431	11,148	332	41,964
Fatehpur	448	116	17	5,758	318	28,377	1,128	36,162
Allahabad	349	540	43	260	133	3,527	1,927	6,779
Ghaziabad	772	1,230	61	662	451	879	70	4,125
Gautam. Buddha	360	732	48	637	949	1,097	115	3,938
Nagar								
Lucknow	1,626	2,384	198	1,605	486	2,119	223	8,641
Etawah	4,135	410	24	555	59	615	38	5,836
Auraiya	9,572	446	21	1,121	74	534	27	11,795
TOTAL	40,256	10,088	651	35,050	4,117	50,958	3,969	145,089

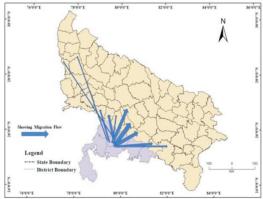
Source: Census of India (2001). Migration Table D-11: Persons born and enumerated and districts of the State, 2001





Population born and enumerated Vs. districts of the state 2001





Source: Census of India, Migration Tables, D-1: Classified by birth and sex, UP 2011

On the other side of the scale, the three of seven districts in Bundelkhand region of Uttar Pradesh contributed nearly nine-tenths or 87.0 per cent of the total migration stream from the region. These districts included Banda, Jalaun and Hamirpur. Banda district alone contributed more than one-third or 35.0 per cent to total out-migrants from the region. The dominant majority of migrants from these three districts reached Kanpur Nagar, Kanpur Dehat or Fatehpur districts. Outside these three districts, Auraiya is another district receiving distantly 8.0 per cent of total out-migrants.

Major factors behind out-migration

According to Lee's theory and model of migration, there are two principal factors responsible for migration- Push and Pull (Lee, 1966). Here, push factors are deeply associated with the place of migrant's origin while pull factors with the area of destination. In the context of Bundelkhand region of UP, the main pushing factors are poverty, natural calamities and extreme weather conditions, lack of assured irrigation facilities, crop failure, low agricultural productivity, landlessness, lack of work opportunities, unemployment, underdevelopment, issues of food security and starvation etc. On the other hand, major pulling factors are better prospects of employment, higher wages, and regulated working hours. In the light of all this, we examine the factors prevalent in the Bundelkhand region.

Extreme Weather Conditions (Drought, uncertainties of rain and flood):

It is well established that a drought cannot be avoided but can be predicted in due course of time and necessary precautions may be taken in advance for alleviating their adverse effects (Agnew, 1990; Agnew and Warren, 1996; Le Houerou, 1996; Palmer, 1965; Smakhtin and Hughes, 2007). Several studies have identified that drought is a major pushing factor in a place from where migration originates. On the basis of historical studies, a number of scholars have established that drought and poverty are the major reasons of migration (Ezra, 2001). Herman and Garbe (2019) stated that drought leads to increased mobility, mainly triggering short-term migration to nearby locations for meeting immediate needs such as food shortages etc.

The 'Report on drought mitigation strategy for Bundelkhand region of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh', submitted by Inter-ministerial team, clearly mentions that Bundelkhand has been called the drought-prone region of the country. During 18th and 19th centuries, the region, on an average, faced a major drought in every 16 years, which tripled during 1968 to 1992 (Planning Commission, 2009; Samra, 2008). The frequency and severity of droughts in Bundelkhand region has increased over the past decades (Thomas, Nayak and Ghosh, 2015).

Recently the country has faced the worst drought in the year 2015. For this, Bundelkhand region of UP experienced an extreme level of rainfall deficiency, more than 50 per cent. Resultantly, the groundwater level was also reduced drastically. Due to which all districts of the region faced major crop failure (Drought Assessment Report, Bundelkhand region UP, 2016). Besides uncertain and heavy rainfall also negatively affect the cropping system of various types of pulses including moong (lentils), til (sesame) and arhar (pigeon peas).

Different types of poisonous grasses use to grow due to such disturbances in rainfall regime, harmful for cattle (PERSPECTIVES, 2010).

The immediate effect of drought and untimely rainfall on agriculture and people of Bundelkhand is the crop failure, low agricultural production, and lack of employment opportunities in agricultural sector. As three-fourths of population of Bundelkhand relies on rain-fed agriculture, issues related with food security, water stress, losing livestock and migration to other places to look for livelihood are the prominent phenomenon (World Vision India, 2019).

Rain fed agriculture and crop failure

The Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture has expressed that agriculture in India was considered as gamble with monsoon (Govt. of India, 1928). This statement still holds truth in the context of Bundelkhand region. Agriculture, which is mostly rain-fed and depends on the environmental conditions, is the primary economic activity of the region. About three-fourths of the population depends on agriculture for income and livelihood.

Household income source									
District Name	Cultivation	Manual Labour	Part time/Full time Domestic services	Foraging rag picking	Non-farm own account enterprise	Begging/ charity aims collection	Others		
Jalaun	48.10	43.03	2.54	0.14	0.97	0.11	5.11		
Jhansi	55.01	34.01	1.4	0.31	1.23	0.17	7.86		
Lalitpur	74.24	20.31	0.77	0.07	0.34	0.07	4.2		
Hamirpur	39.60	54.82	1.04	0.04	0.55	0.15	3.81		
Mahoba	43.66	51.17	0.91	0.03	0.26	0.15	3.83		
Banda	40.11	52.88	1.57	0.15	0.70	0.20	4.39		
Chitrakoot	43.62	48.17	1.20	0.07	0.15	0.23	6.56		
Average (%)	49.19	43.48	1.35	0.12	0.60	0.15	5.11		
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Table 4: Main source of household income in Rural Bundelkhand Region (UP) by districts

Household income source

Source: Socio-economic and caste census, 2011

Note: All figures are in percentage

Cultivation is the major source of income. On average, 49.2 per cent of total rural households get their income through cultivation in Bundelkhand region (Table 4). Another, 43.5 per cent of the rural households depends on manual casual labour for their livelihood, usually working as agricultural labourers. The share of households depending on income from non-farm enterprises is very less than 1.0 per cent. Evidently more than nine-tenths of total rural households in Bundelkhand are directly (as cultivator) or indirectly (as agricultural labour) dependent on agriculture for their income or livelihood.

According to data available from the Census of India (2011) 56.7 per cent of the 'main' workers in Uttar Pradesh are engaged in agriculture sector. This share was 69.4 per cent for Bundelkhand. Continuous failure of rainfall in the region means that the landless labourers neither get satisfactory work in agriculture, nor they can get sufficient food for their comfortable livelihood. The continuous drought conditions have destroyed the entire economy of the region. All such conditions are resulting in out-migration on a large-scale of rural population from Bundelkhand region (Samara, 2008).

Lack of irrigation facilities

Irrigation is another decisive factor for the success of crop production and increasing the agricultural productivity. In 2011, the percentage of net irrigated area to net area sown was only 52.2 per cent in Bundelkhand region against as high as about 92.0 per cent in western Uttar Pradesh. The former is the lowest and the latter the highest in the entire state. Evidently, there is a huge gap between the highest and the lowest net irrigated area shares in the state (Government of India, 2011). The irrigation facilities in Bundelkhand region are inadequate not only for its rocky terrain, but also for poor financial and technological support. The use of modern irrigation techniques such as sprinkle and canal irrigation facilities has limited presence in the region. It is interesting to note that the share of area irrigated by the private tube wells has more than doubled during 2001-2013 in Bundelkhand region against a sharp decline in canal irrigated area during the same period (Table 5).

Table 5: Bundelkhand region (UP): Percentage share of net irrigated area by irrigation sources,2013

Year	Ownership of	pumping sets	Other irrigation sources					
	Private	Public	Canal	Govt. owned tube wells	Private tube wells	Other Sources		
2000- 2001	3.00	5.50	44.45	4.47	10.16	10.80		
2012- 2013	2.19	5.94	36.43	4.61	24.52	34.44		

Source: District wise Development Indicator, Uttar Pradesh, 2013

Increasing trend in irrigation from ground water sources indicates increased dependency on ground water. Any decrease in ground water level therefore affects the availability of ground water. The traditional methods of irrigation and environment friendly water storage systems which existed here since the times of the Bundela and Chandela Rajputs in the 10th and 11st centuries, but registered a gradual decline due to the neglect, and encroachment.

Poverty and Starvation

Scholars have pinpointed the migration as "the oldest action against poverty" (Galbraith, 1979). It is also considered that the history of migration is the history of people to escape poverty and insecurity, and to move forward in response to opportunity (Das and Saha, 2012).

There are a number of methods available to measure poverty. A common method used to estimate prevalence and depth of poverty in India is based on the income or expenditure levels, and if the income or expenditure falls below a given minimum level, then the household is said to be 'Below the Poverty Line' (BPL). However, poverty based on income/expenditure does not in itself explain everything about deprivation (Human Development Report, 2012). According to National Sample Survey of 2004-2005, in Bundelkhand or southern Uttar Pradesh, poverty level is quite high. According to 61st NSS survey round (2004-05), the percentages of rural and urban poor were 44.7 and 48.2,

respectively; the two averages being 42.7 and 34.1 per cent, respectively for the state as a whole. In the next round (66th held in 2009-10), rural poverty level in Bundelkhand went up to 45.9 per cent, while urban poverty registered a decline (31.7 per cent). The national average for rural poverty in 2009-10 was 33.8 per cent and urban poverty level 20.9 per cent. Obviously, Bundelkhand region is one of the poorest regions of the country from all standards.

Food Security

The most obvious effect of drought on the life of the people is the lack of adequate access to food and water (World Vision India, 2019). Another indicator to assess the level of poverty is food security. Several studies have reported that food insecurity is, in some cases, the driver of migration. In some food-secure householders, only male member of the family migrates. While in extremely poor families including small cultivators, debt-ridden marginal farmers, agricultural labourers, landless and backward castes, the male migrates with whole family and work in exploitative jobs in poor conditions (Haan, 2011). Therefore, food security has a potential to affect the pattern of migration.

For the sake of survival, some coping mechanism is also adopted by such people, like borrowing food and money from others, collecting wild fruits & other products for avoiding starvation, many were doing work for food, and sometimes they practice barter system. As a result, the problems of starvation deaths are more prominently observed in this region, caused due to scarcity of food, poor agricultural productivity and failure of crop.

Non-availability of gainful employment opportunities at the Village level

Non-availability of gainful employment in non-farm activities at the village level or in the surrounding cluster of villages push people outside the region for seeking employment for livelihood. The rural Bundelkhand is a typical example of underdeveloped and intra-regional inequalities.

	Employment and income characteristics									
District	Total	Households with salaried Job			Classification of households by					
	Households				monthly income of the highest earning					
	with				household	member				
	Salaried	Government	Public	Private	Less	Rs. 5,000-	Rs.			
	income	offices	sector	Sector	than Rs.	9,999	10,000			
			enterprises enterprises		5,000		or above			
Jalaun	6.05	3.37	1.22	1.46	76.81	16.48	6.71			
Jhansi	5.03	3.34	0.35	1.34	80.68	13.54	5.78			
Lalitpur	2.77	2.08	0.15	0.54	85.80	10.06	4.14			
Hamirpur	4.64	3.76	0.55	0.33	81.34	13.50	5.16			
Mahoba	3.57	2.89	0.23	0.45	81.71	13.50	4.72			
Banda	3.48	2.55	0.42	0.51	82.40	13.51	4.09			
Chitrakoot	4.80	4.04	0.38	0.38	80.52	12.14	7.34			
Average	4.32	3.14	0.47	0.71	81.32	13.24	5.42			

Source: Socio-Economic and Caste Census, 2011

Note: All figures are in percentage

Only less than one of each twenty or 4.32 per cent households in the region earn their livelihood from the salaried income (Table 6). Among district, it ranged from a high of 6.1 per cent in Jalaun district to less than 3.0 per cent in Lalitpur district, the former having more than double of such households than the latter. In absence of manufacturing activities, the dominant majority of salaried households were dependent of income earned by their working members in government offices as teachers, clerks or peons. Here also, there were wide interdistrict disparities, ranging from a high of 4.0 per cent in Chitrakoot district to only 2.6 per cent in Banda district. The similar situation can be observed in case of public sector and private sector enterprises. Another notable feature of income earned by households was the the highest paid household member in more than eight of each ten earners earned less than Rs. 5000/- per month. Against this, only about one of each twenty earners earned Rs.10,000/- or more per month. This speaks of a highly pathetic situation of employment and income in the region. The non-farm employment opportunities especially in manufacturing sector are almost completely absent from the region to earn livelihood.

Underdevelopment and low level of urbanization

The level of urbanization is also an important indicator of the level of development. In 2011, 22.7 per cent population of region was residing in urban areas, against the state average of 22.2 per cent. However, urbanization level comes down to less than 18.0 per cent if Jhansi district is excluded from the region. In Jhansi district urbanization level is about 42.0 per cent. On the other extreme, it less than 10.0 per cent Chitrakoot, a least urbanized district in the region. Except, Jhansi and Jalaun districts, the remaining five districts have urbanization level below the state average of 22.2 per cent in 2011.

Almost on the indicators of industrial development, Bundelkhand region is lagging far behind not only the state average but also the national average (Table 7).

Indicator	Eastern	Western	Central	B'khand	All U.P.	India
Number of Persons Employed in Registered	106	435	218	67	245	747
Factories (per lakh of population) (2002-03)						(2001-02)
Number of Persons Employed in Registered	99	682	312	76	-	-
Factories (per lakh of population) (2005-06)						
Per capita Gross Value of Industrial output	1502	8593	3834	1699	4544	9273
(Rs.'000) (2002-03)						(2001-02)
Total Number of Working Factories (per	1.1	5.0	3.0	1.2	2.9	12.4
lakh of population) (2002-03)						

 Table 7: A comparative picture of employment in factory sector in different regions of Uttar

 Pradesh

Source: 11th Plan document, Government of Uttar Pradesh

Note: Figures the number/per lakh persons

Due to low level of urbanization and industrialization in Bundelkhand region, there has been a demand coming time and again to make this region into a separate state, since people of region perceive that statehood can open the new vistas of development in the region (Chaturvedi, 2015).

Conclusion

The study demonstrates how the regional backwardness perpetuated by a variety of physical and institutional factors forces the working population to out-migrate for earning livelihood. Bundelkhand region of Uttar Pradesh where a combination of physical handicaps coupled with the administrative and political neglect not only in pre-independence period but also after the Independence created conditions of widespread poverty and unemployment-forcing people to move out of region to earn livelihood. The region is highly dependent on rain-fed agriculture, faced frequent droughts in the past, lacks irrigation facilities, experiencing low agricultural productivity, and landlessness. All this has resulted into a scale poverty and underemployment.

Such formidable situation forces the rural folks to leave villages to move towards the urban centres to earn livelihood leaving behind their families. This is a kind of forced migration adopted as an alternative survival strategy by the people of this region.

Recently, there has been a change in migration strategy. Earlier, it used to the male earning members of households, who will go out to an urban area to learn livelihood, but now the entire household moves out of the village. This is happening in the two ways: (i) if the male member of the family migrates for employment, and finds a proper arrangement for stay in the city, then he takes his family also, and (ii) if the migration takes place due to extreme poverty and starvation or due to non-availability of any alternative source of income in the village, then the entire the household moves out to the town as a survival strategy.

Since it is distress migration, the overwhelming majority of migrants earn less than Rs. 5000/- per month. It is only a small proportion of less than 6.0 per cent earning Rs.10,000/- or more per month.

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