



The State and Human Development The Road Covered

1. The Backdrop: Madhya Pradesh and Human Development

The Government of Madhya Pradesh produced its first Human Development Report in 1995 to benchmark its status in areas affecting human development. This was seen as a document to create concern on the low status of human development in the state and mobilise collective action to address it with a sense of urgency. It was also seen as providing the conceptual underpinnings for a shift in development priorities effected by the government which converted selected human development tasks into Missions in the state. These Missions centered on an agenda of livelihood security, education and selected issues of basic health care. A Human Development Report (HDR) that identified the gaps of the state in these areas was expected to create and sustain political and policy support to such an agenda.

A Human Development Report produced by any government of a State beset with historical backwardness in critical areas of human development tends to become a confessional. It becomes an open admission of failures in the attainment of basic development needs that any progressive government is expected to address. Democratic governments do not have the privilege of distant they are expected not merely to diagnose or interpret, but are voted to office to make change. A Report of this nature becomes controversial in a context of competitive and adversarial politics that is yet to evolve into becoming bipartisan on issues of development. The media also tends to project the sensational underside with a new sense of discovery. All these place great demands on political courage to begin and continue to produce such Reports.

The Government of Madhya Pradesh showed that courage. It did it with a full awareness of these consequences. It believed that there was nothing that was contained in a Human Development Report that was not felt by the people in their everyday lives. It was more

important to make people *think* about it so that they were Moved to look for solutions. The issue was one of vision and guts. The vision was that democratic governments must work with people on human development, and through combined action of State and civil society many of the tasks on hand could be effectively addressed. If facts were made known, concerns shared, and an enabling environment for participatory action provided, society would take on the tasks that governments were labouring to do. A new atmosphere of collective action could develop that would make seemingly formidable tasks achievable.

Looking back at the three years since the publication of the first HDR by the State Government, the most important objective seems to have been met in that, today, the human development agenda and related issues of education, health and livelihood security dominate the political discourse in the state. New initiatives in the fields of education, health and livelihood security have moved over substantially to community-centered management. There is a better understanding of collaborative action and public-private partnership. In fact there has been a shift in the model of action with participatory action replacing state-directed delivery.

2. Addressing Human Development: Goals Beyond MPHDR 1995

On October 1, 1995, the MPHDR was formally released by the then Union Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh at New Delhi. The exercise was well received within Madhya Pradesh by people's representatives, administrators, non-governmental organisations, and contributed both to the political discourse and dialogue with organisations related to development. The emergence of a vocal 'human development lobby' in India which includes politicians, academics, administration and international organisations has been aided by the response to MPHDR 1995.

Within the State of Madhya Pradesh, the 1995 report has contributed in substantial measure to mainstreaming

concerns, debate and action on human development. The term 'human development' has gained currency in the sphere of government's action and public discourse.

The Government of Madhya Pradesh in collaboration with the United Nation's Development Programme held an all India workshop on State level Human Development Reports in Bhopal in November 1996. MPHDR 1995 was presented as a welcome initiative for such state level efforts. Putting on focus the objectives of the government in launching on an agenda of Human Development Reports as an instrument towards accelerating human development goals in Madhya Pradesh, the Chief Minister Mr. Digvijay Singh in the workshop stated that "In most of our states, uneven development is a reality... and a Human Development Report by measuring our efforts and pointing out the gaps, serve a very useful purpose. It becomes an effective planning instrument to direct limited resource. Such a Report is not merely a framework for measurement but as much a reaffirmation of vision - vision about a just, humane and equitable social order... Human Development Reports are relevant to us only if they trigger action towards greater investments in the social sector".

With regard to the first two objectives, MPHDR 1995 has been wed into the planning process in Madhya Pradesh. The Approach Paper to the Draft IXth Five Year Plan for Madhya Pradesh states "A substantial shift has taken place in recent years of the greater emphasis on basic minimum services at the national level and the human development agenda adopted by the State Government... Social services will now appropriate 42.37 percent of Plan investment, as compared to 18.73 percent in the Eighth Plan". The Plan document states that "An important indicator of the State's backwardness... is the Human Index".

Madhya Pradesh Human Development Report 1998 goes beyond the 1995 report, where in many ways, it attempts to fill the gaps in the 1995 report. The first Madhya Pradesh human development, Report in 1995 had dealt with the status of education, health gender issues in the State. The third component of human development, related with standard of living or access to resources for a good quality of life had not been looked into. This Report makes a beginning in addressing them, and covers some issues related to livelihoods and natural resources.

The chapters of the Report can be conceptually

grouped into three sections. The first section deals with the steps taken in the last three years by the State Government on human development, and in increasing people's participation in it. The second section is built on the theme of *People and Natural Resources*. This section covers two critical issues for the people of the State! Forests, and Water Management in two separate chapters. While they are specific to their context, these chapters present a picture of the two resources - forests and water. Both chapters discuss the impact of the natural resource on people's lives, and the sustenance derived from them, leading onto current issues and trends towards more people directed management of these resources. The chapters establish a link between the constraints and potential, the current and emergent issues and governmental and other action in this regard in the State. The chapter on People Oriented Management of Forests dwells on the history of people-forest-state relations, enumerates past and present policies and practices, and advocates increased people's participation in forest management. The chapter on Water Management and Livelihoods Security states the challenge of food security, and employment, and then outlines the issues related with exploiting water resources and technology in two regions of the State. The chapter then argues for decentralised management of watershed development on the lines of watershed Mission adopted by the State government, and finally proposes watershed-led sustainable solutions for livelihood security.

Given the fact that reportage also needs to develop to develop a user manual for identifying of problems and measuring outcome for actual interventions, the third section presents a database on the State. This is data culled from independent sources which can be an aid to more effective comprehension of sector, as well as outcome indicators for human Development interventions thus far.

3. New Opportunities for Human Development in Madhya Pradesh 1995-1998: Participatory Governance through Panchayat Raj

An entirely new period of possibilities for realising human development goals opened up in the State when Madhya Pradesh became the first state in the country to hold elections to Panchayat Raj Institutions after the Seventy Third Amendment of the Constitution. The Constitution

Panchyati Raj: Transforming Lives

- Jhabua District is known for its drought proneness. Mass migrations to adjoining districts and states is commonplace here. Sagwa is a Panchayat in Jhabua, which witnesses frequent and acute shortage of drinking water both for humans and animals. Irrigation was out of question. Galiya Kodar, the Sarpanch of this Panchayat, struggled to get a pond constructed in the Panchayat to contain seasonal migrations. He succeeded in getting two ponds made. No. single family now needs to migrate to Malwa or Rajasthan, and today these ponds cater to the irrigation needs of over a hundred tribal farmers during the Rabi season. The Sarpanch has now taken up the task of educating every child of this Panchayat upto Higher Secondary. to achieve his goal he has launched a door to door campaign.
- Village Bhadol of Datia District was like an ordinary village with ills of alcoholism and gambling akin to many villages. There were a number of bhattis. People from adjoining villages would come here to drink and gamble. The village earned notoriety because of this. Mahipal Singh, the young Sarpanch of this Panchayat took up the cause of redeeming the village of these ills. A band of youths in his leadership launched a crusade against alcoholism and gambling with a missionary zeal. They would demolish the bhattis and penalise the gamblers. Today the village boasts of total prohibition and is also free from gambling.
- Gayatri Bai Uike lost her husband in an accident. She started a dreary existence bringing up her children and farming on her fields. People of her village. Kohani Dewari, in the Shahpura block of Mandla District, decided to make her their Sarpanch. Overcoming her initial inhibitions. Gayatri took up the responsibility. She thought of the girls of her village, especially belonging to poor families. What if they meet the same fate as hers? She still had an advantage over her fate, She belonged to a family which had land and other productive assets. Having pondered over this issue she decided to promote education of girls. She got sanction of rupees 20 lakh for a 50 seat ashram school for girls. The government could not give land for this school. Gayatri Bai Decided to donate her land. She gifted two acres of her land to the village to ensure future for the girls of the area.
- The Dudhiya Panchayat of Indore District is one example where a Panchayat in brining about development by availing of its right to impose royalty on mines and quarries given to Panchayats all over the state. Roads in the entire Panchayats have been murrumed by revenue generated by the Panchayat through royalties. A sub health centre is under way being constructed with the money earned through royalty and contributions from the people besides funds from JRY. Dry toilets, stop dams and ponds are the other achievements of this Panchayat.
- In the Farsegarh Panchayat of Bastar District, Kamlabai the Sarpanch saw irregularities at the Fair Price Shop. Realising the importance of the PDS in her area, she ensured the ouster of the person running the shop. A tribal youth was given charge of the shop People of Farsegarh are now happy with the functioning of the service and the Sarpanch wants this transformation to be replicated where ever stakes of the people are involved.

Source: Different volumes of Panchayat gazette

Amendment provided for direct election to panchayat bodies with reservation for weaker sections like scheduled tribes, scheduled castes and women. This resulted in creating an entirely new cadre of people taking on leadership roles and replacing the bureaucratic model of governance.

Despite the limitations that such efforts at political decentralisation have in a context of unevenly owned economic resources, the emergence of a new leadership at the local level has had a dramatic impact in a churning of the rural polity in Madhya Pradesh. The drama is still

Table 1: Devolution of Powers to Panchayats in Madhya Pradesh

Sector	Task	Powers to panchayats
Education	Primary education	Setting up new schools in response to community demand, appointing teachers, arranging for space for conducting schooling and management of all such schools set up through Education Guarantee Scheme is done by Gram Panchayats All new teachers are appointed by Janpad Panchayat All school buildings costing below Rs. 3 lakhs are constructed by gram panchayats.
	Primary and secondary school education	Panchayat, Janpad and District level Education Committees oversee all matters of school education like location of new schools, transfer of teachers within the district and staffing of District Institutes of Educational Training.
Health	Primary Health	Panchayats recruit volunteers to become rural health practitioners or Jan Swastya Rakshaks Panchayat responsible for disease surveillance and reporting epidemics Health Committees of Gram Panchayat, Janpad Panchayat and District Panchayat supervise all aspects of primary health management.
Natural Resource Management	Water shed Management	Community-level watershed management committees undertake work with panchayat support
	Forest Management	Powers vest with gram panchayats for supervision, issue of transit passes for forest produce. Community-based Joint Forest Management Committees manage degraded forests under panchayat Co-operative of pluckers manage collection of non-timber forest produce under panchayat supervision
	Management of water bodies	The management of water bodies and their tenancy rights vest with panchayat at all the three levels. But the ownership of these water bodies have not been transferred. Fishing rights vest in gram panchayats
	Management of Minor Minerals	Mining royalty rights along with tenancy rights vest with gram panchayats.

unfolding and the contestation between existing power structures of landlord-petty bureaucrat nexus with the new ' leadership is far from settled. The veil of silence has been lifted from the countryside as many women move out from the private sphere to the public sphere, and the "noise" of democracy is making itself heard in the gram sabhas. In all there are over 4,84,000 elected representatives to Panchayati Raj Institutions in Madhya Pradesh, of which 1,84,000 are women.

The deepening of political democracy in the State as a result of this major change and the resultant unleashing of creative energy of people provided an enabling context for a sharper focus towards human development goals on the one hand and a change-over to a participatory model of delivery on the other. Education, health and livelihood security was a peoples' agenda and now *panchayat raj* provided a forum for their articulation. These were also the sectors where panchayat leadership could make a critical difference in improving delivery. The challenge has been to seize this opportunity and reorder structures of governance in a manner that accommodated and channelised these new energies. This also required devolving wide ranging powers to Panchayat Raj Institutions in the areas of education, health and natural resources management. Table 1 shows the powers that were moved to panchayat raj institutions in the areas of school education, health and natural resource management.

This deepening of democracy through Panchayat Raj Institutions has been complemented by a broadening in terms of creating plural grassroots organisations. between 1994 and 1998 several areas were carved out for direct community action. In the area of natural resources management, watershed committees for development of watersheds, joint forest management committees for management of degraded forestland, fish-workers cooperatives for management of fishing tanks and pluckers' co-operatives for management of non-timber forest, directly manage these activities. These structures have enabled the transition from seeing people as objects of development to active agents of change, which is integral to a vision of human development. The contention between the bureaucracy that sees participation only as an instrumentally or an efficiency tool and the deeper vision of that critical to a political democracy, may be far from settled, but the process of community empowerment has

4. Focused Action on Human Development Goals: Missions

4.1. Background: Breaking out of the *Bimaru* trap

Madhya Pradesh has long been stereotyped as a "*Bimaru* state in terms of attainments on a human development agenda. Along with other states in this category like Bihar, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh was seen to be accounting for a considerable backlog in areas like literacy, basic education, and levels of nutrition, basic health and poverty. In Madhya Pradesh 31.3 % of people were reported living below the poverty line while the corresponding All-India figure was 33.5 %¹. As against a national literacy percentage of 52.1 %, Madhya Pradesh had only 44.2 % and in case of female literacy, the figures were 39.4 % and 28.8 % respectively. Infant mortality was as high as 97 while the national average was 72 in 1996. The Disability Adjusted Life Years (DALY) lost due to premature mortality in the State have been estimated to be 332 per 1000 population as compared to the national average of 224 per 1000 population. These were historical lags and call for urgent action in these areas. To respond to some of these issues, the Government of Madhya Pradesh conceived of Missions in selected areas centering on the themes of basic education, health and livelihood security.

The seven Rajiv Gandhi Missions set up by the Government on 20 August 1994 sought to signal priority to certain selected areas affecting human development. The overarching goal of these Missions was to help Madhya Pradesh break out of the *Bimaru* trap in the quickest possible time. The challenges of underdevelopment in these areas required unconventional and radical responses that hinged on concerted action that would help the State to make rapid advances in these areas. It was also a recognition that these actions require to be done by the State in partnership with people. This called for a clear definition of tasks, sharing

¹The NSS Sample Survey on Expenditure of 1993-94 providing estimates of people living below the poverty line (Head Count Ratio) has not been officially accepted by the Planning Commission and the State Government as yet. However for use, we adopt the poverty figures correspond to what has been published as the Head Count Ratios for Madhya Pradesh along the lines suggested by Planning Commission-Expert Group on Poverty 1993 (EOPL) (page 59).

Table 2: Missions, Goals and Structures for Implementation

Mission	Goal	Structure of Implementation
Primary Education	Universalise Primary Education	Village Education Committee, Panchayats at Village, Block and District levels
Watershed Management	Improve land and water resources in degraded areas	Watershed Committees
Control of Diarrhea Diseases	Reduce diarrhea deaths to bring down child mortality	Panchayats
Elimination of Iodine Deficiency Disorders	Universalise use of iodised salt in the state	Panchayats, schools
Rural Industries	Focus on sericulture, leather, handloom and handicrafts for value-addition and increased employment	Artisan Collectives
Fisheries Development	Improve productivity, area under coverage, and income-share through co-operativisation	Fish worker co-operatives
Sanitation	Make Sanitation a peoples movement	Zilla Swastya Samitis

of problem perception, revamp of administrative structures to facilitate participatory action, public declaration of a time-frame for action and societal mobilisation for achieving goals.

In August 1994 the Government of Madhya Pradesh identified tasks of universal primary education, watershed management, control of diarrhea diseases, elimination of iodine deficiency disorders, rural industries, fisheries development, and sanitation to be converted to Missions. The Mission on Universal Primary Education was carved out from the education sector for focused action. Watershed management in a Mission-mode sought to address the problem of poverty of people living in environmentally degraded areas. Missions on Control of Diarrhea Diseases and Elimination of Iodine Deficiency Disorders addressed two areas of work that were often neglected within the health system, but required the inter-sectorality of a Mission to be successful in reducing infant mortality in the State on account of water-borne diseases and for addressing a major health problem that afflicted a large number of the indigenous tribal population in the State. The Missions on Rural Industry and Fisheries Development were targeted at increasing rural employment and value addition. These Missions sought to impart urgency to these tasks through a time-bound model of delivery, and developed models of collective action.

4.2 Missions Goals and Structures for Implementation (refer Table 2.)

Each Mission developed its plan of action and a methodology of execution that was premised on popular participation.

4.3 Mission Performance: 1994-1998 (ref. Table 3)

Among the major achievements of these Missions have been ensuring universal access to primary schooling for all children in Madhya Pradesh, environmental regeneration of over a million hectares of land, significant reduction case fatality rate on diarrhea deaths and thereby on infant mortality, and ensuring elimination of iodine deficiency disorders. The greater contribution has been in demonstrating that many of the tasks of human development are achievable within realistic time-frames collective action.

4.4 Universalising Access to Primary Education in Madhya Pradesh by 1998, through the Rajiv Gandhi Prathmik Shiksha Mission

The first challenge identified by the government as a Mission was to universalise primary education in the state. The inability to universalise primary education has been one of independent India's gravest failings. The Forty fifth article of the Directive Principles of the Indian

Table 3: Mission Performance: 1994-1998

The missions attempted to deliver tasks within given time-frames

Mission	Target set in 1994	Work done by 1998
Mission for Primary Education	Provide a primary schooling facility within 1 Kilometres of every habitation by 1998	30274 habitations in Madhya Pradesh provided primary schooling facility by July 1998. Madhya Pradesh declared universal access to primary education by reaching a primary school facility under one kilometre of every habitation in August 1998. This was made possible by the Education Guarantee Scheme (EGS) of the Mission, which guarantees a functioning school within 90 days from the date of demand from any community, deprived of schooling facility. Started on 1 January 1997, the EGS created over 19000 primary schools through community participation in 18 months. 2 lakh teachers trained. New child friendly curriculum introduced.
Mission for Watershed Management	Improve land and water resources in 12 lakh hectares of land through watershed management by 1999	Watershed management worked completed in 12 lakh hectares by June 1998. Work executed in 7002 villages by over 5000 Peoples Watershed Committees and 101 collaborating Non-Government Organisations. Mission now covers an enhanced target of 33.3 lakh hectares, which is one percent of India's land making the mission India's largest watershed management programme. Thrift and Credit Societies of women in watersheds of drought-prone Jhabua make a saving of 3.5 crores in four years.
Mission for Control of Diarrhea Diseases	Reduce diarrhea deaths by 70% by 200 to bring down infant mortality (28% of child deaths in the state are attributed to diarrhea)	Case fertility Rate on account of diarrhea in the state reduced by 84% in the three years from 1994 to 1997.
Mission for sanitation	Make sanitation a peoples movement in the state	65 sanitary marts facilitated to come up in the private sector. Mission yet to go to scale.
Mission for Fisheries Development	Increase area under coverage, productivity and co-operativisation	Area, productivity and number of co-operatives register significant rise. Fishing rights in major irrigation tanks given to co-operative societies of people displaced by these projects.
Mission for Rural Industries	Focus on sericulture, leather, handlooms and handicrafts for job generation and skill upgrading	Major project for sericulture up gradation developed and OECF assistance obtained to generate 100,000 jobs in the tribal districts of Surguja, Bilaspur and Raigarh. Several skill up gradation centers set up.
Mission for Elimination Iodine Deficiency Disorders	Eliminate iodine deficiency disorders by universalising use of iodised salt by 1996.	Universal use of iodised salt achieved in the state by January 1996. Mission closed after independent evaluation by International Council for Control of Iodine Deficiency Disorders (ICCIDD) confirms universal use.

Lok Sampark Abhiyan: Methodology and Key Findings

When the Government of Madhya Pradesh produced the first sub-national Human Development Report in the world one thing that became clear was the inadequacy of information and the lack of its authenticity in some of the vital sectors. This prompted the Rajiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission of the state to devise a peoples survey or a Lok Sampark Abhiyan to define the problem of primary education in terms of "How many children do not go to school and who are they". The Lok Sampark Abhiyan mobilised panchayat representatives to undertake a door-to door survey of children not going to school in 1996 and all children in the villages of 34 districts were covered. Over 10 million children were contacted in over 6 million households.

Objectives and Methodology of LSA

- Assess the current status of schooling facilities for primary education
- Undertake a survey of children at household level to list children of school going age who are in school and out of school
- Undertake this survey through a combined team of panchayat functionaries, teachers and volunteers so as to make it a motivational campaign for enrolment of all children
- Develop local understanding of the causes of non-enrolment to trigger local community action for educational planning
- Sharing the onus of universal enrolment in particular and planning for primary education in general with elected panchayat leadership and develop a bonding on these tasks between teachers and community leadership
- Use this survey to also assess the status of literacy and consolidate the campaign for total literacy and develop synergy between primary education and literacy efforts at the panchayat level
- Use this survey to also assess the status of literacy and consolidate the campaign for total literacy and develop synergy between primary education and literacy efforts at the panchayat level.
- Development of Village Education Register as basic record of educational statistics of each village to be maintained in two copies at the gram panchayat and the school.
- Use this survey as a basis for cohort monitoring for completion of primary schooling

The methodology was to form state and district level resource groups to plan and support the campaign through training. The survey was undertaken by the panchayat level campaign team conceived as a team of frontline volunteers acting more as motivators than passive collectors of statistics to create a collation for community-managed primary education at the village level. The tools used were collective activities for environment building door-to-door survey, collective school-mapping, motivation of parents for universal enrolment, consolidation of data into village education registers and development of village education plans.

Major Findings

- The data revealed that access issues were far from solved. The habitation pattern of tribal families being to live in scattered hamlets primary schooling facilities were not available in many habitations
- The issue of drop-out was exaggerated in comparison to enrolment. The non-availability of facilities in many habitations was not reflected in the near 100% enrolment reports. For every child reported to have dropped out there were two others who had never been enrolled.
- The survey exposed the near-total irrelevance of the Government of India scheme of Non-Formal Education (NFE). It was found that 90% NFE centres had come up in villages with primary schooling facility and that the scheme did not reach out the un-served and remote habitations of the state. It was largely dysfunctional as it did not build in accountability to the community.
- Girl children were the most disadvantaged category in terms of a section of population with 35% non enrolment
- Tribal blocks showed the maximum non-enrolment.
- The LSA data provoked the government to launch on the Education Guarantee Scheme building on the coalition with the community for universalising primary education and making schooling facilities within reach of the disadvantaged areas and groups in the state.

Source: Amita Sharma & R. Gopalakrishnan. Bringing the People Back In: From Lok Sampark Abhiyan to Education Guarantee scheme in Madhya Pradesh, Rajiv Gandhi Missions 1997

Constitution had directed the Indian State to provide free and compulsory education within a period of 10 years to all of India's children. That the Government of India and several of India's educationally backward states have been unable to do it even by the turn of the century tell a sad story of the unused creative potential of our people and is an affront to the rights of the child.

The Rajiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission was created to address tasks of universal access, enrolment, retention and ensuring achievement of competencies. The mission successfully mobilised over US\$ 250 million as external assistance under the District Primary Education Programme to strengthen primary education in 34 out of 45 districts of the State. These resources were deployed for increasing amenities, training of teachers and development of contextually relevant curriculum, and were implemented through the Panchayat Raj Institutions.

In 1996 the Mission undertook a Lok Sampark Abhiyan to mobilise the community to undertake a door-to door survey of children not going to school as well as amenities for primary education in these 34 districts. Through this exercise the Mission was able to develop an alternative Peoples' Information System on the status of primary schooling in these districts. The involvement of panchayat leadership in defining the problem led to forging alliances with them for finding solutions. The key findings of the *Lok Sampark Abhiyan* were that: there were several villages in the State without access to primary schooling facility especially in the Scheduled Caste clusters and Scheduled Tribe hamlets, that enrolments were exaggerated, and societal control on primary education was missing (see box on methodology and key findings of *Lok Sampark Abhiyan*)

Responding to these findings and to consolidate State-Community partnership in primary education, in 1997 the Mission innovated an *Education Guarantee Scheme* (EGS). The primary objective of the EGS was to universalise access to a functional schooling facility in the quickest possible time (see Box). The scheme sought to share the task of universal primary education with communities and local bodies. Under the scheme, the government guaranteed the provision of a trained teacher, her or his salaries, training of teacher, teaching-learning material and contingencies to start a school within 90 days, whenever

Ending BIMARU

Madhya Pradesh is one of the so-called BIMARU states where educational and health indicators are way below national ones. Chief Minister Digvijay Singh has taken a welcome initiative to get his state out of this classification by involving local communities in programmes to expand education and health. Under his education Guarantee Scheme all areas which do not have a school within one kilometre can apply to start their own local school and the state government will finance a teacher to be chosen by the local panchayat. This is a good way of making the teacher accountable to the local community and reducing the chances of high teacher absenteeism which has been the plague of education in many states. The scheme also ensures that teachers from urban centres are not sent to remote areas from which they seek transfer and that local teachers are appointed instead. The new teacher will be on probation for three years after which he or she will be confirmed if the local community approves of his performance (it would have been better to keep teachers on five-year renewable contracts as in China but even Mr. Singh's limited reform has been challenged in courts by vested interests).

This is a welcome initiative to empower local bodies to run their own service. Many problems remain in such decentralisation such as a shortage of skills quarrels within the bureaucracy and capture of benefits by the dominant castes. Yet it seems that education and health (which has also been decentralized) are two areas where decentralisation has considerable chances of success. Mr. Digvijay Singh claims that to tackle widespread goitre his government decided not to expand subsidies but instead launch a campaign to educate tribals on the benefits of iodised salt. The result he claims is that public education has helped reduce mortality from diarrhea from 3-4 percent of the disease's incidence to 0.4 per cent. If these claims hold up, Madhya Pradesh will cease to be a BIMARU state within a decade.

Editorial in the Economic Times 26th August, 1998

A New EGS: Education Guarantee Scheme in Madhya Pradesh

Under the scheme, the Government guaranteed the provision of teacher. Her/his salaries, training of teacher, teaching-learning material and contingencies to start a school within ninety days wherever there was a demand from a community without a primary schooling facility within one kilometre, provided this demand came from at least 25 learners in case of tribal areas and 40 learners in case of non-tribal areas. The community that made the demand could also suggest the name of a suitable local resident to be the teacher to be called 'guruji' and the Gram Panchayat was empowered to appoint such a guruji after the Chief Executive Officer of the Janpat (block) panchayat had verified the bona fides of the demand and the qualifications of the guruji proposed. The training of the guruji would be organized by the district administration which would also credit the amount of annual salaries upfront in the gram panchayat's bank account. The local community or gram panchayat was expected to come up with the provision of space for teaching-learning. While the Government ensured the critical basic inputs for transacting primary education (here defined as the teacher and her or his salaries, training, teaching-learning materials, contingencies and academic supervision), the communities shared the task of universalising primary education by its contribution to creating the demand identifying the teacher and providing the learning space. The EGS was short, an effort of the state government to universalise access to schooling facility focusing on the hitherto un-reached sections in the quickest possible time and thereby convert the rhetoric on universalisation on primary education into a reality in Madhya Pradesh.

The EGS recognises the urgency of time: that generations of children have wasted away waiting for primary schooling facility. This is sought to be accounted for by fixing a time limit in the scheme of ninety days to respond to any demand from a community deprived of the facility. If there is any community without a schooling facility within one kilometre which is the stipulated norm, the State Government guarantees to start an EGS school in ninety days. This crashing of the time frame forces the implementing agencies to undertake this exercise in a campaign mode. The response to the scheme in the first year of operation in Madhya Pradesh indicated the unfulfilled demand for primary education that existed even in remote tribal areas of the state. It reveals the hollowness of much academic writing on low parental motivation as

inhibiting primary education as yet more instances of blaming the victims.

The EGS reduces the cost of delivering primary education by re-examining the critical basic inputs required for transacting education. The critical inputs identified are a teacher, who is a local resident training of the teacher, teaching-learning material, some amount for the contingencies and academic supervision. The community is expected to come up with provision of space for learning. The annual cost of operating an EGS school works out to just Rs. 8500 and shows the cost-effective nature of the Scheme. It does this without comprising any of the basic requirements for quality.

The EGS has now been in operation in MP over one year since 1st January 1997. The performance of the scheme is evident from the fact that on an average, more than forty primary schools came up each day of the year in Madhya Pradesh through EGS in 1997. In the first one and a half year of operation 19289 EGS schools came up in the state is also indicative of the fact that most of these schools have come up in the tribal districts of the state justifying the assumption that majras, tolas, and phalias in many tribal villages lacked schooling facilities. The scheme has evoked an overwhelming response as it was seen to be simple to operate, gave effective control to the local community and did not lose out on any of the vital attributes of good primary education.

The EGS has been instrumental in reaching primary education facility within one kilometre of every habitation in Madhya Pradesh enabling the state government to declare universal access by August, 1998.

Please see Tables in Annexure to this chapter.

Source: "A new EGS: Education Guarantee Scheme in Madhya Pradesh". R Gopalakrishnan and Amita Sharma, Rajiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission, Occasional Papers.

there was a demand from a community without a primary schooling facility within 1 kilometre and provided this demand came from at least twenty five learners in case of tribal areas and 40 learners in case of non-tribal areas.

The community that made the demand could also suggest the name of a suitable local resident to be teacher to be called the guruji who would then be appointed by the Gram Panchayat. The training of the guruji would then be organised by the district administration, which would also credit the amount of annual salaries to the Gram Panchayat Account. The local community or Gram Panchayat was expected to provide the space for teaching-learning. While the government ensured the critical basic inputs for transacting primary education, the community shared the task of universalizing primary education by its contribution to creating the demand, identifying the teacher and providing the learning space. The EGS was, in short an effort of

the Mission to universalise access to schooling facility for the hitherto un-served sections of people in the quickest possible time and thereby convert the rhetoric on universalisation of primary education into a reality in Madhya Pradesh.

The Education Guarantee Scheme as a rights-based, community-centered initiative responded effectively to the uneven distribution of primary schooling facilities in the State and within 18 months of its operation, has reached primary education to every habitation in the State. The fact that, in the first year of operation more than 40 primary schools opened each day, is evidence to its wide acceptance. Equally interesting has been the fact that communities volunteered to provide space for teaching learning in the form of buildings in 88 percent cases. EGS proved that demand for primary education exists in even the remotest and poorest habitations, that communities are willing to

Want a School? Just Ask for it

Madhya Pradesh's radical guarantee scheme is spreading education at minimal cost to remote villages and tribal pockets

At first it was one of those rumors no one took seriously. The idea that the local community could simply write to the authorities demanding a school in their village and actually get one within three months was so preposterous that few villagers were willing to credit it.

"It was difficult for us to believe we could have a school in our midst after all three years. And just for the asking," says a bemused Rama Pitha Solanki, an elder of Varthia Phalia (tribal settlement) of Moghrikheda village in Khargone District. Yet, since July the incredible has been happening in hamlet after hamlet of Madhya Pradesh (MP). Schools have begun functioning in at least 12598 habitations with the launch of the state's education guarantee scheme (EGS), a radical yet simple plan to take schooling to hitherto un-served areas, especially in the tribal belt.

All that the community has to do is list 25 children needing schooling (40 in the case of non-tribals) and arrange for a building or space for learning. Provided there's no formal or non-formal learning facility within a kilometre, the government guarantees that within 90 days it will line up a trained and supply free teaching and learning materials. The EGS intervention, launched in January this year, has proved so popular that a surprised officialdom is still waiting to catch its breath as demands pour in.

The statistics are impressive. Already, over 300,000 pupils have been mopped up by the EGS as thousand of schools have sprung up in hitherto unlettered territory. Be warned, however, that EGS are not your conventional schools. In Varthia phalia, the EGS centre-officials are careful to make the distinction functions out of Rama Pitha's thatched house most days, or in the courtyard behind the cowshed at other times. It has 32 children in the five-six age group under the watchful eye of a youngster who has just passed high school and is the 'trained' guruji. There are textbooks, at least enough to share among the students, and a set of teaching learning materials (TLM), the same as is used in formal schools to attain the officially prescribed minimum levels of learning with Amar Singh Solanki, the guruji.

Extracts from an article: "Want a School? Just ask for it" by Lata Jishnu, Business World, November 1997

make contributions and that universal primary education is achievable in the immediate time frame. The change required was to make people drive primary education and not educational bureaucracies. Structures required to be modified to put people in charge, and this could then trigger an institutional reform in education. The Education

Guarantee Scheme of Madhya Pradesh received the Gold Award for the best innovation at the inaugural biennial Commonwealth "International Innovation Awards" from the Commonwealth Association for Public Administration and Management. The scheme was selected from 121 programmes from 24 countries in recognition of its innovation, effectiveness, relevance, significance, replaceability and appropriateness to context.

By August 1998 Madhya Pradesh has achieved the first major milestone-that of having universalised access to a schooling facility in every habitation. The challenge of universal enrolment and retention still remains. The profile of children out of school reveals that they are mostly girl children and belong to the scheduled tribes and castes. The EGS has now brought a facility within reach and the current challenge is to ensure universal enrolment and retention. This is to be done in the State through focused Mahtla Shiksha Abhiyans or Girl Education Campaigns prior to the commencement of the schooling season. Successive campaigns organised through community volunteers, panchayats and political leadership have shown dramatic rises in enrolment, especially of the disadvantaged sections. As a result of the campaign launched in July - August 1997, the enrolment of girls in schools rose from 34.4 lakhs to 42 lakhs.

Improving Quality

To improve the quality of primary education, the most significant interventions since 1994 have been recurring teachers' training, creation of academic Cluster Resource Centres for every group of 10-12 primary schools and strengthening the training infrastructure. The District Primary Education Programme has considerably helped in this area. 6296 Cluster Resource Centres and 369 Block Resource Centres have come up in the State to provide academic support to teachers. On an average 2,00,000 teachers are being trained each year since 1996, as against an average 20,000 in previous years. A new child-friendly curriculum called Seekhna-Sikhana was developed by the State Council for Educational Research and Training and introduced at the primary level. The mid-day meal for children introduced by the

Government in 1994 has served as an incentive for retention. The stage is now set in Madhya Pradesh to ensure a sound base for the educational pyramid. The challenge now is to build complementary structures at the elementary education level to address the demand to be generated by this expanded base of primary education. The other challenge is to build on the community-centering of education implemented successfully at the primary level by the Mission at higher levels.

4.5 Demonstrating a model for environmental turnaround and poverty reduction in Madhya Pradesh through the Watershed Management Mission

The Mission attempted to integrate concerns of poverty reduction and environmental regeneration through a strategy of participatory watershed management. The need to integrate these concerns has been articulated in several policy pronouncements on this issue including UNCED's

Bairani Kuldi

"Bairani Kuldi" literally means Womens' Bank. Over 25000 women have come together to organise 1748 Women and-Thrift Groups in Jhabua district and have accumulated a saving of Rs. 3.5 crores. What started as an alternative to the exploitative system of rural credit in the informal sector is now well on way to becoming a movement to empower women. The principles on which Bairani Kuldi groups operate are democratic, simple, flexible and lend themselves to consumer friendly solutions.

The Women and Thrift Groups in Jhabua sponsor as many as 38 activities ranging from agricultural credit, small income generating activities, to small consumer loans. The activities of the group has increased the awareness amongst its members, made them economically self reliant and more capable of combating vagaries of nature.

The fact that the banks in the district have loaned Rs. 30 lakhs to 116 Bairani Kuldi groups for agricultural activity is an indication of the increasing confidence in the repaying capabilities of these groups.

Source: Gauri Singh, Mission Director, Rajiv Gandhi Watershed Mission, GOMP

In Wonderland

Jhabua in Madhya Pradesh is a many splendoured wonder where indomitable political will and the tribals have proved that the regeneration of the environment is possible.

The Tribals have gone to war. The Quest : regeneration of the environment. The location Jhabua, an upland in western Madhya Pradesh with an area of 6,782 sq. km and a forest cover of 624 sq. km. Almost 80 per cent of this forest is severely degraded or has suffered the ill effects of bad management of natural resources.

There are two types of residents among the villages of Jhabua district. Those who have been the forest and the jungle and those who were migratory labour, till recently. Gula Ralu is well past his 80th year. He is the eldest amongst the members of the 105 families of Ambakudra village. He has seen the forest and he has seen it vanish. But he feels that of late there is change in the air. The women dress better and the men have stopped running to town in search of jobs. All this has happened in the last three years.

The village used to see 500 people migrating every year in search of work and the women were left to look after the livestock. Three acres of land which had earlier sustained Jadila bai, her family, and her livestock were failing to do so. Getting fodder for the animals was a big problem.

"I used to go to Ratlam, 50 km from here, for a few kg of fodder for my three cows and had to borrow money from the village money lender who charged interest at the rate of 50 to 70 per cent," recounts Jadila Bai in 1992, Jadila and her husband realised that the cows were a burden. After selling them off for Rs. 100 they left for Indore 150 km away in search of work.

But today the hills have turned green and so have the once barren fields in the area. No longer does Jadila Bai have to leave her home. Her daughter who accompanied them during their hardships in 1992 now goes to a school. Her fields yielded one tonne of wheat in 1996 and her saving now amount to Rs. 5,000.

Source : Extracts from article by Anil Agarwal and Richard Mahapatra "Down to Earth", Feb. 15, 1998.

Agenda 21, but the conversion of this consensus into operational programmes had not happened except as pilot experiments. The Mission was premised on the understanding that the livelihood security crisis that people faced in environmentally degraded lands was the result of a distortion in the relationship between people and their natural resource support base. It recognised that techno-centric regeneration programmes that visualised picture post-card environmental transformations could not come about except if they were worked through the people and addressed their livelihood concerns. The Mission, therefore, adopted direct participation by the people as a key strategy.

The situation was opportune for such a strategy because wage-employment oriented public programmes like Employment Assurance Programme (EAS) and resource reconstruction programmes like the Drought Prone Area Programme, both advocated a watershed based plan for environment management. The Government of India

suggested that fifty percent of all EAS funds could be used for watershed development and this greening of anti-poverty investment provided the much-needed financial support to the Mission. Funds were available, technical resources could be pooled at district and below-district level and labour energy was on hand, all of which led to the creation of a labour-intensive model of integrated watershed management.

The fundamental difference made by the Mission was in the area of institutional arrangements. Degraded lands in each block, of the area of 5000-10000, hectares were identified as Mili Watersheds through consultative forum. Watershed Committees were elected in villages, which then federated to the Mili Watershed Committees. Each watershed had User-Groups of the landed, Self-Help groups for the landless and Thrift and Credit Groups for Women. These Watershed Committees were oriented to develop Watershed Development Plans. These Plans were then approved and the money for

execution passed on directly to these Committees. A Project Implementation Officer so

designated, catalysed technical and financial support and was made a joint signatory to fund transactions in the first year after, which the elected Committees directly handled funds.

The Mission has, in the last four years, grown to be India's largest watershed management programme. Started with a target of 12 lakh hectares, it has already expanded to cover 33.9 lakh hectares, amounting to over one percent of India's land. The Mission works in 7827 villages. Soil and moisture conservation works have been completed in 12 lakh hectares, there are 30344 User Groups and Self-help Groups formed. 5304 women Thrift and Credit Groups are operational with a saving of over Rs. 4.15 crores. Over Rs. 3 crore has been voluntarily contributed by the User Groups for maintenance of the structures. In over 3000 villages, the level of ground water has increased. Many of these Watershed Committees have evolved to address other development concerns like education and sanitation in the watershed areas, demonstrating inter-mission synergy.

4.6 Missions in basic health care

Two relatively smaller tasks, minor only in terms of attention by the public health administration and not in terms of their urgency were chosen as Missions. The Mission on Control of Diarrhea Diseases sought to address the area of health education, sanitation and safe water consciousness to prevent deaths on account of diarrhea. It was estimated that 28 % of Madhya Pradesh's high infant mortality, was on account of easily preventable diarrhea diseases. This situation existed because of a grey area of relative inaction that lay between two chairs of implementing bureaucracies- the Public Health Engineering system which was to ensure supply of safe water and the Public Health department which intervened through curative measures when epidemics were reported. The area of missing action in educating people on use of safe water and the causes and prevention of waterborne diseases, was taken up as the Mission, to be worked through inter-sectoral co-ordination and community action.

The Mission undertook a series of campaigns on the theme of safe water and health. In 1995, through a major state- wide societal mobilisation on Oral Dehydration Therapy (ORT), the Mission brought into its fold the entire range of panchayat leadership in the State. ORT

depots were created in over 60,000 villages through this mobilisation.

This was followed up by a detailed mapping of high-risk villages, which frequently reported cases of water-borne diseases. 11086 such villages were identified for targeted action. The second phase of the campaign in 1997 was directed to these villages. Using water quality testing kits, an intensive communication exercise was done in all these villages. This included ensuring adequate points of safe water supply, health education on prevention of water borne diseases, domestic management of diarrhea, etc. In the third phase of the campaign done in 1998, this exercise was scaled up to cover all the over seventy thousand villages in the State and urban shanties in 6 major cities of the State. The increased awareness and consequent reduction in Case Fatality Rate are given in Table 4.

Table 4: Diarrhea Cases, Deaths and Case Fatality Rate in Madhya Pradesh, 1991-1998

Year	Number of Cases	Number of Deaths	Case Fatality Ratio
1994	1,44,151	2,928	2.00
1995	1,58,879	1,737	1.10
1996	1,78,819	1,528	0.85
1997	1,78,819	610	0.34

Source: Rajiv Gandhi Mission for Control of (Diarrhea) Diseases, Government of Madhya Pradesh

The Mission on Elimination of Iodine Deficiency Disorders focused on a major health problem affecting the indigenous people or tribes in the State. This area of activity was again considered marginal in the public health system. By converging action in an inter-sectoral way, the Mission sought to achieve universal use of iodised salt in the State. The Mission intervened at both supply and demand levels. A major Communication Campaign with focus on school children and panchayat leadership was organised. Simultaneously the salt traders of the State were mobilised to commit themselves through a public declaration that they would trade only in iodised salt. The Civil Supplies Department of the Government also introduced iodised salt to be sold through the public distribution system in the State. The intensive campaign helped the Mission to achieve its target of universal use eleven months ahead of schedule. The Mission was closed by handing it over to the community in January 1996 after an independent Evaluation of the International Council for Iodine Deficiency Disorders (ICCIDD) confirmed universal use.

The Mission also received an award from the ICCIDD for this work and this short-term win was important in both motivating the other Missions and reaffirming the Mission model of time-bound delivery.

While addressing issues of basic health care, the Missions encountered considerable inadequacies in rural health care and so piloted a scheme of barefoot doctors or Jan Swastya Rakshaks. This was an effort at capacity building in the community for basic health needs and not seen as an extended arm of the Health Department. Under the scheme, one person from each village was to be selected by the Panchayat and trained on basic health care at the Public Health Centre for six months. The Jan Swastya Rakshak could then begin to impart basic health care in the village, for which services the community would pay the person. In the two years since the scheme is in operation, over 20,000 Jan Swastya Rakshaks have been trained in the State.

4.7 Mission Experience: Summary

The experience in Madhya Pradesh has been that converting certain selected tasks in human development into Missions with specific time-frames helps to breakdown those tasks to make them achievable. Issues in education, health or employment are often perceived to be too large to be amenable for immediate action. This in turn dissolves the political will to act on them with urgency. It may therefore be essential to demonstrate a certain can-do approach that motivates the political system and the community. This requires dismantling bureaucratic turf and getting people together to address a task. Community-centered action with supportive bureaucratic structures are seen to be most facilitating. The challenge is mostly in the area of institutional reform and for policy entrepreneurship to develop models that are cost-effective and people-centered. The Missions in Madhya Pradesh have made a beginning and have achieved the salience to provoke institutional reform in the areas in which they have been working.

5. Education: The continuing challenge

Rapid strides in primary education reinforce the need to increase educational spending at the higher levels of middle schools, high schools and technical education in

Madhya Pradesh. The constitutional assurance in India is for free and universal elementary education for children up to the age of fourteen and therefore the need to increase investment at the middle school level and at the high school level becomes a major priority. In the period from 1994 to 1998, 28511 new primary schools, 1631 Middle Schools and 610 High Schools have come up in the state. The primary education sector has expanded mainly on account of the community-centering of primary education effected through the Education Guarantee Scheme, Alternative Schools and new schools created from resource support through the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP).

There is already a major gap in educational facility at the middle school level according to the Sixth All-India Educational Survey (1993. NCERT) which will be further accelerated with the enlarged base for primary education in the State.

There was a conscious policy shift to promote technical education in the State from 1994. Policy was changed to promote private sector participation in technical education and government focused on creation of Industrial Training Centres (ITI), Mini-ITIs through Rural Development funds and Poly-Technic colleges. The number of Engineering Colleges increased from 13 to 27 between 1994 to 1997 while during the corresponding period polytechnic colleges increased from 36 to 44. There are 665 colleges in the State for general education and the government has moved to a policy framework of raising resources through user fees in higher education in medical and engineering colleges while at the same time protecting the students from weaker sections through State support. Efforts at decentralising the management of institutions for higher education was also initiated by the setting up community management boards for these institutions.

Trends in public expenditure in education show that the State's own allocation to education has gone up from 5.9 percent of the budget in 1995-96 to 12.3% in the budget of 1997-98 and is estimated to be 15.6 percent in 1998-1999. The plan outlay for school education is expected to go up from 3.8% of the total plan outlay in the Eighth Plan to 8.3% in the Ninth Plan and from the actual expenditure of Rs.756 crores in the Eighth Plan to an estimated Rs.1672.55 crores in the Ninth Plan. The District Primary education Programme operative in 34 districts will bring in an additional Rs.1000 crores into the sector.

Alternative Schooling in Madhya Pradesh

Alternative Schooling (AS) was introduced as an intervention under DPEP for bringing within the educational fold children in the 6-14 age group not able to participate in formal schooling for a variety of socio-economic reasons. AS became operational in DPEP districts in August'95 with the technical support of Digantar an NGO based in Jaipur, Rajasthan. In the first year 418 AS became functional, expanding rapidly to become 5524 by 1998.

AS is postulated on the belief that effective schooling is possible only through contextualisation. It defines contextualisation as the building up of meaningful relationship between the learning child, the teacher and the child's environment as therefore attempts to create a flexibly organised teaching learning process to respond sensitively to learner needs and to move beyond the structurally dichotomised categories of formal and non- formal streams that currently cleave the educational system.

AS is characterised by a non-graded course, which replaces the formal system's chronologically sequenced linear segments of learning with compulsory annual progression to make the movement through each hierarchy. In such a system the pressure of time determines the pace of teaching, whereas the non-graded system permits each child to achieve satisfactory level of learning and a congenial pace allowing simultaneity of differential levels in different subjects for a child. The level of learning changes only when a child acquires basic abilities. After completing the alternative school course, the child is expected to reach a level of learning equivalent to the fifth standard of the formal primary school. As such AS has an innovative curriculum with a teaching learning package that integrates a continuous learner evaluation system. In view of the fact that AS is a new concept, and is intended to address a heterogeneous group of learners in a non-graded system, AS teachers and supervisor are given intensive training. A 21 day induction training programme has been scheduled at the DIET level or at the Block level as per the district's convenience for both teachers and supervisors. This is followed by a 12-15 days training each successive year.

The functioning of AS is based on decentralisation and community participation. AS allows operational flexibility to the school to enable it to respond to community needs and so school and vocation timing are locally fixed. AS emphasises the local affinity of the teacher for a greater bond between the school and the community and for ensuring regular teaching. Gram panchayats have the power to recruit teachers who have to be local. There are 2 teachers to a school of which one is a woman. Qualification for the teacher is a higher secondary

educational level to be relaxed to class 8 if which necessary to accommodate a local person. The gram panchayat submits a panel of names to the district office. The first on the panel are called for training and if found suitable are appointed by the gram panchayat. For every group of ten contiguous alternative schools there is a supervisor. Qualifications of supervisor are higher secondary and he/she should be a local resident. The supervisor is appointed by the janpath panchayat. The supervisor is expected to monitor and supervise the schools academically. Alternative schools materials for the school are to be procured by the janpad panchayat.

AS allows space for non-government (NGO) action to enable viable alternatives to evolve for effective teaching in different conditions. 6 NGOs have been involved in designing and implementing innovative context specific alternative schooling programmes. Of these some have attempted experimental academic work. The NGO "Roopnar" in Khairagarh and Chui Kliadan block of Rasnandgaon district targets migrant children and has developed its own local specific teaching learning material, using the Chattisgarh dialect, Apna School Shramniketan, targets mainly tribal children in the Jauhari block of school. Its teaching learning material is prepared on participatory basis involving the community seeking to make education relevant to the working environment of the people. Besides these, the other NGOs collaborating are Rajiv Gandhi initiative for elementary education, Bhopal, Satguru Seva Trust, Satna Rural Development Society, Raisen and Abhivyakn in Tikamgarh and Ratlam.

Thus through its own academic structure and by allowing NGO participation AS has been to investigate alternative approaches to curriculum and pedagogy and encourage, 'decentralised development and contextualisation of academic processes.

Currently there are 105749 children studying in AS. Reports, show steady participation. The effectiveness of AS's pedagogy in motivating learners is evident in the fact that several children studying in AS are being able to clear class V Board examination in just three years time. The most significant index of school effectiveness is community participation which is evident in the beautiful stable structures built entirely by the local community using its own resources for housing their schools, the maximum number of such local shelters emerging " in the remote tribal areas.

Source : Amita Shanna, "Alternative schooling in Madhya Pradesh". Raiv Gandhi Shiksha Mission, 1998

Inter functional allocations reveal that a substantial portion of allocation is one salaries of teachers and other staff especially at primary and middle education levels and is estimated as over 95 percent. This situation is expected to change at the primary level with the DPEP leveraging funds towards interventions for academic support and quality. The major challenges in the sector in the immediate time frame could be summarized as expansion of middle level education, institutional reform for decentralised management and reorientation of evaluation systems for quality. In Madhya Pradesh the major difference in the last four years has been that people and peoples institutions have been brought into education management, hitherto a preserve of educational bureaucracies. The stage is now set for a contestation as to which system would prevail and the political challenge is to leverage the change towards peoples control of education in all its aspects.

1. Health the Continuing Challenge

Madhya Pradesh progress in reducing the infant mortality from 196 per thousand live births in 1950 to 97 by 1996 is significant. However health improvements have lagged behind All-India averages and as of 1995 the State had the highest crude birth rate and the second highest infant mortality rates in the country. However the current unacceptably high levels of mortality and morbidity in the state do not reflect the transition in the health status in the population that has taken place in the recent past. Between 1981 and 1996 the crude death rate in the State decreased by an amount of 5.5. absolute points while the infant mortality rate decreased by 45 absolute points. In comparison, decline in the two indicators at the national level was 3.5 and 38 absolute points respectively.

The share of Public Health in the State Budget rose from 2.8 % in 1995 to 4.2% in the budget of 1998-99. There is also an increase in allocation to the Health sector in the IXth Plan. The Plan outlay for Health has gone up by sixty percent from actual expenditure made in the sector in the VIIIth Plan to the outlays for the IX the plan to and similarly in and in water and sanitation by 71 percent. The State Government is committed to continuing the trend of increasing health outlays, particularly capital expenditure and non-staff expenditures.

2."Strengthening Primary Health Care in Madhya Pradesh", PK Mehrotra and Alok Chaurasia, 1997

Increasing emphasis is also being given to strengthening rural sanitation and health education, which has a direct impact on reducing infant mortality and case fatalities.

It would however be simplistic to locate either the causes or remedial action within the health sector. The historical lags in the State in areas like education and within it female literacy, the relatively under developed communication and transport infrastructure, the demographic profile of tribal populations living in inaccessible and remote areas, the low density of population that made provision of services costly and difficult and even non availability of technically trained personnel in addition to poverty have contributed to the relative backwardness.

A review of the health sector of the state also reveals persistent regional variations with the Vindhya region and northern Madhya Pradesh reporting a comparatively poorer status. By contrast Chattisgarh and Western Madhya Pradesh regions present a relatively better health situation, as both the crude birth rate and infant mortality are the lowest in these regions. There are considerable rural-urban variations with the rural areas much poorer in health indicators. Table 5 below shows estimates of selected mortality indicators for rural shows estimates of selected mortality indicators for rural areas for major geo-physical regions of Madhya Pradesh in 1992. The causes for the regional variations needs closer interrogation.

Table 5: Selected Mortality Indicators of Regions of Madhya Pradesh

Area	Crude Death Rate	Infant Mortality Rate
Chattisgarh	12.5	76.5
Vindhya	15.1	124.8
Central Madhya Pradesh	16.1	145.9
Malwa Plateau	13.6	119.1
South Central Madhya Pradesh	13.5	96.9
South Western Madhya Pradesh	13.2	84.2
Northern Madhya Pradesh	15.7	140.3

Source: "Below State Level Estimates of Vital Rates, 1987-1992". Registrar General of Indian 1996

There has been a rapid expansion of health infrastructure especially in the rural areas in Madhya Pradesh although they still fall short of desirable norms. The norms for development of infrastructure have been to have a sub health centre for every 5000 population, a primary health Centre for every 30,000 population and a Community Health Centre for every 80,000 population. The gap in facilities (Table 6) calls for considerable additionality of resources to be made available for health sector expansion.

The effort at quickly closing this gap to keep up with national norms has resulted in the system expanding by compromising in some parts on infrastructure, staff and facilities. The fact that the system retains its curative bias has affected efficient delivery of primary health care. Yet another major drawback is the low population density and wide spread of villages in Madhya Pradesh where a Sub-health Centre for 3000 population covers as much as 6 villages over an area of more than 36 square kilometers whereas in Kerala a single village may have as much as 4 Sub Health Centres covering an area of only 7 square kilometers. The single most important defect in primary health care has been the near total lack of community involvement and it is here that some stirrings of change have happened in Madhya Pradesh in the last four years which can lead to a paradigm shift in the delivery of health care.

The first major step at involving the community began at the district hospital in Indore where the local administration involved the community to do a massive cleaning campaign of the hospital in the wake of the plague epidemic in Surat in Gujarat. The community came forward to support this campaign and soon a nucleus of community volunteers was created for hospital management. This group called itself a Rogi

Kalyan Samiti or Patients' Welfare Committee and began undertaking larger improvements in the hospital including generation of funds through user fees. The funds so generated were used for improving hospital amenities. Impressed with this model of community management, the State Government institutionalised this arrangement and motivated other districts to follow this example. The funds received from RKS through user charges do not get deposited in the State Exchequer but is at the disposal of the Executive Committee. The RKS are registered as autonomous NGOs, and have complete control over funds. The funds are used to ensure cleaning, Security and other services of the hospital through private agencies, apart from upgrading existing infrastructure. By end 1996, a total of Rs.8 crores had been collected all over the State in different hospitals. Members of Parliament and the Legislative Assembly have also earmarked funds for RKS from their discretionary funds. District Red Cross Societies function in tandem with RKS, and the daily collections by RKS range from Rs.1,000/- to Rs. 15,000/- depending on location.

Another major step towards community -centering of primary health was through initiating the *Jan Swastya Rakshak* scheme discussed earlier. The much-needed gap in rural health care in Madhya Pradesh could only be bridged by unconventional methods like creating a paramedic or barefoot doctor in every village. The scheme has resulted in creating over 20,000 such rural health practitioners who could become effective outreach agents of the government health system. The scheme is premised on community support to these *Jan Swastya Rakshaks* who will be paid for their services. A mid-course evaluation of the scheme revealed poor ownership of the scheme by the Public Health system, which has historically been suspicious of rural health practitioners. Efforts are currently underway to integrate it fully within the system

Table 6: Rural Allopathic Health Care institutions required in Madhya Pradesh

Institution	Numbers Currently in Existence	Numbers Required in		Gap	
		1998	2001	1998	2001
Sub-Health Care	11938	17506	18674	5568	6736
Primary Health Care	1814	2245	2395	431	581
Community Health Care	197	561	599	364	402

Source : Strengthening Primary Health Care in Madhya Pradesh, PK Mehrotra and Alok Chaurasia, 1998

The real challenge in Madhya Pradesh today appears to be to move to a horizontal management of health care delivery as against management of vertical programmes based on national and state level prioritisation. The experience of the two missions on health in Madhya Pradesh as well as of the *Rogi Kalyan Samiti and Jan Swasthya Rakshak* point to the need to involve civil society more effectively in the management of health and utilise the opportunities created through decentralised governance of panchayat raj. Issues of public health being inter-sectoral and requiring societal mobilisation for efficient delivery, the challenge today is for policy reorientation to put the public health system on its head and start planning from below. Problem mapping exercises that can engage community leadership can generate awareness on an unprecedented scale. Networking with other sectoral departments that impinge on health, like water supply, sanitation or rural development could lead to dramatic improvements in health delivery.

7. Watershed management: Continuing Challenges

The Challenge before the Mission is to sustain investment into watershed management in the context of competing demands for the same pool of funds available. By demonstrating through results of a study by the national Remote Sensing Agency on the jhabua watersheds, the Mission hopes to persuade policy makers to invest more in this area. The Mission has recently restructured at the apex level into a Society under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister, with experts represented in the Governing Body to strengthen the facilitating environment for poll

The Mission has also taken up the challenge to work from below to create a policy environment favorable for sound environment management. The work of the Mission needs to be complemented by policy reform for sound water management. People should create the pressure for such reform. The Mission proposes to undertake preparation of Block-level "*Peoples' Water Reports*" by watershed Committees working together with selected blocks. This Report will be presented to the elected representative of the Legislative Assembly requesting for policy reform. Through this exercise an environmental consciousness is sought to be created among people, make elected panchayat leadership friends of the watershed programme and engineer a debate in the countryside about the environmental situation and what needs to be done.

The Mission, after four years, has come to a stage where it confronts issues of inequity in the water

management policy. The present water policy regime allows anyone with access to capital and technology to mine the resource of water. Now when the conversation of that water has been effected through collective action, should not individual rights to appropriate that water be restrained? The Mission proposes to argue for allowing communities organised in watershed Committees to be given powers to regulate the drawal of water from those watersheds. A new community-regulated water management policy can be experimented with in completed watersheds.

The Mission is to be seen as complementing efforts at increasing agricultural productivity in the State through improvement of degraded lands, For the Mission's success it is imperative that the efforts of the Departments of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Forests are streamlined in a manner that contributes to synergy.

8. Mobilising information for human development in Madhya Pradesh.

One important lesson of MPHDR 95 was the inadequacy of authentic information on human development indicators. To cite one example : the *Lok Sampark Abh'yan* that the Government of Madhya Pradesh undertook in 1996-97 through community volunteers, teachers and panchayat leadership revised many of the earlier formulations on key areas of educational planning like access to facilities, enrolment and drop-out rates. This manner of developing an alternative people's database also leads to information becoming action. When the panchayat leadership goes around asking details of children not going to school, it is less interested in statistical outcomes and instead, collectively engages in developing solutions. The Education Guarantee Scheme of Madhya Pradesh is a good example of the government having to respond to the dissonance, debate and problem-solving inherent in adopting such a methodology.

The institutional back-up to this has come in Madhya Pradesh by a redefinition of accountability-structures from being upward to higher echelons of bureaucracy to being outward towards the community. The Government has institutionalised compulsory meetings of the *gram Sabha* once every quarter, to enable the public to engage in a social audit of the development activities undertaken

in the panchayat. The efficacy of these has been reinforced through the *gram sampark abhiyans* or village Contact Campaigns initiated by the Government once every six months. In these campaigns a government official is assigned one village in the State and is expected to periodically update information and report on issues affecting the public including provision of basic services. The State Legislature has also passed a bill on Right to Information in the state, to legally ensure accountability of government to the citizens of the state. It is awaiting Presidential assent. These measures though, need an enabling context of mass literacy to be truly effective in pushing people towards demanding their entitlements.

9. Focusing Interventions: Adivasi and Dalit Woman

Achievement of Human development goals in Madhya Pradesh depends critically on how imaginatively the state uses its scarce resources to target the one who is at the bottom of the heap the woman belonging to the scheduled Tribes and scheduled Castes in the State. She is the one to whom human development seems to be reaching out last. If statistics can have faces, the faces that emerge on human development statistics in Madhya Pradesh are those of woman from these categories who seem to be waiting at the crossroads of class, caste and gender divides. Any simple desegregation of health indicators, educational indicators or livelihood security indicators show human belonging to these categories as the most deprived. These point to the need for concerted action on a simple human development agenda that focuses on improving health, education and employment opportunities for the dalit and tribal woman. Instead of a plethora of schemes what seems to be required is focused action in areas like female literacy. A beginning in this direction has been made in Madhya Pradesh since 1997 to undertake Campaigns for female education of mahila shiksha abhiyans. In the first campaign, this time focusing on the dalit and adivasi girls in the state is in progress. By reaching out to clusters of scheduled castes and tribal hamlets, the Education Guarantee scheme has brought education closer to this group as evident from the fact that over 45% of all students in EGS schools are girls. A closing of the gender gap in education can lead to major improvements in human development.

10. Inter-sectorality of the Human Development Agenda: Issue of Institutional Reform.

The experience with accelerating a human development agenda in the state throws up the urgent need for institutional reform restructuring within government. This area has got inadequate attention in the Human Development Reports at the international level as they were primarily advocacy documents. A report of the state Government which seeks to move from an advocacy document to an action document has to squarely confront this issue. Human development bureaucratic turfs, not around tasks. Any effort like that attempted through the mission experiment in Madhya Pradesh, or the larger opportunity for participatory action opened by Panchayat raj, will remain constrained, until the issue of institutional reform is addressed by the State. From an outside view it may appear a relatively simple issue to organise institutional resources around tasks but for governments this is nothing short of a miracle. Compartmentalisation has been the bane of bureaucracies, and quite often well-intentioned prioritisation's have ended up only creating more bureaucracies.

The emergence of a Panchayati Raj system opens up possibilities, but they are open to the danger of being sucked into the bureaucratic machine as the lowest appendage of a State apparatus. Instead of being a "Panchayatization of the government" it can end up as the governmentalisation of the panchayat" and thereby muffle the creative energy of community action. The key issue would be of redefining administrative institutions and collapsing them around human development tasks to work together with panchayats and other community organisations.

Human development tasks are inter-related and there are obvious synergies. Inter-sectorality has to be embedded in any strategy for action on this agenda. Human development tasks in the context of a State like Madhya Pradesh need considerable financial resources. Much of these resources can be found by moving over to inter-Sectoral modes of action that do not grow the bureaucracy but substitute community energies to achieve goals. Today those funds are sectorally deployed, and in a manner that dissipates rather than fuses collective energy. Governments need to focus on institutional reform to get human development goals within reach. Imagination and not finance seems to be the critical resources to make this happen.

Annexure 1: Status of Education Guarantee Schools as on 30/9/98

District	Tribal Population in %	EGS Schools	EGS Schools Located in Tribal Areas	Percentage of EGS Schools Located in Tribal Areas
Betul	37.5%	230	169	73%
Raisen	14.4%	192	82	43%
Rajgarh	3.3%	242	19	8%
Sehore	10.2%	70	24	34%
Bilaspur	23.0%	850	462	54%
Raigarh	47.7%	646	390	60%
Surguja	55.7%	1153	892	77%
Guna	12.0%	457	169	37%
Dhar	53.5%	867	807	93%
Rajnandgaon	25.2%	118	78	67%
Rewa	12.4%	332	106	32%
Satna	13.0%	527	172	33%
Shahdol	46.3%	766	465	61%
Sidhi	30.4%	765	279	36%
Chhatarpur	3.8%	145	30	20%
Panna	14.9%	189	58	30%
Tikamgarh	4.1%	370	48	13%
Mandsaur	4.8%	76	9	11%
Ratlam	23.3%	188	140	75%
Bhind	0.3%	167	26	15%
Morena	5.6%	396	82	21%
Shivpuri	11.3%	468	176	38%
Datia	1.7%	73	8	11%
Mandla	60.3%	871	766	88%
Seoni	37.0%	289	181	63%
Vidisha	4.4%	230	18	8%
Shajapur	2.4%	103	91	88%
Dewas	15.0%	121	91	75%
Khandwa	26.8%	200	24	12%
Damoh	12.4%	239	38	16%
Rajpur	18.3%	548	33	6%
Khargosan	46.2%	1688	844	50%
Jhabua	85.7%	1400	1330	95v
Bastar	67.4%	1510	1253	83%
Balaghat	21.9%	352	106	30%
Gwalior	2.9%	386	116	30%
Bhopal	3.1%	110	64	58%
Narsinghpur	12.9%	202	48	24%
Hoshangabad	17.4%	136	49	36%
Indore	5.5%	120	18	15%
Chhindwara	34.5%	446	162	36%
Ujjain	2.1%	82	4	5%
Jabalpur	17.9%	629	324	52%
Sagar	8.5%	248	40	16%
Durg	12.4%	93	34	37%
45 Districts	23.3%	19289	10325	54%

Annexure 2: Status of Education Guarantee Scheme as on 30/09/98

District	EGS Schools	Total Enrolment	St Enrolment	ST as % of total enrolment	Girls Enrolment	Girls enrolment as % of total enrolment
Betul	230	7614	5590	73%	3645	48%
Raisen	192	7562	3232	43%	3610	48%
Rajgarh	242	10369	817	8%	4467	43%
Sehore	70	2769	945	34%	1240	45%
Bilaspur	850	33150	17901	54%	15581	47%
Raigarh	646	18586	11209	60%	9328	50%
Surguja	1152	36864	28385	77%	17326	47%
Guna	457	20449	7564	37%	8564	42%
Dhar	867	30345	28221	93%	13048	43%
Rajnandgaon	118	4062	2702	67%	1984	49%
Rewa	332	16783	5342	32%	8376	50%
Satna	527	24809	8094	33%	11961	48%
Shahdol	766	22214	13551	61%	10885	49%
Sidhi	765	32560	11861	36%	15367	47%
Chhatarpur	145	5957	1214	20%	2617	44%
Panna	189	8127	2438	30%	3657	45%
Tikamgarh	370	16938	2190	13%	7834	46%
Mandsaur	76	3479	394	11%	1647	47%
Ratlam	188	7204	5369	75%	3021	42%
Bhind	167	7397	1132	15%	3087	42%
Morena	396	21511	4458	21%	8916	41%
Shivpuri	468	20991	7888	38%	8765	42%
Datia	73	3360	381	11%	1362	41%
Mandla	871	30485	26827	88%	12499	41%
Seoni	289	8375	6281	75%	3936	47%
Vidisha	230	10096	1212	12%	4846	48%
Shajapur	103	4635	278	6%	2132	46%
Dewas	121	5203	2602	50%	2185	42%
Khandwa	200	8200	5248	64%	2706	33%
Damoh	239	9545	2864	30%	4104	43%
Rajpur	548	19036	11041	58%	8947	47%
Khargoon	1688	47626	42387	89%	20479	43%
Jhabua	1400	47322	42590	90%	20822	44%
Bastar	1510	52850	48094	91%	23254	44%
Balaghat	352	12320	6653	54%	5421	44%
Gwalior	386	16424	3778	23%	6898	42%
Bhopal	110	3850	1001	26%	1502	39%
Narsinghpur	202	7070	2121	30%	3182	45%
Hoshangabad	136	4252	2466	58%	1956	46%
Indore	120	5384	700	13%	2477	46%
Chhindwara	446	13912	8625	62%	6121	44%
Ujjain	82	3036	243	8%	1366	45%
Jabalpur	629	20996	6299	30%	9238	44%
Sagar	248	10433	1878	18%	4591	44%
Durg	93	3243	908	28%	1654	51%
45 Districts	19289	707393	394974	56%	316604	45%

Annexure 3: 100% Access to Primary Education within 1 km of all habitations of Madhya Pradesh

District	Habitations			Served Habitations	Prim. Schooling Facilities Till 1994	Facilities Created during 1994 to 1998			Total
	Revenue Villages	Totals/Majras/p Aras/Falias,etc	Total			NPS + AS	EGS	Total	
Balaghat	1388	522	1910	1910	1942		352	352	2294
Bastar	3880	4442	8322	8322	3918	250	1510	1760	5678
Betul	1406	331	1737	1737	1511	210	230	440	1951
Bhind	933	668	1601	1601	1495	225	167	392	1887
Bhopal	538	4	542	542	946		110	110	1056
Bilaspur	3590	2251	5841	5841	4615	400	850	1250	5865
Chhatarpur	1192	523	1715	1715	1388	420	145	565	1953
Chhindwada	1948	447	2431	2431	2285		446	446	2731
Damoh	1206	47	1253	1253	935	220	239	459	1394
Datia	445	15	460	460	492	168	73	241	733
Dewas	1134	17	1151	1151	1246	230	121	351	1597
Dhar	1571	1536	3107	3107	1637	328	867	1195	2832
Durg	1821	59	1880	1880	2365		93	93	2458
Guna	2265	605	2870	2870	1573	481	457	938	2511
Gwalior	776	396	1172	1172	1692		386	386	2078
Hoshangabad	1554	2	1556	1556	1489		136	136	1625
Indore	645	80	725	725	1445		120	120	1565
Jabalpur	2400	201	2601	2601	2538		629	629	3167
Jhabua	1357	2546	3903	3903	1647	438	1400	1838	3485
Khandwa	1068	70	1138	1138	1369	240	200	440	1809
Khargone	2171	1784	3955	3955	2037	230	1688	1918	3955
Mandla	2160	2554	4714	4714	2355	500	871	1371	3726
Mandsaur	1761	274	2035	2014	2355	500	871	1371	3726
Morena	1406	943	2349	2349	2018	470	396	866	2884
Narsinghpur	1081	40	1121	1121	872		202	202	1074
Panna	1048	459	1507	1507	933	255	189	444	1377
Raigarh	2244	2942	5186	5186	2780	279	646	925	3705
Raipur	4033	218	4251	4251	4187	350	548	898	5085
Raisen	1509	209	1718	1718	1362	212	192	404	1766
Raigarh	1736	13	1749	1749	1294	249	242	491	1785
Rajnandgaon	2378	12	2390	2390	1912	437	118	555	2467
Ratlam	1077	213	1308	1308	1233	240	188	428	1661
Rewa	2725	913	3638	3638	1775	526	332	858	2633
Sagar	1843	80	1923	1923	1743		248	248	1991
Sarguja	2432	5805	8237	8237	3376	370	1152	1522	4898
Satna	2040	488	5228	5228	1482	638	527	1165	2647
Sehore	1072	167	1239	1239	1231	277	70	347	1578
Seoni	1613	115	1728	1728	1499	249	289	538	2037
Shahdol	2106	2012	4118	4118	2364	440	766	1206	3570
Shajapur	1124	188	1312	1312	1325	100	103	203	1528
Shivpuri	1459	402	1861	1861	1390	206	468	674	2064
Sidhi	1882	180	2683	2683	1628	470	765	1235	2863
Tikamgarh	973	547	1520	1520	955	343	370	713	1668
Ujjain	1135	2	1137	1137	1795		82	82	1877
Vidisha	1624	223	1847	1847	1286	290	230	520	1806
Total	75785	36184	11196	11196	81267	10985	19289	30274	111541