

CHAPTER - I

EMPLOYMENT: STRATEGY AND MODELLING

1.1. Introduction

Poverty and unemployment are inseparable problems. It is, therefore, not surprising that the eradication of poverty has been the single most important goal of planned economic development in India. However, so far, more emphasis has been laid on growth of output than its distribution. Consequently, regional and personal inequalities of income and wealth got further accentuated by the development process itself. This gave rise to the impression that the rich have become richer while the poor have been left poorer by the process of planned development. This, therefore, shifted the planner's focus from relative

to absolute poverty. Therefore, there occurred a shift in the strategies of development at the beginning of the seventies when 'poverty removal' emerged as the direct target in the plan formulation exercises. Subsequently, a number of programmes and schemes were launched to attack the problem rather directly. India continues to be rural in character. This is obvious from the fact that, as per the 1991 census, 77 per cent of the total population lives in rural areas. Out of 5.76 lakh villages, 1.5 lakh have a population of less than 200 each and another 1.69 lakh villages have a population between 200 to 5000 persons. This makes it difficult to provide even the minimum of infrastructural facilities and basic amenities like roads, drinking water, electricity, education and health to so many villages. To top it, a vast multitude of the poor of the country happen to be located in rural India. And, as unemployment and poverty are the two facets of the same problem, rural unemployment has also attracted attention of the decision makers. Consequently, the biggest challenge that the country faces in terms of both short run policy formulation and its implementation is the removal of poverty and unemployment in general and rural unemployment and poverty in particular.

The 1991 census has confirmed that the labour force grew at 2.4 per cent per annum during the 1980's. The growth is unlikely to be lower in the 1990's. The Eighth Plan's

estimate of 34 million unemployed at the end of the Plan as compared to 23 million at the Plan's beginning imply the total employment generation during the five year period is assumed of the order of 24 million or an annual average of 4.8 million. The basis of the Eighth Plan estimates of employment and unemployment is a comprehensive study undertaken by the Planning Commission in May 1990 which has estimated the backlog of unemployment (those employed on the weekly status and those severely underemployed) at 28 million as on April 1, 1990. The earlier Eighth Plan (1990-95) was aborted due to change in government at the Centre. The new Eighth Plan (1992-97) of the present government assumes labour force to grow annually by about 2 per cent so as to add 35 million labourers in the entire Plan period. Add to this the backlog of 28 million employed and this would mean that the employment requirement during this Plan would be to the tune of 63 million jobs. Taking the Union Labour Minister's realistic assessment that only some 24 million jobs will be generated in this Plan, the backlog of unemployment at the end of this Plan will not be less than 39 million compared to only 15 to 18 million as suggested by the Plan document. There is enough collaborative evidence pointing to depressing employment prospects in the country. Firstly, the annual rate of growth in employment has constantly declined from 2.32 per cent (1972-73 to 1977-78) to 2.22 per cent (1977-78 to 1983) and further down to 1.55

per cent (1983-88). This has happened despite the annual acceleration in the growth of the economy by 5.6 per cent and in industrial growth of about 8.5 per cent in the latter half of the 1980's. Secondly, even taking employment exchange statistics, fresh registrations have risen by 10.7 per cent during April-December 1993 in contrast to barely 6 per cent growth in notified vacancies. Lastly, recognising the declining overall employment elasticity with respect to output, the Eighth Plan has reiterated its faith in agriculture and its allied activities for the generation of additional employment. But ironically, allocations of public expenditure to agriculture and the unorganised sector have come down and so the prospects of acceleration of the rate of employment growth in these sectors are bleak. The spread of industrial sickness, if confronted with, is likely to increase the menace the unemployment more. We have seen earlier how the magnitude of total unemployment at the end of the Eighth Plan is likely to touch the mark of 63 million. A part of this unemployment is voluntary. Educated people may not accept the available rural jobs due to their preference for white-collared jobs. Therefore, the involuntary unemployment may be lower than this. But in absolute terms, this is quite high. Then, the incidence tends to fall mainly upon agricultural workers, marginal and small farmers who generally maintain themselves on already precariously low subsistence levels. As unemployment

directly leads to poverty, misery and destitution, it is imperative to have clarity about the concept and measurement of the degree of unemployment that prevails at any point of time. It would, therefore, be in the fitness of things to discuss the alternative approaches to the concept of employment/unemployment.

1.2 Concepts in Use

Open unemployment refers to a situation where a person fails to get full time work at the prevailing wage rates though he/she is able to take up such work. Those who are employed for only a part of the year are considered underemployed. Yet there is another category of those who appear to be employed but in reality their withdrawal does not affect the total output or total profit. This band of workers has been described as disguisedly unemployed. It looks as if both poverty and unemployment are the problems that are faced by less developed economies alone. By implication, the developed economies should be free from both these problems. Relative poverty, however, may exist even in the most developed economy. But absolute poverty is a characteristic phenomenon of mainly developing economies. People may be poor because (a) they do not have any remunerative work from which they may derive their earnings, or (b) the work they have may fetch them earnings which are

relatively low. The relativity of the earnings may be derived both with reference to the needs of the individual and the average level of national earnings. The developed economies may also face the problem of unemployment in so far as the number of jobs available may fall short of requirements. But this is generally a passing phenomenon and in any case the incidence of unemployment as measured by the proportion of persons adversely affected by it and the duration of the period in which they remain unemployed may be relatively low. The problem in developing economies is qualitatively different in so far as a sizable number of persons are affected by the incidence of unemployment and the periods of unemployment are also relatively long. Even when work becomes available, the earnings associated with it may not be adequate with reference to either the needs of the individual or the socially accepted minimum needs. Besides, partial or disguised unemployment is much more serious a problem than the open and full unemployment as the former is even more widely spread than the latter especially in the developing economies like India.

The problems of both open and disguised unemployment have been well recognised for long in literature and at the decision making levels. Nevertheless, this is one area in the Indian economy where hardly any reliable statistics exist. The reasons are partly conceptual, partly methodological and largely of coverage. All the same,

explicit employment programmes have now come to be incorporated as part of the Five Year Plans. But the effectiveness of these programmes get eroded due to the lack of conceptual and methodological clarity on one hand, and by weak data base on the other. Further, the problem of unemployment is generally embedded in the inherent character of a local economy. Indicators like immigration and outmigration may reflect some of these inherent structural features. For tackling the unemployment problem effectively, it is of utmost importance that we should understand the meaning of unemployment with clarity and for operational purposes we should be able to measure it precisely. The Indian Plans have evolved methods and policies to understand better the problem of unemployment. This is reviewed at length in the subsequent section.

1.3 Review of Employment Strategy During the Plans

From the very inception, Indian plans had put emphasis, inter alia, on four major objectives, namely: (1) accelerating the growth of the economy; (2) increasing self-reliance by reducing the imbalance in current account of the Balance of Payments; (3) reducing poverty and income inequality; and (4) lowering unemployment by reducing the gap between the supply of and demand for labour force. Very recently, two other major objectives have been added, namely,

(5) maximizing the usage of resources by improving productivity in all areas, and (6) achieving price competitiveness and price stability. In fact, a large area of complementarity is found among these objectives and some may even have the inherent conflict especially from the short-run point of view. These objectives, besides, have production, consumption, distribution, welfare and efficiency related aspects, as well.

"In combining these objectives into an integrated development scheme, any decision regarding employment proved to be crucial. Labour acts as an input to production. Again population and labour force is the prime generator of all final demands. The productivity of labour and income generation therefrom generate major demand for goods and services produced in a country. Above all, it is the population and the labour force which are the main subject matters in any development planning for welfare grounds. Therefore, a discussion of the strategy on employment, unemployment and manpower planning separately from the overall development strategy, is very much warranted." (Gupta, 1988)

Economic stagnation has characterised the performance of the Indian economy over a long period before independence, thereby failing to meet the demands of India's growing population. Besides, agriculture has continued to provide employment to nearly 68 per cent of her total labour

force. But not all workmen were fully and gainfully employed. The spectre of chronic unemployment and under-employment has continued to characterise India's employment/unemployment scenario. Under the Directive Principles of the State Policy in India, the State has to endeavour, within the limits of economic capacity and the stage of development reached, to make effective provisions for securing the right to work, the right to education and the right to public safeguard in the case of unemployed, aged, sick, disabled towards other causes of undeserved want.

1.3.1 Evolution of Employment Policy over Plans

The First Plan (1951-56): Realizing that unemployment problem in India is structural in nature rather than cyclical, the solution to its removal did not surely lie in Keynesian prescriptions. The First Plan, as a result, targetted itself to a programme of full employment and it suggested that such a programme could be implemented only if some progress had been made in removing the structural deficiencies in the economy by generating more capital stock and supplementary inputs. In other words, this strategy was based on two implicit hypotheses "(1) that employment generation, poverty reduction and improving the standard of living of the people were all synonymous, and (2) that the

growth of the economy and generation of employment were so correlated that any growth-oriented development strategy would take care of unemployment per se" (Gupta, op. cit.).

Towards this end, the First Plan, relied upon growth in agriculture as the main source of growth in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employment. Adoption of more intensive agricultural production practices and extension of irrigation were to be supplemented by the growth of cottage and small-scale industries to generate employment during the slack seasons. Such a scheme of things was regarded as providing subsidiary or alternative opportunities of employment by utilizing local raw materials and catering to the local market. Thus, in terms of a broad strategy, both agriculture and small-scale and cottage industries were the mainstay of employment generation. No quantitative measurement of the extent of unemployment and its backlog was attempted in this Plan.

The Second Plan (1956-61): The reliance on growth as a catalyst for employment was reiterated during the Second Plan and it was endorsed in a memorandum submitted by the panel of economists to the Planning Commission. But fear was also expressed that agriculture may not absorb the ever rising work force. As a result, the panel of economists recommended a substantial investment in heavy industries. The panel did not, however, underplay the importance of

agriculture in this direction. It only focussed a greater importance on industrial development as is reflected explicitly in the Mahalanobis model which laid the foundation of India's planning and led investment directed to heavy industrialisation programmes.

While expressing its concern for widespread underemployment in the economy, it recommended an area-based employment strategy emphasizing the need to pay special attention to suitable programmes in backward areas and small towns with a planned provisions for small-scale and large industries.

Starting with the legacy of widespread unemployment, the Second Plan thought it wise for the Government of India to measure the incidence of unemployment and generation of employment to formulate relevant plan programmes. In this direction, it calculated the estimates of the backlog of unemployment, the likely additions in the labour force over the Plan and the possible employment generation on account of various plan schemes. As a new feature, the Second Plan also made a reference to unemployment among the educated for the first time and suggested ways and means to reduce this menace. It also provided estimates on the unemployment backlog and generation of new employment.

The Third Plan (1961-66): Since the Second Plan, like its predecessor, also ended with a heavy shortfall in

agricultural production and Gross Domestic Product, the rural employment scenario became bleak. In the light of this experience, the Third Plan reverted to the First Plan's sectoral priority favouring agriculture as the harbinger of economic growth and, therefore, employment. Towards this direction, the role of rural-based industries was explicitly emphasised. Rural electrification, in particular, was emphasized for providing employment in the rural economy. In terms of a disaggregated approach, it emphasized the need for developing suitable employment programmes both at the Block as well as at village levels and using a different treatment for the people underemployed from those who are totally unemployed. The measurement of employment and unemployment has continued to be in the terms evolved in the Second Plan. Further, it adopted a comparatively conservative employment goal of stopping any more deterioration in the employment situation. And this was done by promising employment only to all new entrants to the labour force over the plan period. Even till this day, this has remained as "the basic evolved strategy" on employment in the plans.

It is notable that although the plan succeeded in creating employment opportunities for about 14.0 million persons, it still failed to find additional employment opportunities for nearly 3 million persons. To tackle this problem, the plan proposed to approach the problem along two

main directions: (1) promoting fairly large programme of rural industrialization with special emphasis on a programme of rural electrification; and (2) rural work programmes to provide work for 100 days in a year for a maximum of 2.5 million persons. This last feature was developed and extended further in later plans.

Another notable contribution of the Third Plan has been its explicit expression to the possible conflict between output growth and labour absorption. In this context, it emphasized the need for re-examining some of the original construction projects so as to find scope for increased manpower use by preferring labour-intensive methods of construction. But, unfortunately, this problem was mentioned rather cursorily and was never considered seriously in formulating most development schemes. Like all the earlier plans, the Third Plan also interpreted any shortfall in employment targets as mainly due to a shortfall in production targets, thus sidetracking the problem of choice of techniques. The production shortfall in the Third Plan could largely be explained by many extraneous elements like the Chinese aggression and the Pakistani attack and many domestic events like the severe droughts of 1965-66 and 1966-67 and the industrial recession commencing from 1966-67. But alongside, there were, however, in this period, certain favourable developments of great significance in the agricultural field. A breakthrough was achieved by the

discovery of some high-yielding varieties of wheat and rice which ultimately led to the "green revolution" in India. The likely impact of this development on rural employment has since then been a matter of empirical investigation.

The Fourth Plan (1968-74): The basic strategy during this Plan, in choosing sectoral priorities for employment generation, emphasized the importance of the tertiary sector for the first time. The need for public sector investment in industry especially in transport, communication and power generation and distribution was emphasised. In its disaggregated approach to employment, it emphasized, also for the first time, the importance of employment generation schemes among the weaker sections of society. Several labour-intensive schemes in irrigation, soil conservation, spatial area development programme and private house-building were suggested for execution. Again, for the first time, the need for population control was simultaneously stressed. Regarding the choice of techniques, it continued with the basic strategy of the earlier plans. It reiterated the necessity to avoid technological unemployment among the workers in traditional industries under the impact of unregulated spread of capital-intensive modern technology, since it might be difficult to find alternative opportunities of employment for the persons adversely affected, specially during a period of transition.

The Fourth Plan, however, stopped providing information on the backlog of unemployment or employment potential over the Plan period. This was felt necessary due to the lack of consensus among the decision makers about the definition and magnitudes of the menace of unemployment. The leading factor explaining this mess was the diversity in the available data gathered by different agencies like NSS, Census of India and the employment exchanges. In August 1968, a committee of experts was set up by the Planning Commission to enquire into the estimates of unemployment and to advise the Government on the various connected issues. In its report, the committee observed that the estimates of the labour force, the additional employment generated and unemployment at the beginning or end period, presented in a one-dimensional magnitude, were neither reliable nor useful as indicators for planning. Therefore, the measures should be further scrutinized and, until that time, utilisation of existing data base might be given up. The committee also suggested various improvements in the collection and presentation of data by different agencies, namely, NSS, employment exchanges, etc. In view of the committee's recommendations, no attempt was made in the plan to present any quantified employment targets.

The Fifth Plan (1974-79): The Fifth Plan justified the need for differentiating between wage employment and self-



employment and further recommended a different approach to these two types of employment. As far as wage employment is concerned, the increased investment programme in the directions earlier recommended by the Fourth Plan was re-endorsed. This Plan also ruled out the possibility of large scale transfer of labour force from agriculture to non-agriculture coming true. It emphasized the need for providing employment for the growing labour force in the rural sector, mainly by a self-employment process. It was recognised that the recent intensification of agriculture, coupled with effective redistribution of land and the development of better credit, marketing and other extension facilities, would bring improvements in the living conditions of the people engaged in agriculture. Also, in this plan, apart from the generation of additional employment by irrigation and land reclamation, special emphasis was placed on dry farming, programmes for drought-prone areas, the development of animal husbandry, fisheries, sericulture and small and marginal farming. But it is an irony that although added emphasis was laid on agriculture and the generation of self-employment, the plan's investment outlay still remained in favour of the industry. It was justified on the ground that in the absence of such investment in industries, it would not be possible to step up employment, even in many labour-intensive areas in the parural sector. One, however, fails to explain why and

how. The Plan document is silent about it.

The Sixth Plan (1980-85): While continuing with the basic employment strategies of the Fifth Plan, the Sixth Plan put stress explicitly on reducing 'underemployment' in the economy. Thus, the employment policy was designed to cover two major goals: (1) reducing underemployment by increasing the rate of growth of the gainfully employed persons through the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP) and other related programmes and (2) reducing unemployment on the basis of 'usual status' by accentuated growth of the economy. Towards fulfillment of the latter objective, recourse is taken to agriculture, rural development, village and small-scale industries, construction, public administration and other services. Another innovative feature in this Plan was an attempt to consider the employment-generation capacity as a selection criterion in appraising major investment projects and rural development programmes.

In the context of a growing labour force and the growth of an effective mixed economy, the Sixth Plan placed an explicit reliance for employment generation on not only the public sector but also the cooperative and private sectors. It was natural in view of the fact that public sector employment accounted only for a small fraction of total employment and since there was no likelihood of its being

raised appreciably, the plan had to seek alternative and supplementaries in the cooperative and private sectors. Regarding the choice of techniques, the Sixth Plan made the strategy more precise and proposed that wherever several alternative techniques of production of goods and services were available, labour-intensive methods and processes must be preferred, provided the productivity was not unduly affected. Thus, it emphasized the need for improving productivity in the use of resources more explicitly.

For turning the "target-oriented" approach to employment generation into a reality, the Sixth Plan decentralized the manpower planning by proposing to set up 'employment generation councils' in every district.

Another area where the Sixth Plan placed special emphasis was towards generation of employment among women. Areas and sectors where women's employment was low or was on the decline were identified and corrective measures were initiated for additional employment avenues. Efforts were made to offer larger employment avenues to women in the public distribution system, rural godowns, operation Flood II, dairy development, social forestry and in the armed forces. Also, provisions for family aid services were made to enable women workers to remain in employment.

Another important feature of the Sixth Plan was the revival of the quantification of employment targets. The NSS conducted two quinquennial surveys on employment and

unemployment - the 27th Round (1972-73) and the 32nd Round (1977-78) - on a better methodology. On the basis of the participation rates observed in these surveys and applying them to the corresponding official population projections of the Registrar-General of India, the labour force on usual status was estimated for the Sixth Plan. Estimates of unemployment were also available from these rounds on the basis of three concepts: usual status, weekly status and daily status.

The most important contribution of this Plan for assessing the nature and extent of under-employment was an attempt to measure a statistical unit of measurement in terms of 'Standard Person Year' (SPY). SPY was defined as an individual working eight hours a day for 273 days of a year. Such a unit was considered fully and gainfully employed.

The Seventh Plan (1985-90): The role of modernization, productivity improvements and technical progress in the generation of employment has been emphasised in the Seventh Plan. To quote the plan document, "employment generation as an objective does not mean the adoption of a static technology. It is not advisable to ignore the world trends in technological changes, technological upgradation, modernization and scientific advances in the production process constitute main elements of growth in productivity,

whether it be in agriculture or in industries." (Seventh Plan, 1985)

The Seventh Plan focused its attention explicitly on how manpower planning has become an integral part of the national economic planning. It stressed the role played by training, education, skill formation and mobility of labour in the smooth absorption of technology. This was considered of immense importance for sustaining high growth rate in GDP and employment. For quantifying employment, it continued to use the concept of "Standard Person Year" (SPY) as suggested in the Sixth Plan. To quote the document, "the objectives of manpower planning are to ensure the proper linkage of economic planning with manpower and educational planning so that no planned programme suffers from a lack of trained manpower that is needed. The problems in this regard are likely to be different for rural and urban sectors, for organised and unorganised sectors of the economy and for specific sections and classes of communities, including the backward classes and the hill and tribal populations."

The estimates of sectoral employment and total employment generated over the Seventh Plan have been arrived at by the same methodology which was used during the Sixth Plan. According to this calculation, it is expected that an additional employment of the order of 40.36 million SPY would be generated during the Seventh Plan, which gives an implied growth rate of 3.99 per cent per annum. These

estimates include: the special employment programmes under the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) and National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) which would generate 2.26 million SFY of employment in 1989-90. The employment generation by the IRDP has been estimated at 3 million SFY and is mainly concentrated in agriculture and other sectors.

The Eighth Plan (1992-97): The main elements of the strategy, policies and programmes towards the expansion of employment opportunities during the Eighth Plan, as described in the plan document, run as follows:

i. A faster and geographical diversified growth of agriculture, so that the hitherto lagging regions have a larger share in agricultural growth; and diversification of agriculture into high value, more labour intensive crops like vegetables and fruits, particularly in the agriculturally better developed regions;

ii. Development of infrastructure and marketing arrangements for agro-based and allied activities like dairy, poultry, fishery and sericulture to accelerate growth of these sectors;

iii. An expanded programme of development and utilisation of wasteland for crop-cultivation and forestry;

iv. Development of an appropriate support and policy framework for the growth of non-agricultural, particularly manufacturing activities, in rural areas, including rural towns;

v. Greater attention to the needs of the small and decentralised manufacturing sector as a major source of industrial growth, particularly in the production of consumption goods and manufactured exports;

vi. large scale programmes of construction of infrastructure and residential accommodation, the latter to be encouraged particularly in the private sector through appropriate land, financial and fiscal policies;

vii. Strengthening of basic health and education facilities, particularly in the rural areas;

viii. Facilities for faster growth of the services and informal sector activities through greater ease of entry and suitable support systems;

ix. Identification and relaxation of legislative and policy measures found to restrict growth of employment;

x. Greater flexibility in special employment programmes and their integration with sectoral development with a view to ensuring their contribution to growth and sustainable employment, and;

xi. Revamping of training systems to introduce greater flexibility and responsiveness to labour market trends, and larger involvement of users of the system's

output, and to provide opportunities for upgradation of skills of the employed workers and also, for the development of entrepreneurship for the actual and potential self-employed.

These measures are expected to contribute to the faster growth of the economy and, at the same time, increase the overall employment content of growth. It is assessed that the relatively faster growth of the sectors identified above can raise employment elasticity close to 0.5, side by side leading to perceptible improvements in labour productivity. The envisaged GDP growth rate of 5.6 per cent during the Eighth Plan, would thus result in an employment growth of around 2.6 to 2.8 per cent per annum, or an average of about 8 to 9 million additional employment opportunities per year. A continuation of employment growth of the Eighth Plan into Ninth Plan, implying an average of 9.5 million employment opportunities per annum, should be able to reduce unemployment to a negligible level by 2002, by and large taking care of the backlog alongwith the addition of 36 million in the labour force during 1997-2002.

It must, however, be admitted that the ongoing structural reforms may entail a slow down in the growth rate of GDP and, therefore, of employment during the initial one or two years of the Eighth Plan. Institutional arrangements for retraining and redeployment and various measures of safety net for the workers affected by contraction in

employment and erosion in the real income of those with non-indexed incomes are being considered. But the most effective way to deal with the problem would be to create conditions, particularly in the informal sector, to generate larger productive employment by making entry of individuals and tiny units into processing, repair, transport and other services sectors easier, and access to credit, space and other inputs wide. Such a strategy would not only provide a temporary safety net but will also provide employment on a sustainable basis" (Eighth Five Year Plan Document, 1992).

1.4 Unemployment in the Changing Economic and Technological Scenario

The nature and extent of unemployment may depend upon the nature and extent of work on the one hand, and the number and type of manpower that is available for work at any point of time. A precise matching of the supply of and demand for jobs will keep a balance in the labour market. However, if the growth of the economy is sluggish, then the number of available jobs may fall short of the requirement. Again, if the labour force grows at a faster rate than the production sector, then there will be an excess supply of labour from which full or partial unemployment will result. But the growth of labour force depends largely on the growth of population, its age and sex composition and changes therein. However, we also come across paradoxical conditions

where jobs are available in an economy and people are still unemployed. This type of situation arises from structural disequilibrium when the skill and training possessed by the workers does not match the requirements of the production sectors. So the problem of unemployment may be due many times to structural imbalances. Perhaps, a look at technology would also be meaningful as structural imbalances could be caused by unplanned technical progress. For example, fewer carpenters and blacksmiths find work in rural Punjab which now needs more and more tractors drivers, mechanics, petrol-pump attendants etc.

On the basis of the above, it is seen that the problem of employment/unemployment can be studied meaningfully only if we carry out an indepth study of both sides of the equation, that is factors on the supply side and demand side. Complementaries and substitutabilities are required to be examined in their intricate inter-relations as otherwise the employment implications of a development project or programme may not be discernible in their exact form. It is, therefore, of utmost importance that we should first of all be able to judge the economic viability and the growth potential of the productive activities that already exist in a village economy; this is true either from the viewpoint of planning employment or planning economic development at the local level. For such viable activities, one could choose those that maximise growth or employment or both. New

activities that are technologically feasible and economically viable may then be identified.

On the supply side of labour, there lies mainly the demographic factors like age and sex composition of the population of an economy at any point of time and the pattern of their distribution among various activities. Both demographic and economic factors do not operate in a vacuum; this is especially true of the former.

The conceptual understanding and measurement of both employment generation and the menace of unemployment has undergone constant improvement over the plans. And so have changed the strategies catering to the problem of unemployment. An explicit expression to 'open' and 'under' unemployment has been made in the Plan documents. A clear decision is also seen in the employment strategy developed over the plans to tackle both problems together and separately. The Sixth Plan suggested how gainful employment may be defined in terms of 'Standard Person Year' to distinguish gainfully 'fully employed' from 'under employed'.

Besides, employment as a concept, moved from a "macro-dimension" given in the First Plan to more and more disaggregation in the later plans. The Second Plan, for instance, separated the educated unemployed and those in the backward areas from the rest. The Fourth Plan identified the problem of employment separately for the weaker sections

of society. Since the Fifth Plan, self-employed were separated from wage seekers. In the Sixth Plan, in addition, the problem of employment for women was treated separately. The Seventh Plan even created a separate administrative ministry for "women's development." In the Eight Plan, under the Prime Minister's Rozgar Yojana, a strategy is suggested to tackle the problem of educated unemployed in urban areas.

1.5 Sectoral Investment Priorities and Employment Planning

Defined as the difference between the supply of labour and the demand for labour, the unemployment problem in the earlier Plans, has been perceived in terms of lack of demand for labour in the economy. Therefore, employment has been made almost an exclusive function of demand for production, and unemployment as a gap between the employed and the total labour force. Thus, a faster growth of GDP has been made 'the basic' strategy for increasing employment. In this context, sectors like agriculture, irrigation and small-scale industries have been identified in the First Plan as the principal employment providers, given their high labour intensities. In the Second Plan, a slightly different strategy of emphasising large investments in heavy industry rather than in agriculture was stressed. The underlying belief was that the surplus rural labour force could be

absorbed only by an accelerated industrial growth. This led to a 'heavy industry' bias in the Second Plan. This strategy was, however, reversed immediately after the Third Plan when the importance of agriculture and rural industry in 'employment generation' was revived. In this context, the programme for rapid rural electrification was given a very high priority in the subsequent Plans. In the Fifth Plan, the planners openly admitted low employment intensity in the organised industry. The justification, henceforth, for a faster industrial growth, was built primarily for providing the infrastructure and necessary inputs to the growth of the rest of the economy rather than employment generation. In the Fourth Plan, two other sectors were added to this list of priority areas: the tertiary sector and the public investment programme. The Fifth Plan further added three more sectors: dry farming, animal husbandry and fisheries.

In the process of implementation of the plans, it was soon realised that the relation between the growth and employment is variant and that this relationship is largely dependent on the choice of techniques. This point has specially been emphasized as early as in the Third Plan, although no concrete shape could be given to these aspects. The Third Plan experienced a very heavy unemployment. As a result, it recommended labour-intensive production only in those areas where it would not adversely affect the total

input productivity. It also stressed the importance of retaining and reallocating labour force between sectors to take care of open employment. The Seventh Plan has also reiterated this strategy.

During the long years of national planning, it was increasingly realised that unemployment might arise even though aggregate demand is high, especially in the short term, by a demand-supply mismatch for a particular skill and trade, or in a given region. Therefore, it called for greater reliance on integrated manpower planning. It is from this angle that both the demand management and the supply adjustment prove important. The necessity for such an integrated approach, although emphasized in the Seventh Plan could not be expressed explicitly in the macro model underlying the Plan. The state of affairs have not changed thereafter.

Quantification and formal modelling on employment started from the Second Plan when an employment-cum-output model was built by Prof. Mahalanobis in the Planning Commission. The Third Plan also produced employment targets given in "numbers", but no model structure was presented. The Fourth and the Fifth Plans avoided quantifications; reasons given were a paucity of reliable data. In the Sixth Plan, the exercise on quantification was revived and an elaborated employment sub-model was presented. (Gupta, op. cit.) In this, a concept of SPY was developed which

provided a unit of measurement of employment, free from underemployment. But the structure of the model remained recursive, functionally related to the production structure by fixed employment parameters. The choice of techniques or the choice of demand patterns have been explored indirectly by working out alternative scenarios. Neither an integrated manpower modelling nor any optimising technique have been used in making the final 'activity choices.'

Regarding the fixing of employment targets, the First Plan aimed at full employment. Later on, the unrealism of this target was realized. Accordingly, the Third Plan set its target in 'providing employment to only the new entrants to the labour force'. The Sixth Plan reiterated the Third Plan targets, i.e., giving employment only to the new entrants. Fortunately, the Sixth Plan ended in over fulfilling its employment target, when the backlog of unemployment was seen to go down by nearly 3 million. Against this background, the Seventh Plan, in fixing its employment targets, explicitly aimed for reducing the backlog of unemployment.

1.6 The Future

The earlier Plans focussed attention on open unemployment. It was natural to feel that way, since the growth rate in GDP in the immediate past had been miserably

low in contrast to a high growth rate in the labour force. With the advent of planned strategy of economic growth, employment elasticity to output growth rose to a high of 0.7; this coupled with an average rate of growth in GDP of 3.5 to 4 per cent could reduce open unemployment a great deal, although low labour productivity has continued to be experienced. This is due to deployment of labour to low productivity activities where adoption of new technological methods is either missing or slow.

The attack in the subsequent Plans, especially after the Second Plan, has shifted from open unemployment to under-employment. The latter menace is really alarmingly high. And in fact, the estimate of open unemployment alone may underestimate the problem of unemployment.

The empirical investigations have shown a high degree of correlation between incidence of unemployment and poverty, although poverty could also be attacked more directly. And, the emphasis so far, has been in the direction of emphasising agriculture and allied activities as the harbinger of employment generation. Direct and total employment effects of agricultural growth are indeed immense but it would not be very wise to continue reliance on this sector for very long due to low labour productivity. If we consider "employment potential per unit of rupee investment" as the criterion, then agriculture in relation to other sectors may not find a high rank. In fact, "the investment

in any sector has an asset formation phase and a production phase. All investments have different gestation periods and different time spans of production. Correspondingly, the employment generation in every phase will be different" (Gupta, op. cit.). Based on this scheme of comparison, Gupta (op. cit.) has found agriculture to have only a low rank. The sectors like construction, transport, and banking are high employment givers in the short-run but manufacturing and power attain high ranks if we take medium to long periods. Thus, "although agriculture has a very direct employment potentiality, it will be sheer short-sightedness to give agriculture the highest priority in the Plan's investment allocation purely for employment consideration." (Gupta, op. cit.)

One redeeming feature about the role of agriculture towards employment generation is its high labour intensities in high growth segments like irrigated cultivation and animal husbandry. And since this strategy of seed-water-fertiliser is being extended to more and more crops across the region, agriculture still can play a vital role in generating additional employment.

It is pertinent here to observe that most of the anti-poverty programmes like NREP and JRY are purely employment oriented (besides creating assets). In both, gainful employment is expressed in terms of SPY by deflating the

additional income generation from these projects per household by minimum wage rate.

It is in this background that we intend to carry out empirical investigation to assess the impact of NREP and JRY on employment generation in the State of Meghalaya, with the following specific objectives:-

1. To quantify gainful employment and income for the beneficiaries under the two programmes;
2. To identify constraints in their implementation;
and
3. To estimate the incidence of absolute poverty in the sample villages.

1.7. National Rural Employment Programme and Jawahar Rozgar Yojana

Among the recently launched special employment programmes for the generation of wage employment for the rural poor, Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY) holds a special status. In earlier employment schemes like the IRDP, the emphasis was on the creation of viable rural enterprises by means of creation of privately held productive assets. Experience has shown that such schemes have failed to create sustained means of income and employment. The JRY, instead, emphasizes the generation of employment and income by means of community development programmes, namely construction of link roads, schools, community halls, etc. JRY is one of

the major poverty alleviating programmes of the Government of India and is being implemented by the Ministry of Rural Development. This scheme was taken up in April 1989 after merging the then on-going wage-employment programmes, the National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) and the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP). The objective of JRY is to generate additional gainful employment for the unemployed and the under-employed in the rural areas, simultaneously creating community and social assets as well as assets in favour of the rural poor, leading ultimately to sustained employment by strengthening the rural economic infrastructure. This programme is being implemented through District Rural Development Agencies (DRDA) and Zilla Parishads at the district level and through the elected Village Panchayats/Village Councils at the village level. In Meghalaya, Village Durbars, where applicable, have replaced Panchayats, playing the same role as the latter. In any case, in this study, keeping in view the peculiar land tenure system in this State, for Village Panchayats, villages have been taken as the basic unit of study.

1.8 Sampling Design and Data Base

The present study utilizes (a) the 1992-93 data on JRY and (b) the 1987-88 data on NREP, collected by the scholar

for the Ministry of Rural Development (for JRY and NREP schemes of 1991-92 and 1987-88 respectively) under their "Concurrent Evaluation of JRY" and "Concurrent Evaluation of NREP" in the State of Meghalaya. The principal objective of this study is to assess its success in generating gainful employment and income for the beneficiaries and also to evaluate how far it has succeeded in lifting rural people above the absolute poverty line. The question of sustainability of such a programme is also addressed to and discussed.

The sampling design and the schedules for the Concurrent Evaluation were finalized by an Expert Committee appointed by the Ministry of Rural Development of the Union Government of India. For both JRY and NREP, two Development Blocks from each district were selected randomly. For JRY, from each selected Block, a sample of five villages were selected by the scholar, and in each of these villages, the schedules were canvassed for all JRY works (completed or on-going) for that period. For NREP, from each selected Block, a sample of five completed works and some on-going works were selected for canvassing the schedules. It may be mentioned that it was the desire of the scholar to evaluate five NREP on-going works (besides the completed projects) in each selected Block, but only eleven such works were found at the time of survey among the sample Blocks. Over all, we have covered all the then five districts, with a total of

fifty villages each for JRY and NREP. Important information on all JRY and NREP works undertaken in the respective surveys was gathered, to assess the expenditure on wages and materials separately, number of mandays of employment generated for both genders separately and for the weaker sections of the society, quality and maintenance of assets, allocation of funds, etc. Besides, a sample of five workers engaged in JRY works (in either completed and on-going works) in every selected village and five workers in each NREP on-going work in every selected village was also drawn and interviewed. For doing this, we have utilised the **worker's schedule** in which important information concerning household's annual income, actual daily wages paid under JRY and NREP, existing actual (local) wages paid during the lean season, periodicity and mode of payment of wages, as well as worker's opinion on the implementation of the scheme, has been collected. It is pertinent to mention here that the wages paid under JRY and NREP schemes deviated a great deal from the local market wage rate in all seasons.

1.9 Chapter Scheme

In the succeeding chapter, Meghalaya's ecological base in relation to her rural economy and society, and the land tenure system is discussed at length.

In Chapter III, we shall review the literature on (a) the incidence of rural poverty in India, (b) conceptual and measurement problems related to poverty, and (c) the methodology adopted in the present study of the incidence of rural poverty in Meghalaya.

Chapter IV presents results on the NREP programme as pursued for the year 1987-88.

Chapter V presents empirical results on employment generation under JRY schemes.

Chapter VI is devoted to the empirical results on the incidence of absolute and relative poverty in Meghalaya.

Lastly, Chapter VII concludes the study by giving policy implications.

CHAPTER - VII

CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Rural poverty is inextricably linked with low land and labour productivity and unemployment including underemployment. To a large extent, the twin problems of poverty and unemployment are caused by a similar set of factors, the chief among which relates to the scarcity of complementary inputs to labour. Capital stock is believed to be the most limiting factor. In the present economic and technological scenario, apart from the physical capital resource, human capital manifested in terms of organisation, growth and application of human skills and expertise has posed an additional limit to the growth in labour efficiency and productivity. Onset of technological innovations or

their absence can lead to fast economic development or economic backwardness, as the case may be. The State of Meghalaya is characterised by economic backwardness, although it is socially progressive. It is one state where women's participation rate in the work force is high. This is reflected in census data on working force. But this aspect is totally missing in both JRY and NREP programmes where women's participation rate in the work force was abysmal. Characterised by economic backwardness as this state is, she has virtually no industrial base worth the name despite being rich in minerals and scenic beauty. The latter is one economic resource vested in the hands of the entire community. This, in fact, is a common property resource, the utilisation of which could lessen economic inequalities and raise the state's domestic product if tapped to attract tourists. The Restricted Area Permit (RAP) for foreign tourists and political unrest in general, discourage development of tourism as an avocation for the masses. This has, therefore, left no option for the people except to seek employment in agriculture. Animal husbandry has not been a serious avocation here, partly because of the lack of any serious attempt to adopt new developments in the field of animal breeding and feeding. The state produces abundant natural grasses throughout the year, the nutritive value of which ought to be ascertained and put to economic use for the promotion of bovine development for both milk

and meat. The crop cultivation, when placed in the state's typical land tenure system, has posed another set of problems. Private enterprise has guided decision making processes only on privately owned agricultural land that have also shown no remarkable growth in yield rates due to traditional methods of cultivation. Much of the scientific research in the country has catered to the needs of the farmers in the plains of the mainland. The hill agriculture surely requires different technologies of cultivation and is suitable for different crops. All these factors have led to low land, labour and capital productivity in this state. Lalwani (1992) had discussed as to why mean income and agricultural yields are observed low in the entire North-East region including Meghalaya. "What is disturbing to observe is the fact that not only are rural incomes low in the North East, rural per capita incomes have declined between 1970-73 to 1979-82 in the states of Meghalaya, Tripura and Nagaland. This result is of paramount relevance in policy making in a region where relative share of agriculture in the state domestic product is very high" (Lalwani, op. cit.). In fact, the proportion of cultivators and agricultural labourers to the state's total working force is as high as 64 per cent indicating the lopsided occupational structure in the state.

Meghalaya's agriculture, however, is not without a silver lining. It is heartening to observe that the net

income generated per hectare of gross cropped area is higher in the state at Rs.3318 as compared to Rs.2981 in Punjab, Rs.2865 in Haryana, Rs.2693 in Andhra Pradesh, Rs.1966 in Karnataka, and Rs.1722 in Gujarat (Lalwani, op. cit.). This is due to low adoption in the state of new capital intensive seed-water-fertiliser technology. The cost of cultivation is, therefore, low here. The yields are low, but so are the capital costs, leading to a high generation of net income per hectare. But what is relevant here to state is the fact that net sown area per cultivator is extremely low at 0.5 hectare in Meghalaya as compared to 1.2 hectares in Assam, 2.3 hectares in Gujarat, and 2.5 hectares in Punjab, and 1.5 hectares as the national average. People are, therefore, poor and unemployed. Although no serious statistical investigation has been carried out by any agency to ascertain the incidence of poverty and unemployment (including underemployment), indications gathered in our study suggest a high incidence of poverty in the state.

The proportion of poor among the 240 sample JRY workers was as high as 84 per cent. This proportion was at a high of 73 per cent among 55 sample NREP workers. The incidence of poverty is higher among the 240 JRY and 55 NREP workers because such workers were selected predominantly from the categories of poor. In the more comprehensive survey of 4701 households in 50 JRY villages (Chapter VI), the incidence of poverty is at 42 per cent. This is higher than the national

figure of around 35 per cent. When analysed at the village level, there are even higher rates of poverty incidence in some villages, for instance, at 94.11 per cent in Amtapoh village in Amlarem Block of Jaintia Hills District. Besides, there are wide inter-village variations in the incidence of poverty. Further, we observed wide inter-block disparities within each district. The inter-district disparity are also large.

As far as the unemployment rates are concerned, our sample of 240 JRY workers suggests that an average JRY worker was engaged only for 19 days in a month, of which barely 3 days of employment was found in JRY works. An average worker, therefore, remained unemployed for the remaining 11 days in the preceding month from the date of investigation, thus registering a 37 per cent unemployment rate (Based on Table 5.12). There are wide variations from these figures when facts and figures are analysed at the village, block and district levels. Our sample of 55 NREP workers also suggests that work available to them in a month could touch barely 21 days, of which NREP works provided 10 days of labour. They remained unemployed for the rest 9 days, thus registering 29 per cent unemployment rate (Based on Table 4.15). We recall that it was in only two districts that on-going NREP works were found at the time of investigation, and that these 55 NREP workers were drawn

from villages only from these two districts. Indication of high unemployment rates are reflected in both districts.

Unit cost for generating one day of employment varies a great deal in the state under both JRY and NREP across all districts and all blocks. The unit cost for a day of employment under JRY (1991-92) was sizeably higher at Rs.35.44 (Table 7.1, Col.6) than Rs.19.12 under NREP (Table 7.2, Col.6) at the total sample level. There is a difference of Rs.16.32 for generating a unit of employment between these schemes, and this difference constitutes 85 per cent of NREP unit costs. Unit cost comprises both wage and non-wage component. And when this is viewed only in terms of wage cost per day, we observe that it is also different under these two schemes (Table 7.1, Col.5 and Table 7.2, Col.5). As compared to Rs.10.43 under NREP, wage cost per unit of employment under JRY at the total sample level is Rs.21.92, indicating an absolute difference of Rs.11.49 which constitutes 110 per cent of NREP wage costs. The difference could be due to the general rise in the wage rate between the two periods.

But what is of interest to us is the inter-district and inter-block variations in unit cost. In the JRY schemes, the highest unit cost of Rs.88.45 (Table 7.1, Col.6) is observed in Amlarem Block of Jaintia Hills District, followed by Rs.64.34 in Samanda Block in East Garo Hills District and Rs.56.00 in Zikzak Block in West Garo Hills District. The

TABLE - 7.1

BLOCK-WISE UNIT COST OF GENERATING ONE DAY OF EMPLOYMENT
UNDER JRY

(In Rupees)

DISTRICT	BLOCK	Total Wages disbursed	Total Expenditure	Wage Expenditure per manday of employment	Total expenditure per manday of employment
1	2	3	4	5	6
JAINTIA	Khliehriat	49,133	1,71,236	25.38	88.45
	Amlarem	1,62,085	1,80,800	24.65	27.49
	TOTAL	2,11,218	3,52,036	24.81	41.36
EAST KHASI	Mylliem	87,000	1,17,000	18.61	24.22
	Mawkynrew	71,000	95,000	22.12	29.60
	TOTAL	1,58,000	2,12,000	19.65	26.36
WEST KHASI HILLS	Nongstoin	1,77,534	2,23,587	21.25	26.76
	Mawshynrut	1,68,115	2,62,284	18.84	29.39
	TOTAL	3,45,649	4,85,871	20.00	28.12
EAST GARO HILLS	Samanda	63,170	1,66,040	24.48	64.36
	Songsak	36,230	61,572	26.46	44.98
	TOTAL	99,400	2,27,612	25.17	57.64
WEST GARO HILLS	Selsella	2,25,757	2,68,285	25.80	30.66
	Zikzak	89,953	2,80,728	17.94	56.00
	TOTAL	3,15,710	5,49,013	22.94	39.91
TOTAL		11,29,977	18,26,532	21.92	35.44

Note: (1) Based on the primary survey carried out by this scholar.

TABLE - 7.2

BLOCK-WISE COST OF GENERATING ONE DAY EMPLOYMENT
UNDER NREP

(In Rupees)

DISTRICT	BLOCK	Total Wages Disbursed	Total Expendi- -ure	Wage Expendi- -ture per -manday -of em- -ployment	Total expendi- -ture per -manday -of em- -ployment
1	2	3	4	5	6
JAINTIA HILLS	Amlarem	99,768	2,16,803	11.66	25.33
	Thadlaskein	1,16,054	2,46,012	8.66	18.36
	TOTAL	2,15,822	4,62,095	9.83	21.05
EAST KHASI HILLS	Mawryngkneng	2,25,378	4,03,772	9.19	16.47
	Nongpoh	1,72,777	2,93,858	16.57	28.19
	TOTAL	3,98,152	6,97,630	11.39	19.96
WEST KHASI HILLS	Mawshynrut	59,581*	1,01,560*	8.11	13.83
	Mairang	1,17,748	1,53,272	9.36	12.19
	TOTAL	1,77,329	2,54,832	8.93	12.83
EAST GARO HILLS	Dambo Rongjreng	1,07,143	1,99,765	12.18	22.71
	Resubelpara	93,700	1,60,813	11.76	20.19
	TOTAL	2,00,843	3,60,578	11.98	21.51
WEST GARO HILLS	Betasing	75,036	1,49,901	8.97	17.91
	Rongra	99,690	2,14,567	9.96	21.44
	TOTAL	1,74,726	3,64,468	9.51	19.83
TOTAL		11,66,872	21,39,603	10.43	19.12

Note: (1) Based on the primary survey carried out by this scholar.

(2) *Information relating to one work not available

lowest unit cost per day of employment at Rs.24.22 is found in Myllem Block in East Khasi Hills District. The variation in unit cost may be explained in terms of the varying costs of materials used in the selected JRY projects in a block. We recall that not all blocks adopted similar projects. The other reason could be that JRY allocations are naturally first spent on materials, so that labour later may be employed to complete the project. At the time of survey, there are, therefore, possibilities that in a particular block, capital and material intensive projects have first started with the purchase of materials. Such projects would surely have later generated mandays of employment, after our survey. But upto that extent, the employment generated has remained unrecorded.

Wage cost per unit of employment has also varied a great deal across districts and blocks, but have registered sober upper and lower limits under both JRY and NREP schemes (Tables 7.1 and 7.2, Col.5).

What is sad to observe is that besides having a high incidence of unemployment and poverty rates, the coverage of villages under NREP has been poor in the state of Meghalaya. In fact, even the relatively less needy states like Punjab and Haryana had better coverage of villages under the same programme in the same period. Although we do not have access to data, the JRY experience could not have been much better.

Apart from inadequate village coverage under both programmes, the overall employment created is also not worth talking about. In fact, an average sample NREP worker received employment only for 10 days in a month at a very low wage rate of Rs.10.74 per day which was a quarter rupee less than even the notified minimum agricultural wage rate. The experience under JRY schemes is no better. In fact, an average worker under the JRY programme received employment for barely 3 days in a month at a nominal wage rate of Rs.22 per day. One reason for such a pathetic display of both programmes in terms of employment generation was the fact that in both years (1987-88-88 for NREP and 1991-92 for JRY), the prevailing market wage rates were found sizeably higher than the prescribed wage rates under both programmes. In fact, this led to a typical problem of finding labour at those low wage rates as prescribed under JRY and NREP. But what is equally intriguing is the fact that despite local wage rates being sizeably higher, the incidence of poverty was found simultaneously higher. In a typical free wage market, wages could be high only when excess demand for labour prevails over labour supply. Minimum notified agricultural wages surely could not induce labour to offer their services at those wages. And at high local market wage rates, which by their very nature are sticky in nature, not all labour could be engaged leaving some of them without employment. This may explain the high incidence of poverty

in the state as suggested by our comprehensive survey of 4701 households. The other reasons could be their work habits and happy-go-lucky nature. In fact, completion of all JRY and NREP schemes could be accomplished because of the feeling of community service among the villagers. It is noteworthy that the success rate of completion of such projects under both programmes is high in the state as compared to the rest of the country.

Under both programmes, construction of rural link roads, community halls and schools dominated the works both in terms of allocation and utilisation of funds. Since material cost intensity is high in these projects, the generation of employment was relatively low. This would partially explain why in some blocks, high budgetary spending was not accompanied by a high employment generation.

The following inferences may be drawn. Firstly, the incidence of unemployment and absolute poverty is high in the state. Secondly, a dominant share of rural poor fall near the upper two poor income brackets. In fact, the proportion of Destitutes is low in the total number of poor households. Thirdly, employment generation under both JRY and NREP works is not adequate, given the needs of the villages. Fourthly, a dominant share of all JRY and NREP allocations has been utilised to construct rural link roads, community halls and school buildings where the proportion of

material cost to wage cost is high. But these choices have at least created permanent assets for the villages, except perhaps in the case of unmetalled rural link roads where the asset created lasts till the next rains. Fifthly, projects so created were invariably drawn from the approved shelf of projects that reflected the felt needs of the community. Sixthly, the completion ratio of both JRY and NREP works was sizeably higher in Meghalaya than in many other states and as compared to the all-India average. Seventhly, all qualitative aspects related to both JRY and NREP projects were found satisfactory. This is in contrast to the experience of many other states. Eighthly, the distribution of NREP funds has been skewed against the poorer districts. This lopsidedness has been corrected to some extent under the JRY programme.

The following policy implications may be made. Firstly, there is a dire necessity to carry out comprehensive surveys ascertaining the levels and rates of poverty and unemployment incidence at the disaggregate village and block level. Secondly, the JRY fund allocation among the blocks and villages must match the needs of the people in such administrative units. Preference to poorer blocks and poorer villages ought to be given under JRY coverage. Thirdly, poor households alone ought to be covered under the JRY

programme. The experience in Meghalaya is slightly away from this recommendation. Non-poor households too were employed under both JRY and NREP works.

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