



Some Issues of Income and Employment:

Apart from education and health, livelihood and income is the third factor in the simple composite index of human development. Livelihood and income together indicate the ability of a person and a people to source products and utilities to sustain themselves.

In Madhya Pradesh, the issues of livelihood are subject to great regional variations, and range from subsistence based economies and peoples to formal and registered employment and activities. For marginal economic categories such as tribals, the very poor, and those living in remote, underdeveloped and backward parts of the state, the issue is much more of sustenance and survival, and their status is not adequately reflected in standard measurements of income, employment estimates or infrastructure parameters. For them the questions of access to infrastructure and service delivery, of more traditional, local and non-mechanised economic activities, and the constant struggle against encroachment on their physical (land and forests), social (traditions and society) and economic (shrinking markets and competing products) worlds are critical, threatening their sustenance and even survival.

The scope of this chapter is limited to a brief analysis of the quantifiable income and assessment of the employment and infrastructure status of the state. The issues of livelihoods in the state, especially for the poor, have not been touched upon. Some of these issues that need to be separately addressed are flagged below.

- Mining policy, including focus on exploitation of major and minor minerals, the former under the central government and latter under the control of the state government, and quarrying activities, and its impact on forests, environment and resettlement.
 - Forests With a large but dwindling forest cover, there is need to look at forests, forest policy, livelihoods of people related with forests, commercial exploitation of forests, common property resources, etc Forest Produce Forest produce has been a source of livelihood for the poor, especially the vast majority of tribals in the state. The forest policy and activities of government, forest departments and other economic interventions on forest produce must be looked at (for example, the issues of policy on tendu leaf, collection of chironji and imli in Bastar, etc.), the list of reserved items, etc.
 - Tribals constitute a fourth of the population of the state. Questions of their livelihood, income and sustenance deserve to be further analysed.
 - Rehabilitation and Resettlement Madhya Pradesh has a large number of people, especially tribals, who have been ousted under different projects (public and private, for example in the Singrauli area). The state has shown great sensitivity to this issue by its stand on the Narmada project, and there is need for further focus on this in other areas.
 - Migrant Labour Many districts witness migration into and out of the districts, even into neighbouring states. Focus on migrant labour, the causes, dynamics and issues of migration, and its impact on education and health is necessary.
- The aspects of development—education, health, income that we have taken to determine the level of human development in the districts of Madhya Pradesh depend in turn on many factors such as the delivery, quality and quantity of services, and infrastructure that pertain to health, education and economic activity, both in particular to them and in general to the people and their economy. Here, we make an attempt to compare the districts with one another and the state with other states in the

country to determine the level of development and the quality and adequacy of infrastructure that affect income.

The data available to make such an assessment suffers from various problems (please see note on Methodology and Data). Even if we take the data with its anomalies and problems, assuming that we will at least be able to compare districts, there is the problem of availability of relatively reliable data across districts and at comparable points of time. This problem has restricted us from comparing a large amount of data available, and we have focused on that which was found to be relatively safer from problems. Most of the data available specifies provision of infrastructure and service delivery components, like PHCs, hospitals, road length, and electricity connections, but does not always show how they are accessed, or the inequalities in their usage.

The state has been amongst the poorest in the country, with an estimated poverty rate of 36.7 per cent in 1987-88 according to Planning Commission estimates (based on expenditure), compared to the national average of 29.9 per cent. Only Orissa and Bihar among the major states were worse off. The levels of poverty continue to be high, and it is estimated that over 55 lakh families or over 3 crore people live below the poverty line in rural Madhya Pradesh, according to the rural poverty survey conducted by the state for IRDP (Rural Poverty Survey based on income, Development Commissioner, Government of Madhya Pradesh) in 1992.

Estimates for urban poverty made by the Planning Commission (based on expenditure) placed it at over 20 per cent in 1987-88. The provisional results from the recent survey carried out in the state by the District Urban Development Agencies (DUDA), based on income, to assess urban poverty shows the level to be over 17 per cent, with over 4lakh families or nearly 23 lakh people

below the urban poverty line. In 1988-89, the state's per capita income was Rs. 2,739, the fourth lowest amongst 15 major states, against a national average of Rs. 3,835. Madhya Pradesh stands lowest amongst the 15 major states in per capita income at 1980-81 prices, at Rs. 680 compared to the national average of Rs. 2,082.

A study conducted by G. Chakrabarty and S.P. Pal of NCAER (see Table 5-1), shows that in mean expenditure, which shows per capita expenditure, rural Madhya Pradesh is better than only Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Orissa and Bihar, although it does a little better in rural Gini coefficient with a value of 0.293 against a national average of 0.291. Urban Madhya Pradesh has a per capita expenditure rank of 20 amongst 28 states. Sen's Welfare Index for rural Madhya Pradesh is again fourth last, though it improves in urban areas, where Madhya Pradesh occupies the twenty-first position. The overall condition of the state is much below national averages.

A UNDP-commissioned study on "Human Development in India" by Bhaskar Durra, Manoj Panda and Wilima Wadhwa, makes estimates of Deprivation Index for Income (see Table 5-2). They have taken per capita incomes based upon state gross domestic products for four sub-periods in the interval 1970 to 1990, for which annual data are aggregated for these sub-periods. Table 5-2, containing these figures, shows that of the 17 states compared, the rank of Madhya Pradesh (average rank 13.25) for the four periods fluctuates from 14 to 14 to 13 to 12, comparable with Bihar (average rank 17), Orissa (16), Assam (14.5), Kerala (13.5), and Uttar Pradesh (12.75). Not only is Madhya Pradesh very low in the order, but as is the case with almost every state in the rankings, there is little variation in ranks over time.

TABLE 5.1
COMPARISON OF STATES IN INDIA

District	Rural						Urban					
	Mean Expenditure		Gini Coefficient		Sen's Welfare		Mean Expenditure		Gini Coefficient		Sen's Welfare	
	(Rs/month)	Rank	Coeff.	Rank	Index	Rank	(Rs/month)	Rank	Coeff.	Rank	Index	Rank
Delhi	372.31	1	0.192	3	300.83	1	485.63	1	0.4118	28	285.67	3
Mizoram	246.04	5	0.158	1	207.18	2	324.13	7	0.1645	1	270.82	4
Andaman & Nicobar	272.55	3	0.272	15	198.45	3	419.32	3	0.3101	14	289.03	2
Chandigarh	275.57	2	0.333	27	183.85	4	437.19	2	0.2903	9	310.29	1
Punjab	244.28	6	0.295	20	172.22	5	267.44	14	0.2754	5	193.77	11
Lakshadweep	262.86	4	0.351	29	170.58	6	276.58	10	0.2290	3	213.48	8
Manipur	190.74	12	0.175	2	157.39	7	200.35	26	0.1646	2	167.37	17
Haryana	214.81	7	0.281	17	154.52	8	255.31	16	0.2968	12	179.54	14
Himachal Pradesh	209.55	9	0.271	14	152.73	9	345.78	4	0.2958	10	243.50	5
Tripura	194.05	11	0.222	4	151.00	10	271.18	11	0.2606	4	200.52	9
Kerala	211.20	8	0.323	24	142.99	11	266.20	15	0.3867	27	163.25	18
Goa, Daman & Diu	183.77	13	0.245	8	138.75	12	329.07	6	0.3503	23	213.80	7
Jammu & Kashmir	204.22	10	0.322	23	138.49	13	270.79	12	0.2816	6	194.54	10
Meghalaya	174.39	15	0.259	11	129.27	14	334.25	5	0.2858	8	238.72	6
Sikkim	169.96	16	0.255	10	126.67	15	277.45	9	0.3098	13	191.48	12
Rajasthan	179.65	14	0.303	22	125.18	16	23.08	28	0.3457	21	155.72	22
Gujarat	161.21	17	0.233	7	123.60	17	240.32	19	0.2853	7	171.74	16
Assam	153.58	22	0.222	4	119.49	18	269.64	13	0.3367	20	178.85	15
West Bengal	150.19	23	0.252	9	112.40	19	248.33	18	0.3525	25	160.80	20
Andhra Pradesh	160.00	18	0.301	21	111.79	20	227.63	21	0.3637	26	144.85	26
Maharashtra	159.44	19	0.326	26	107.49	21	279.88	8	0.3516	24	181.48	13
Uttar Pradesh	148.59	25	0.279	16	107.10	22	217.07	24	0.3286	17	145.74	25
Karnataka	149.19	24	0.292	18	105.63	23	221.26	23	0.3359	19	146.94	24
Tamil Nadu	154.43	21	0.323	24	104.62	24	249.34	17	0.3499	22	162.09	19
Pondichery	156.16	20	0.341	28	102.98	25	210.51	25	0.3174	15	143.70	27
Madhya Pradesh	142.52	26	0.293	19	100.79	26	235.99	20	0.3307	18	157.96	21
Bihar	136.50	27	0.264	12	100.49	27	186.32	27	0.2967	11	131.04	28
Orissa	127.54	28	0.267	13	93.48	28	224.53	22	0.3234	16	151.92	23
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	114.41	29	0.231	6	87.95	29						
All India	155.75		0.291		110.44		249.93		0.3522		161.92	

Source : Chakrabarty and Pal (1995)

TABLE 5.2
UNDP DEPRIVATION INDEX-INCOME

States	Levels				Rankings				Aver.	Change in Dep. Index	Ranking by quantum of change over 4 sub-periods
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV			
Bihar	0.978	0.941	0.878	0.796	17	17	17	17	17.00	18.60%	13
Orissa	0.860	0.832	0.829	0.728	16	16	16	16	16.00	15.30%	15
Assam	0.800	0.807	0.716	0.632	15	15	14	14	14.50	21.00%	12
Kerala	0.740	0.743	0.744	0.712	12	12	15	15	13.50	3.80%	17
Madhya Pradesh	0.789	0.807	0.706	0.596	14	14	13	12	13.25	24.50%	7
Uttar Pradesh	0.776	0.746	0.674	0.600	13	13	12	13	12.75	22.70%	8
Rajasthan	0.688	0.647	0.657	0.569	11	11	11	10	10.75	17.30%	14
Tamil Nadu	0.655	0.593	0.607	0.512	10	7	10	9	9.00	21.80%	10
Himachal Pradesh	0.644	0.599	0.595	0.505	8	10	9	8	8.75	21.60%	11
Jammu & Kashmir	0.648	0.597	0.552	0.576	9	8	7	11	8.75	11.10%	16
West Bengal	0.629	0.590	0.569	0.487	7	6	8	7	7.00	22.60%	9
Andhra Pradesh	0.623	0.598	0.514	0.454	6	9	5	6	6.50	27.10%	6
Karnataka	0.610	0.556	0.520	0.432	5	5	6	5	5.25	29.20%	5
Gujarat	0.547	0.450	0.372	0.318	4	4	3	4	3.75	41.90%	4
Maharashtra	0.526	0.416	0.394	0.279	3	3	4	3	3.25	47.00%	3
Haryana	0.484	0.392	0.330	0.216	2	2	2	2	2.00	55.40%	2
Punjab	0.323	0.219	0.153	0.047	1	1	1	1	1.00	85.40%	1

Source: Human Development in India, Bhaskar Dutta, Manoj Panda, Wilima Wadhwa, UNDP Research Project

However, when compared to a national average improvement over four periods of 28.6 percent in the Deprivation Index, Madhya Pradesh changes by 24.5 per cent, seventh best amongst all the states.

POVERTY

According to the 1991-92 IRDP Rural Poverty Survey, over 60 per cent of rural families are subsisting below the poverty line (BPL) in rural areas of Madhya Pradesh. The average income of a family below the poverty line is Rs. 4,653 per annum, which is less than half of the rural poverty line of Rs 11000 per family in a year (1991-92 prices).

Amongst the state's districts, Narsimhapur has the maximum rural poverty (IRDP Rural Poverty Survey), which is contrary to popular perceptions of this district (see Table 5-3). The extent of rural poverty is over three-fourths in Jabalpur, Seoni, Surguja, Sagar, Bilaspur, Shajapur and Jhabua. In 33 districts, incidence of rural poverty is over 50 per cent. Only Bhind, Chhatarpur and Gwalior have less than one-third of the people in rural areas below the poverty line. In terms of employment category of rural BPL, 31 per cent are agricultural laborers, 26 per cent are marginal farmers and 22 per cent small farmers. The extent of rural poverty is clearly very serious in the state and we have large sections of the population living in very poor conditions.

Regionally, there is less rural poverty in the Gwalior region (and the Chambal region) and western Bundelkhand, and around Bhopal. There are relatively moderate levels of poverty in parts of the Malwa region, with some bad districts on the western side. Great poverty is seen in parts of Baghelkhand and the Chattisgarh regions. Districts such as Indore and Jabalpur, which are considered

well off by general standards, seem to have considerable rural poverty.

Urban poverty surveys are still underway (being conducted by DUDA) in the state and need finalisation. The provisional data available from 42 districts gives some indication of the level of urban poverty. Overall, the state appears to have urban poverty of 17.3 per cent (calculated for 42 districts excluding Indore, Jabalpur and Bastar). Damoh has the highest urban poverty of 36 per cent followed by Sehore, Chhindwara, West Nimar (Khargone), Sarna and Vidisha, all of whom have urban poverty over 25 per cent. On the other side, districts with the lowest urban poverty are Gwalior, Shivpuri and Ujjain with lower than 10 per cent. Preliminary data from Indore and Jabalpur also shows low urban poverty, under 10 per cent.

Taking rural and urban poverty together, 4 districts have over two-thirds of its people under the poverty line, namely Narsimhapur, Seoni, Surguja and Jhabua. Fifteen districts, comprising Bilaspur, Dhar, Shajapur, Balaghat, Sidhi, Mandla, Rajnandgaon, Sagar, Raigarh, Rewa and Rajgarh, and the districts above, have over half their population below the poverty line.

Data for land distribution in the state shows high levels of inequality. Overall in the state, 36 per cent of land owners own up to 1 hectare of land, corresponding to only 5.5 per cent of total area. On the other side, 4.9 per cent of land owners own 28.2 per cent of land. The distribution of land in the state is given in Table 5-4.

The graph that follows shows the distribution of land ownership in the state. The straight line shows the line of equality. The curved line (Lorenz curve) shows the percentage of land owners to total land owners in the state plotted against land owned by them as a percentage of total land (cumulative totals). The curvature of the curve exhibits the extent of inequality of land ownership in the state.

TABLE 5.3
FAMILIES LIVING BELOW POVERTY LINE FOR THE EIGHTH PLAN 1992-97, MADHYA PRADESH

District	Rural Population Census 91	Total No. of Rural Families B.P.L	Pov. Rate	No. of Rural Families Below Poverty Line Income Groups				Average B.P.L. INC
				0-4000	4001-6000	6001-8500	8500-11000	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Narsimhapur	667788	115342	95.00%	42915	34954	24079	13394	4905
Jabalpur	1440780	220147	84.00%	96502	70971	37894	14780	4391
Seoni	905187	134348	81.60%	53069	42279	24720	14280	4734
Surguja	1832117	270487	81.20%	142234	75812	34966	17475	4020
Sagar	1165105	166395	78.50%	65349	56541	29101	15404	4655
Bilaspur	3148029	449228	78.50%	179213	139801	85956	44258	4702
Shajapur	849793	117149	75.80%	46872	33905	21725	14647	4811
Jhabua	1031639	141040	75.20%	64901	42273	22561	11305	4360
Dhar	1187091	155710	72.10%	45932	59009	34051	16718	5117
Balaghat	1232984	153562	68.50%	46678	68085	28178	10621	4829
Ujjain	835524	103988	68.50%	49090	29293	15165	10440	4389
Rajnandgaon	1212733	150130	68.10%	66319	48602	22930	12279	4407
Sidhi	1283161	150633	64.60%	35834	45887	36891	32021	5847
Mandla	1192288	137005	63.20%	68259	42629	19058	7059	4063
Khandwa	1038672	119271	63.20%	56814	35458	16645	10354	4297
Rajgarh	825506	94603	63.00%	23632	37824	22474	10673	5321
Rewa	1313437	149905	62.80%	68317	42507	25134	13947	4452
Ratlam	661640	75196	62.50%	27972	22145	14765	10314	4977
Durg	1550037	175871	62.40%	80648	53247	26824	15152	4377
Raigarh	1559063	173553	61.20%	90902	47031	23709	11911	4062
Shahdol	1374923	146817	58.70%	66908	43261	23757	12891	4414
Tikamgarh	781650	82885	58.30%	23565	24055	19180	16085	5590
Betul	959636	100959	57.90%	43906	31994	16293	8766	4471
Raisen	738061	76786	57.20%	21895	35086	13563	6242	4928
Indore	561789	57651	56.40%	14324	17637	14342	11348	5749
Satna	1173570	118363	55.50%	52209	37456	18676	10022	4434
Mandsaur	1196412	120381	55.30%	42216	40085	24718	13362	4937
Khargone	1721080	172009	55.00%	63894	57728	32811	17576	4800
Hoshangabad	918614	90402	54.10%	32276	31397	17049	9680	4862
Dewas	765552	73038	52.50%	26065	25864	13652	7457	4835
Bastar	2108630	198995	51.90%	89580	70361	28317	10737	4226
Damoh	734634	68061	51.00%	10047	29542	17430	11042	5904
Raipur	3132028	288142	50.60%	114605	103619	49023	20895	4534
Datia	307751	27424	49.00%	7413	8080	6067	5864	5703
Shivpuri	959876	84585	48.50%	22523	23802	21406	16854	5717
Vidisha	776085	67803	48.10%	40195	19861	5432	2315	3564
Panna	595245	52001	48.00%	17483	19017	10012	5489	4926
Chhindwara	1201000	99857	45.70%	29102	40153	21538	9064	5042
Guna	1054005	76175	39.70%	40886	20962	10095	4232	3952
Bhopal	268750	19351	39.60%	11885	4916	1780	770	3553
Sehore	689140	48766	38.90%	14148	20206	10454	3958	4997
Morena	1356909	95884	38.90%	42228	33286	13539	6831	4335
Gwalior	580951	34476	32.60%	9833	9136	9176	6831	5615
Chhatarpur	935471	50607	29.80%	16939	16059	11177	6432	5096
Bhind	963482	45776	26.10%	20618	14550	7267	3341	4353
Madhya Pradesh	50787815	5550757	60.10%	2226195	1806366	983580	534616	4653.002

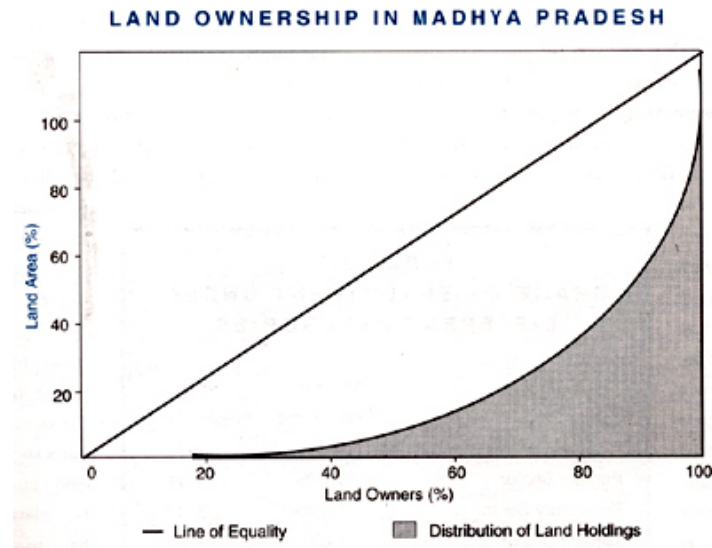
**TABLE 5.3 (contd.)
FAMILIES LIVING BELOW POVERTY LINE FOR THE EIGHTH PLAN 1992-97, MADHYA PRADESH**

District	Small Farmer	Marginal Farmers	Classification of Families				Total
			Agr. Labourer	Non-Agr Labourer	Rural Artisans	Others	
1	9	10	12	13	14	15	
Narsimhapur	15975	18033	39625	31103	5541	5065	115342
Jabalpur	27768	42233	66528	66686	7190	9742	220147
Seoni	28336	26630	34913	28864	8480	7125	134348
Surguja	77351	84307	60608	28577	3976	15668	270847
Sagar	38245	40418	38144	44663	1457	3468	166395
Bilaspur	37948	176826	109567	51871	13016	0	449228
Shajapur	21407	29696	45326	9253	7014	4453	117149
Jhabua	38355	37867	39730	15786	4201	5101	141040
Dhar	31459	29679	67871	1115	5695	9855	155710
Balaghat	28959	46075	42096	25227	3286	7919	153562
Ujjain	16553	29008	42187	8806	2282	5152	103988
Rajnandgaon	44890	41822	24768	12271	3252	23127	150130
Sidhi	28865	34527	43387	26065	6960	10829	150633
Mandla	26903	30222	42295	33368	4217	0	137005
Khandwa	27020	12599	64596	0	10253	4803	119271
Rajgarh	28273	28475	23645	9357	2766	2087	94603
Rewa	17919	30198	57664	28818	8861	6445	149905
Ratlam	21294	29149	15247	2729	1616	5161	75196
Durg	43129	72432	42008	10166	3806	4330	175871
Raigarh	47086	46890	49666	18570	8419	2922	173553
Shahdol	26914	34386	48154	27217	6294	3852	146817
Tikamgarh	26136	28090	11730	13045	2844	1040	82885
Betul	30441	17444	35028	12621	2991	2434	100959
Raisen	11056	10230	32356	17709	3328	2107	76786
Indore	6962	9790	24162	12504	1363	2870	57651
Satna	14905	20329	33205	34335	7781	7808	118363
Mandsaur	22164	31848	47320	14066	3510	1473	120381
Khargone	34803	29731	78697	15845	5325	7608	172009
Hoshangabad	11964	10977	43076	14072	5186	5127	90402
Dewas	22374	25245	17094	2907	2527	2891	73038
Bastar	65831	50140	46170	28311	8543	0	198995
Damoh	8829	13653	20596	23536	1447	0	68061
Raipur	64009	101005	90996	24664	5523	1945	288142
Datia	7858	8903	3820	3733	1097	2013	27424
Shivpuri	22767	21290	16724	14414	2988	6402	84585
Vidisha	13185	10100	28818	12195	1720	1785	67803
Panna	8848	11279	16976	12015	1454	1429	52001
Chhindwara	18078	14818	44941	14707	3870	3443	99857
Guna	21914	18427	26825	5831	1346	1832	76715
Bhopal	2558	2155	7620	4414	344	2260	19351
Sehore	6415	5025	31653	105	964	1604	48766
Morena	19230	38423	23217	14373	455	186	95884
Gwalior	9572	9976	2791	11410	236	491	34476
Chhatarpur	6390	6830	9277	14712	12785	613	50607
Bhind	9620	18055	10857	6009	1131	104	45776
Madhya Pradesh	1200558	1435235	1701974	821081	197340	194569	5550757

TABLE 5.4
LAND DISTRIBUTION IN MADHYA PRADESH – 1985-86

	Scheduled Castes		Scheduled Castes		Others			Total		
	Share of Land Owners	Share of Area	Share of Land Owners	Share of Area	Share of Land Owners	Share of Area	Land Owners	Share of Land Owners	Area	Share of Area
Below 0.02 Ha	0.22%	0.00%	0.23%	0.00%	0.74%	0.00%	90240	1.19%	1397	0.01%
0.02 to 0.5 Ha	3.10%	0.27%	4.41%	0.38%	11.98%	1.06%	1481816	19.49%	379326	1.71%
0.5 to 1.0 Ha	2.48%	0.61%	3.44%	0.86%	9.35%	2.29%	1160868	15.27%	833474	3.76%
Marginal up to 1 Ha	5.80%	0.88%	8.08%	1.24%	22.06%	3.36%	2732924	35.94%	1214197	5.48%
1.0 to 2.0 Ha	3.09%	1.51%	5.16%	2.59%	12.96%	6.52%	1612622	21.21%	2352791	10.62%
2.0 to 3.0 Ha	1.60%	1.31%	3.79%	3.09%	7.88%	6.56%	1009597	13.28%	2429196	10.96%
3.0 to 4.00 Ha	0.78%	0.93%	2.01%	2.40%	4.87%	5.80%	582940	7.67%	2020506	9.12%
Semi Medium 1-4 Ha	2.39%	2.24%	5.81%	5.49%	12.75%	12.36%	1592537	20.95%	4449702	20.08%
4.0 to 5.0 Ha	0.57%	0.87%	1.53%	2.34%	3.57%	5.46%	431233	5.67%	1921487	8.67%
5.0 to 7.5 Ha	0.54%	1.13%	2.01%	4.21%	4.96%	10.39%	571222	7.51%	3485582	15.73%
7.5 to 10 Ha	0.20%	0.59%	1.01%	2.95%	2.59%	7.65%	289362	3.81%	2478419	11.19%
Medium Size 4-10 Ha	1.32%	2.58%	4.56%	9.51%	11.11%	23.50%	1291817	16.99%	7885488	35.59%
10 to 20 Ha	0.14%	0.62%	0.97%	4.42%	2.88%	13.40%	303606	3.99%	4085817	18.44%
20 to 30 Ha	0.01%	0.11%	0.13%	1.09%	0.48%	3.88%	47354	0.62%	1125559	5.08%
30 to 40 Ha	0.00%	0.03%	0.03%	0.35%	0.13%	1.54%	12547	0.17%	427124	1.93%
40 to 50 Ha	0.00%	0.01%	0.01%	0.17%	0.05%	0.76%	4715	0.06%	208240	0.94%
50 and above	0.00%	0.03%	0.01%	0.32%	0.05%	1.49%	5022	0.07%	406384	1.83%
Size Large	0.16%	0.80%	1.15%	6.34%	3.60%	21.08%	373244	4.91%	6253124	28.22%
All Total	12.75%	8.01%	24.77%	25.17%	62.49%	66.82%	7603144	100.00%	22155302	100.00%
Share of Total		8.01%		25.17%		66.82%				

Source: Agricultural Statistics, Directorate of Agriculture, Madhya Pradesh (1990-91) (data from Agriculture Census 1985-86).



The levels of inequality may differ from district to district, but all districts show high inequalities in land ownership

EMPLOYMENT

The NSS 43rd Round (Madhya Pradesh State Report), shows that agricultural production provides employment to nearly 72 per cent of people working in the primary status. Over 82 per cent of rural workers in Madhya Pradesh are in agricultural production, followed by agricultural services, and construction. Urban Madhya Pradesh has a more varied employment scenario, and public administration with 12 per cent and agricultural production with 11 per cent are the major employers. Apart from agriculture, manufacturing or production does not occupy an important position in employment in the state.

The NSS Survey estimates the share of workers in the principal status in rural Madhya Pradesh in non-farm employment to be around 7.3 per cent. According to the 1991 Census, in terms of share of non-farm employment in rural areas, Madhya Pradesh comes last in the country, with only 10.7 per cent employed in this sector, compared to the national share of 17.7 per cent. Consequently, the rural non-farm sector has been identified as a priority focus for the state, and there is a special emphasis on promoting rural non-farm employment under the Rajiv Gandhi Missions.

The Census of 1991 gives a worker participation rate (WPR) of 42.8 per cent for the state, compared to the national average of 37.5 per cent. In the decade 1981 to 1991, the main workers in the state grew slower than the rise in population, at 2.2 per cent per annum, compared to the population growth of 2.4 per cent. Only 2 districts had a growth of main workers greater than the rate of growth of population.

Sidhi recorded 1 per cent lower growth in workers per annum to rise of population. The districts where rate of growth of workers was high were Bhopal, Shivpuri, Indore and Ratlam. The districts with lowest employment growth rates were Balaghat, Raigarh, Mandla, Jabalpur, Seoni and Narsimhapur. The entire belt of Baghelkhand and Chattisgarh recorded lower rates of increase in workers to increase in population. If we take rural main workers only, they grew overall in the state by 1.9 per cent per annum, though the population grew at 2.4 per cent per annum in rural Madhya Pradesh. Urban population in the state grew at 3.78 per cent per annum, and main workers at 3.76 per cent per annum. This points towards growing rural unemployment in the state, and a growing tendency towards urban migration.

Amongst the major employment categories, according to the 1991 Census, cultivators constitute 51.8 per cent of all main workers and agricultural labourers 23.5 per cent, accounting for around three fourths involved in agricultural operations. Cultivators are higher in Madhya Pradesh compared to the national average of 38.7, though the state has lesser agricultural labourers compared to the national average of 26.1 per cent.

In non-household manufacturing the state lags behind at 4.4 per cent of employment compared to the national figure of 7.6 per cent. Household

manufacturing, on the other hand, employs only 2.4 per cent of the employed, and declined over the decade 1981 to 1991 by 1.6 per cent per annum, in keeping with the decline in this category, all over the country. This exhibits the extent of dependence on agriculture and the relatively small role than manufacturing plays in the state

as far as employment is concerned.

The other major employer was 'Other Services' with 7.6 per cent employment, and Trade, etc.' with 4.8 per cent, much less than the national shares of 10.3 and 7.4 per cent respectively. Higher share of employment in the tertiary sector exhibits a changing economy from farm-based to manufacturing and non farm-based employment, which is not the case in Madhya Pradesh.

There is also little change in the profile of employment between 1981 to 1991 by way of share of employment of different categories. The primary sector employed 79 per cent in 1981 and this dropped only slightly to 77.5 per cent in 1991 (see Table 5- 5). There was little increase in tertiary sector employment, from 11.5 per cent to 14.1 per cent. The secondary sector remained stagnant. Increase in the service sector is seen mainly due to

TABLE 5.5
SHARE OF EMPLOYMENT UNDER
DIFFERENT CATEGORIES

Category	Share in Employment 1981	Share in Employment 1991
Primary Sector	79.10 %	77.54 %
Secondary Sector	9.43 %	8.37 %
Tertiary Sector	11.49 %	14.09 %
Cultivators	51.96 %	51.75 %
Agricultural Labourers	24.24 %	23.51 %
Agriculture Allied	1.89 %	1.39 %
Mining and Quarrying	1.01 %	0.89 %
Manufacturing-Household	3.52 %	2.41 %
Manufacturing-Non Household	4.33 %	4.40 %
Construction	1.58 %	1.56 %
Trade and Commerce	3.87 %	4.77 %
Transport, Storage and Communication	1.63 %	1.70 %
Other Services	5.99 %	7.62 %

Source: Primary Census Abstract – 1981 and 1991

other Services which usually include personal services, public administration, and other 'institutional' employment. Employment in 'entrepreneurial' areas such as manufacturing, trade, storage, transport, etc. witnessed very little growth. It is clear that employment still exhibits a traditionally agrarian dominated employment structure, where there is little sign of change. This has significance for policy and for development measures, both for what they need to focus on for employment improvement and to create sustainable employment opportunities.

The 1981 Census gives the break-up of employment in Madhya Pradesh under separate activities. If we take the percentage of employment under different activities (excluding cultivators and agricultural labourers), public administration gave maximum employment. This was followed by retail trade in food, food articles, etc., construction, educational and scientific services, and manufacture of beverages, tobacco and tobacco products. Major employment in rural Madhya Pradesh was provided in livestock production, manufacture of beverages, tobacco and tobacco products, construction, educational services, retail trade in food and food articles, beverages, tobacco and intoxicants, and manufacture of wood products. Under the NIC three digit classification, the major employer in Madhya Pradesh in 1981; excluding cultivators and agricultural labourers, was the manufacture of bidi. This activity was the highest employer in rural areas, followed by cattle and goat breeding and milk production, educational services and employment in the state government. Wood work, pottery and manufacturing garments and wearing apparel were the other main rural employers in manufacturing activities. Manufacture of bidi employed a substantial number of female workers (19 per cent of main workers excluding cultivators and agricultural labourers).

INCOME

The Rural Poverty Survey conducted by the state recently in 1991-92 gives us estimates of income for the rural poor below the poverty line. However, it is very difficult to estimate general per capita income levels for districts, due to non-availability of data disaggregated at the district level. Using the net state domestic product (NSDP), estimates of share of districts under different contributors to the NSDP gave us some indications as to district per capita incomes. Data for the NSDP was available for 16 major categories under which it is calculated, but was not available for any further level of disaggregation. Due to this, some of these categories had to be left out, and indirect methods of estimating districts' shares in the different categories had to be used.

Raisen district has the highest per capita income in the state (see Table 5-6) according to our estimates based upon available information. The calculation of per capita income discussed in this section is calculated from the net state domestic product (see note on HDI Methodology). Although this district does not do well in most indicators, is behind in many economic activities, and is popularly perceived to be a backward district, the vast industrial strength of Mandideep area, adjacent to Bhopal, and the fall-out of services, trade and transport from this area and regions adjoining Bhopal, raises its income. The same is the case with a district like Dhar, which gets a lot of the industries aimed for Indore in the Pithampur industrial estate,

TABLE 5-6
PER CAPITA INCOME FROM NSDP AND POVERTY RATES IN MADYA PRADESH

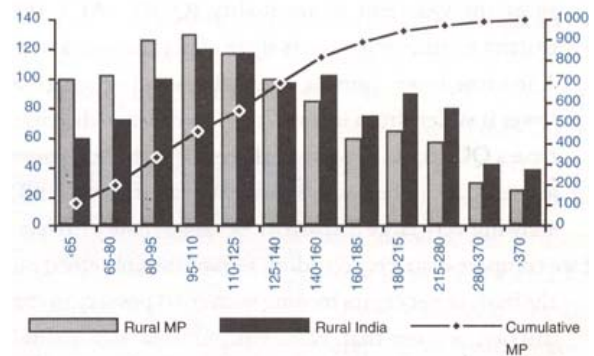
S.N	District	Per capita Income	Adjusted Income	Adjusted Income IOD	Quotient of Inequality(QOI)	Rate of Rural Poverty
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Raisen	720	193	0.00	2.14	57.2
2	Indore	450	183	0.43	1.40	56.4
3	Bhopal	445	185	0.43	1.39	39.6
4	Narsimhapur	417	185	0.43	1.33	95.0
5	Hoshangabad	394	181	0.45	1.33	54.1
6	Chhindwara	393	182	0.42	1.33	45.7
7	Shajapur	393	182	0.42	1.22	75.8
8	Dhar	381	182	0.43	1.21	72.1
9	Ujjain	383	183	0.41	1.20	68.5
10	Mandsaur	380	180	0.40	1.19	55.3
11	Durg	383	183	0.44	1.19	62.4
12	Dewas	379	183	0.44	1.13	52.5
13	Ratlam	372	183	0.52	1.13	62.5
14	Vidisha	375	187	0.49	1.13	48.1
15	Sehore	371	187	0.43	1.13	38.9
16	Damoh	363	187	0.45	1.15	51.0
17	Sidhi	363	183	0.47	1.14	64.6
18	Raipur	347	183	0.63	1.03	50.6
19	Sagar	334	185	0.62	1.03	78.5
20	Bilaspur	331	183	0.67	1.04	78.5
21	Bhind	323	183	0.65	1.01	26.1
22	Datia	323	182	0.63	1.01	49.0
23	Surguja	319	182	0.63	0.99	81.2
24	Betul	311	183	0.73	0.97	57.9
25	Morena	303	183	0.73	0.93	38.9
26	Gwalior	303	192	0.70	0.95	32.6
27	Raigarh	294	183	0.71	0.92	61.2
28	Bastar	283	184	0.70	0.89	51.9
29	Satna	283	180	0.71	0.87	55.5
30	Seoni	275	183	0.80	0.85	81.6
31	Shahdol	263	183	0.80	0.84	58.7
32	Balaghat	253	185	0.82	0.81	68.5
33	Shivpuri	254	183	0.83	0.80	48.5
34	Jabalpur	243	183	0.93	0.77	84.0
35	Rajgarh	243	183	0.83	0.73	63.0
36	Panna	243	183	0.85	0.73	48.0
37	Tikamgarh	245	183	0.90	0.75	58.3
38	Rajnandgaon	242	183	0.92	0.75	68.1
39	East Nimar	233	182	0.93	0.73	63.2
40	Mandla	229	183	0.94	0.71	63.2
41	Chhatarpur	223	181	0.90	0.71	29.8
42	Jhabua	229	182	0.93	0.70	75.2
43	Guna	224	180	0.97	0.69	39.7
44	Rewa	213	187	0.94	0.67	62.8
45	West Nimar	219	183	1.00	0.67	55.0

and Malanpur industrial estate in Bhind, which is actually the industrial belt for Gwalior. Following Raisen are Indore, Bhopal, Narsimhapur, Hoshangabad and Chhindwara. The district lowest in per capita income is West Nimar (Khargone), and then in ascending order are Rewa, Guna, Jhabua, Chhatarpur and Mandla. The per capita incomes calculated from 74.4 per cent of NSDP are Rs. 7,201 for Raisen and Rs. 2,149 for Khargone or West Nimar exhibiting the range of disparity between districts. Four districts have per capita incomes (calculated from 74.4 percent NSDP) over Rs. 4,000, 22 have per capita incomes between Rs. 3,000 to Rs 4,000, and 19 districts have a per capita income below Rs. 3,000 per annum.

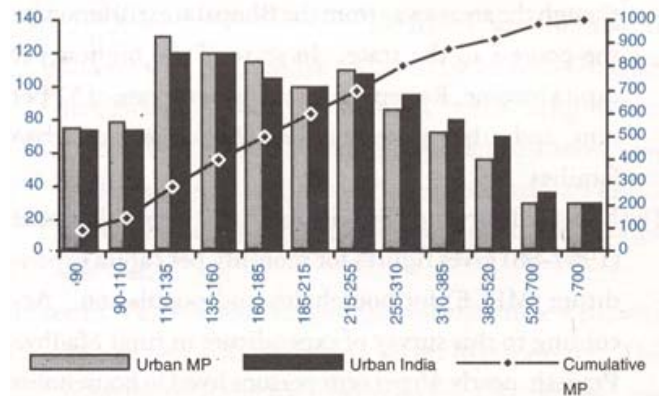
These results seem to reinforce the perception of the inadequacy of income alone as a criterion for assessing the backwardness of districts. Income has not been able to properly capture the picture of districts, in terms of intra-district inequalities and intra-district variations in development, poverty status of districts, etc. Since the overall volume of district incomes is small, the impact of certain well developed and prosperous zones (such as industrial estates and agriculturally rich belts) can have an inordinately high impact on the overall income profile of a district. In fact, if we remove registered manufacturing from district per capita income calculations undertaken for calculating an income index for this report, some districts have a sharp drop in their ranks in income, specially those around the large towns of the state (rajbhogi towns). Durg, neighbouring Raipur drops 21 ranks, Dhar, neighbouring Indore drops 19 ranks, Dewas, neighbouring Indore drops 11 ranks, and Bhind, neighbouring Gwalior drops 8 ranks. The ratio of per capita income of the highest to the lowest per district also drops from 3.4 to 2.2 times.

Only 16 districts come below 0.50 in the income index of

Per1000 Distribution of Population by monthly per capita expenditure class Madhya Pradesh and India(Rural) 1987-88



Per1000 Distribution of Population by monthly per capita expenditure class Madhya Pradesh and India(Urban) 1987-88



deprivation, showing the large inequalities existing in districts, and the poor state of most districts. Sixteen districts or 40 per cent of total districts have an income index of deprivation above 0.80. If we divide the share of NSDP to share of population we get a figure we refer to as the Quotient of Inequality (QOI). At 1 the district earns as much as its share of population, above 1 it earns more, causing inequality, and at a figure lower it suffers from inequality. Twenty-two districts have a QOI equal to or more than 1.0, 9 districts come above 1.20, whereas 18 districts fall below 0.80, showing very large disparities between these districts.

If we compare districts according to rankings obtained on the basis of per capita income with rural poverty in the district, we see that Narsimhapur that has a rural poverty of 95 per cent (IRDIP Rural Poverty Survey 1992) is also high on the per capita income list (rank of 4) signifying large inequalities in the district. The cases of Shajapur (income rank of 7 and rural poverty of 76 per cent), Dhar (income rank of 8 and rural poverty of 7.2 per cent), Ujjain (income rank of 9 and rural poverty of 69 per cent), and, Durg (income rank of 11 and rural poverty of 62 per cent), are similar. Raisen is another district where the areas adjacent to Bhopal have turned relatively prosperous and provided much employment and income to the district, though the areas away from the Bhopal are still amongst the poorest in the state. In spite of the highest per capita income, Raisen has a rural poverty rate of 57 per cent, and urban poverty afflicts 22 per cent of urban families.

The NSS 43rd Survey on Employment and Unemployment (1987-88) gives figures for monthly per capita expenditure (MPCE) for households and population. According to this survey of expenditure in rural Madhya Pradesh, nearly 46 per cent persons lived in households with MPCE expenditure less than Rs. 110 per month,

and more than 20 per cent lived with MPCE less than Rs. 80. The levels of deprivation in rural Madhya Pradesh are clearly high.

A perusal of the two graphs on the previous page shows the distribution of people in different expenditure classes for rural and urban Madhya Pradesh and the same figures for India. The bars exhibiting Madhya Pradesh figures shows the larger number of people in the state surviving at lower expenditure levels than the national figures. This is specially true in rural areas. The roughly concave shape of the line showing the cumulative figures for population under the expenditure classes gives a further idea of the level of inequality

INFRASTRUCTURE

Infrastructure for various developments needs have been in a poor condition in the state. The large land mass and relatively sparse population, sometimes found in concentration such as in Indore and Bhopal, and sometimes in sparsely populated and far spread regions such as in Chattisgarh, has made it very difficult for the state to effectively and efficiently spread an infrastructure network in the state. Even historically, at the time the state came into its existence as Madhya Pradesh in 1956, the state inherited a poor infrastructure.

The state had less than 30,000 primary schools and the total roads in the state were a little over 26,000 kilometres. There was very little irrigated land, though the state boasted of a vast and rich forest cover. All these indicators have seen a significant increase. Schools have increased by nearly 3 times, net irrigated area has increased by 5.2 times, and the road length in the state went up by 2.8 times in the period from 1958 to 1993-94. These statistics show a growth pattern in the state, with infrastructure more than doubling in all areas. The

levels of human development, literacy, health indicators and income have also seen a significant growth in this period, but the extent of their development compared to other states in India, is not enough. We now take a look at some comparisons between Madhya Pradesh, other states, and India, and within districts. The attempt is to look at provision of infrastructure and services, and wherever available, data indicating the benefit of such facilities to people.

In terms of land classification, Madhya Pradesh has a large forest cover with 31.2 per cent under forest in 1986-87 compared to the national figure of 21.9 percent. It was second only to Orissa in share of forest cover to total area.

In 1986-87, the state had 17.5 per cent of cultivated area under irrigation, far behind the national average of 30.7 per cent in the same year. Amongst the states only Kerala, Karnataka and Maharashtra were worse off. For a state with a large dependence in employment on agriculture, poor irrigation is a critical infrastructure problem. The use of fertilizer is also poor in the state, further weakening its agricultural sector. In 1989-90, compared to a national average of 66.9 kilogram use of fertilizer per hectare, Madhya Pradesh stood twelfth amongst 15 major states, with 29.7 kilograms of fertilizer used per hectare. The average production of Madhya Pradesh is compared to other states of the country and all-India in Table 5 – 7. Apart from gram and groundnut, in all other major crops, the state lags behind other states and the all-India averages in productivity per hectare.

Net irrigated area as a percentage of net sown area was 27.1 per cent in 1994. Within districts, Hoshangabad has the highest figure at 66 per cent irrigated area, followed by Tikamgarh and Morena, the other two districts with over 50 per cent area irrigated.

TABLE 5-7
AVERAGE PRODUCTION PER HECTARE
OF SELECTED CROPS
1988-89

Year	State Budget	Health Budget	Per cent
1990-91	733506	31415	4.28 %
1991-92	795597	35246	4.43 %
1992-93	876296	38114	4.35 %
1993-94	918745	40603	4.42 %

Source: Department of Health, Government of Madhya Pradesh

Twenty-four districts have the share of net irrigated area to net sown area less than 30 per cent. Gwalior and Bundelkhand have a better network of irrigation facilities, followed by Bhopal and then the Malwa region. Baghelkhand and Chattisgarh do poorly in irrigation.

By 1993 the use of fertilizer in Madhya Pradesh had gone up to 35.4 kilograms per hectare. District wise the use of fertilizer was highest in Indore with 98.3 kg/ha, followed by Morena (76.2 kg/ha), Hoshangabad (73.8 kg/ha), Dhar(67.8 kg/ha) and Bhopal (65.1 kg/ha). Only 11 districts use more than 50 kg/ha, with 12 districts using less than 20 kg/ha. Bastar, Mandla, Shahdol, Seoni and Sidhi come amongst the last.

In terms of electrified villages, the state has done well, with 84 per cent villages having access to electricity. This is better than the national average of 81 per cent and

is fourth best in the country amongst 15 major states. In average per capita consumption, the state goes down with 182.2 Kwh per person, compared to the national figures of 214.3 Kwh per person, ninth amongst 15 states. In 1989, 8 districts reportedly had all villages electrified, namely Bhind, Gwalior, Datia, Shivpuri, Mandsaur, Ujjain, Indore and Bhopal. On the other hand, the districts with lower share of villages with electricity are Bastar, Rewa, Shahdol, Raigarh, Panna, Vidisha and Surguja—all with less than 70 per cent villages with electricity.

In terms of rural households with electricity connections, the average for Madhya Pradesh is 37.5 per cent rural households, and Mandsaur has the highest with over 79 per cent of rural households with electricity connections. Other districts with over 50 per cent rural households with electricity connections are Sehore and Ujjain (over 70 per cent); Dewas, West Nimar (Khargone), Dhar and Datia (between 60 and 70 per cent); Chhindwara, Ratlam, Gwalior, Bhopal, Rajgarh, East Nimar (Khandwa), Hoshangabad, Narsimhapur and Shajapur (between 50 and 60 per cent). Twenty nine districts have less than 50 per cent rural households with electricity.

For a large state such as Madhya Pradesh, communications and transport are critical to access regions, to carry delivery of services and facilities to people and to give access to services and facilities to people. Madhya Pradesh has a low per 100 sq. km. Length of roads of 28.37 in 1988, compared to a national average of 57.45, which is also the lowest amongst states. The state also lags behind in pucca roads, with 16.11 kilometres of pucca road per 100 sq. km area, as against India's 27.69 kilometres per 100 sq. km. Land area in 1988. Only 23.4 per cent of villages were connected by all-weather roads by 1987-88, as against 41 per cent for all-India in the same year.

FOCUS ON INCOME, POVERTY AND DEVELOPMENT

There has been a strong focus on income, income generation and income supplementation efforts by all concerned with poverty/poverty alleviation and general development. With income are linked the important problems of employment, of providing the basics of shelter, sanitation and nutrition.

The focus of most programmes has been skill upgradation of the poor (through training, design and product development, programmes such as TRYSEM and special programmes in agriculture, sericulture, poultry development, fisheries, etc.); asset development (IRDPA); provision of essentials for production (like credit, raw materials); employment generation and employment support (through public works in JRY, NRY, etc.); social intervention (forming cooperatives and societies); and direct assistance in economic function like marketing.

These efforts have been directed on the side of the government through a network or schemes, that have historically progressed from the community development programmes of early years of independent India, including infrastructure development, to individual and group focus. The scale of the efforts can be gauged by the fact that IRDPA is the world's largest rural development programme. The state on its own has a multitude of programmes, implemented as schemes with multi-departments, multi-organisations and multi-focused approaches to tackle the problems of severe poverty, infrastructure development, employment and backward communities. The non-governmental agencies which have emerged as key partners in the development implementation role in the last two decades have also largely centre around the same set of approaches and programmes. There are examples of

ASHA NAGAR LEPER RESETTLEMENT COLONY

In the late 80s, an effort was made by the District Administration for comprehensive development and welfare of the lepers of Rajnandgaon. They were given group housing under the Indira Awas Yojana, comprehensive medical facilities, self-employment opportunities through government schemes, and infrastructure was developed for self-sustaining socio-economic development. A sericulture station was developed, mulberry plantation was taken up, a small river was dammed for irrigation and fisheries, looms were distributed with marketing facilities for the thread, a 'tatpatti' centre was opened, and settlers were directly financed for piggery, poultry, dairy, etc. A school, health centre and sources of drinking water were provided for. This multi-pronged endeavor involved the participation of several departments, besides the direct involvement of the District Collector. The initial success of the project is borne out by the fact that not a single leper was seen begging anywhere in the town, and spinning and 'tatpatti' did well due to assured purchase by the school education department and the Collector's patronage.

Problems began with the breach of the barrage and the dam collapsed, resulting in the failure of the mulberry plantation and fisheries. Looms and the 'tatpatti' centre closed due to shifts in market demand, and discontinuation of the assured purchase by the school education department and the Collector's patronage. Non-repayment of initial loans led to blockade of further monetary assistance from the government, resulting in the closure of the piggery and poultry units. The school was not formally recognised and upgraded and the single deputed teacher returned to his earlier posting. Thus, what began initially as a well-formulated and well-executed scheme, collapsed for want of initiative in the target group and/or the continued patronage of the Collector and other district officials, besides lack of coordination between various departments.

The case of Asha Nagar highlights the need for a cohesive, multi-dimensional and well-thought out effort in dealing with the complexities that go with any participatory human development venture. In spite of abundant funds, a well-conceived and executed scheme can collapse due to certain intractable issues in the long run. The experiment opens up a number of vital questions. In the absence of preparedness of the target group, programmes lack timely transferability and sustainable community involvement cannot be ensured. Since funding and management of such projects is governmental, change in priorities and lack of continuity have been impediments in their success and sustainability. With the target group below the poverty line, can self-employment programmes by asset endowment really succeed? Should subsidy be given at the time of asset delivery or upon the successful utilisation of the finances? Above all, can easy availability of government money be a substitute to efficient internal management? (Based on a case study by District Collector, Rajnandgaon)

RIGHTS TO MINOR FOREST PRODUCE

The Government of Madhya Pradesh restored tribals' rights to minor forest produce, especially the tendu leaf, eliminating the middlemen. This is reported to have led to an increase in the earnings of tribal families involved in this work of up to Rs. 4,000 to 5,000 per month during the tendu harvesting season.

ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANISATIONS AND VOLUNTARY EFFORT

NGOs have a generally positive impact due to their basically humane and sensitive approach and sincerity and dedication to work. Most of them have to work within the limitations of a small spread, and relatively small area of operation. However, NGOs can be of immense strength when tackling very poor and marginalised groups, destitutes and people in need of dedicated and direct benefits, a situation that exists in large parts of the state. Madhya Pradesh historically does not have a vibrant and widespread NGO scene. The state now sees NGOs as partners and collaborators in development with the state and the people, and seeks to encourage their constructive work.

Success, and notable examples in government and many more in NGOs, but the scale of the problem overshadows the efforts and the successes.

With the programmes are a number of legal initiatives taken by government to safeguard against exploitation, ensure minimum rights of the destitute, the worker and the poor, such as acts on labour rights and disputes, on wages and working conditions in factories, on facilities for women workers and children of workers, on child labour, on working conditions in factories, etc. There has been legislative action on the socially desirable needs of pollution control and sound environment management, promoting group and cooperative action by reservation of benefits and areas of operation for them, of preserving and ensuring livelihoods of the tiny and household producer by reserving sections of production for them and building a series of organisations and measures to protect and develop them like the Khadi and Village Industries Commission and Board, and so on.

Government has also directly intervened in improving the economic and income status of people. The most important measures have been the impact on wages through Minimum Wages and support prices for agriculture, easier credit rates for the poor and small and tiny producers, and ensuring availability of credit for priority sectors, provision of subsidies to make assets and other development needs affordable for people.

In spite of all these actions, the poor have not benefited to the targeted extent. Inequalities have been rising. As economic surveys indicate, there has been high price rise in the last few years, and ever increasing rural urban imbalance of prices and flow of capital. Unlike most services, the development sector has not developed a tradition of the rights of the

LITERACY AS A MOVEMENT FOR PEOPLE'S EMPOWERMENT

In most parts of the world, the poor have little real control over how they are governed. Our political systems vest the poor with formal authority over governance through the free right to select their representatives to parliament and the legislatures. However the aspirations, traditional wisdom, actual needs and real interests of the underprivileged masses do not find genuine, sustained and central reflection in the way policies are framed and implemented.

Policy pronouncements and plan documents therefore, underline the critical need for decentralisation of political power to the local people. This is the central theme of the Eighth Plan document. The panchayat raj framework developed by Madhya Pradesh is a step in the commitment of the state towards such devolution of political power. To lead this change towards participation of the underprivileged, the inarticulate and weak a shift is required from a representative democracy, working through political representatives and a neutral bureaucracy, to participatory democracy, acting through organisations of the underprivileged.

The National Literacy Mission (NLM) is the first programme "that attempts to achieve a paramount social objective, not primarily through the agency of the bureaucracy, but through massive mobilisation of voluntary leadership from among the people themselves. The literacy campaign is implemented in districts through a voluntary organisation under the chairmanship of the District Collector, comprising both official and non-official members. In its first phase, the aim is to create an environment supportive of literacy throughout the district, through a multi-media campaign relying heavily on folk art forms, primarily village theatre and songs. In Raigarh district, as many as 50 jathas or folk art troupes were constituted of volunteers and traditional artists, performing to emphasise the importance of literacy in the life of the underprivileged. In the 2,200 villages visited by the jathas, the response of the target group was unprecedented. Having been duly trained in the modern pedagogy of adult literacy, unpaid voluntary teachers lived for six months in forest! Tribal villages to conquer the darkness of illiteracy.

The critical dependence on the leadership and supportive role of the bureaucracy, particularly the Collector, has been one of the most vulnerable aspects of the NLM. Divested of bureaucratic authority and controls, he/she has to summon mass support from the people based on motivation, mutual trust and mutual respect. In some districts, the mass campaign for literacy has consciously been entwined with other social objectives, especially health awareness and even social consciousness, such as in Durg.

Though, the vulnerability of this mass campaign directly, funded by government is obvious and its autonomy and spread is limited, the feasibility of such an option is to be fully explored. There is no reason why this mass campaign empowerment approach cannot be adapted to other social sectors like primary education, health, agricultural extension, soil conservation and water, etc. We can think of applying this approach to the implementation of social justice legislation, such as that relating to minimum wages, labour rights and untouchability. It is possible to conceive of a local leadership empowered with legal literacy, spreading the light of information to oppressed groups backed by their own organisation and legal aid to motivate and support the determined resolution of such disputes through the courts. (Based on an article by Harsh Mander)

consumer. Especially because they are the weak, poor, oppressed and silent, development does not give them any rights of demand, of complaint and of redressal for wrong, inadequate or harmful delivery. This separation has caused a lack of people's involvement in development.

Efforts are being made in Madhya Pradesh to address this basic weakness in development by empowering the people through the Panchayat system, creating social awareness, encouraging involvement of non-governmental organisation in programme design and delivery of benefits.

All these initiatives taken together, the increasing social awareness and responsiveness of the state, the encouragement of non-government organisation, and the efforts for sincere devolution of political and economic power to elected village-level bodies hold out the promise of eventually generating mass popular involvement in development.

Such mass popular involvement is the only way to effectively pass on the benefits of development programmes to the poor on a sustainable basis.

NOTES

1. Such issues, we hope, will be addressed in future Human Development Reports on the score.

2. This list is not exhaustive but only indicative, and we hope that more and more issues will be identified and couched upon by other reports.