

Role of MGNREGA in Poverty Removal in Rural Areas

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Introduction

Poverty reduction in India during the last decade, and especially between 2009-10 and 2011-12, is a very large success story. Poverty was reduced at an unprecedented rate, at about 5 percentage points a year; the norm for India throughout its long poverty reduction history is a maximum of 2 percentage points a year ('the great growth-dole trade-off', IE, July 20). So what happened? There are only two explanations possible - either there was strong growth that reduced poverty, or the government rights programmes administered and expanded by the UPA helped in the large reduction of poverty.

52 million people are out of poverty argues Planning Commission since 2005. Is it all due to MGNREGA? The latest NSS data on poverty show a huge link between NREGA and poverty reduction. Casual work accounts for only 2 per cent of all work undertaken in rural India. And the lion's share (about two-thirds) is non-NREGA public works. MIS provides that average wage paid per day to a worker was Rs 114.5 in 2011-12, and 121.4 in 2012-13. With average number of person days per household being 43.2 and 46.1 in two years, the total amount accrued to per household (on an average) per year amounts to Rs 4946 and Rs 5596 per year which means Rs 13.51 and Rs 15.33 per day for the entire household. For a family of size 4 to 5 in rural areas this is around Rs 3 and Rs 3.41 per capita per day in the two years. To conclude MGNREGA providing sustainable income directly seems questionable from this perspective. However, there are more than these simple statistics.

It is obvious that NREGA has had a huge impact on rural population. 2.2 million jobs were created in five-year period during 2007-08 to 2011-12 (Jagmohan, 2012). It also is said to be an instrument of empowerment through generation of income/ earnings for deprived sections of the society curtailing their distress outmigration and inhumane livings. So far as women's share in the earnings is concerned, it is less than men throughout. Of the total workforce females constituted 45.5 per cent in 2011-12 (373.3 lakhs out of 820 lakhs), their share went up in 2012-13 yet it was less than men - 47.05 percent (374.5 lakhs out of 795.9 lakhs).

So far as participation of other deprived sections of society, namely, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is concerned, their share in the work force was to the tune of 22.56 for SC and 17.98 for ST in 2011-12 which in 2012-13 almost sustained at 22.74 percent for SC and 17.89 for ST. Compared to the overall 43.2 and 26.1 person days per household in 2011-12 and 2012-13 respectively, number of person days per household remained at 26.2 for SC and 27.75 for ST in 2011-12 and at 28.17 for SC

and 28.65 for ST in 2012-13. Again calculating per capita income for SC and ST in two years, the incomes are merely Rs 2 to 2.10 per day per capita.

Only one-fifth of total NREGA work and wages went to poor households, and four-fifths went to the non-poor. While the poor were poor (around the 14th to 20th percentile of rural households) (Bhalla, 2013)

Poverty Addresser Issues of MGNREGA

The paper in the course of analysis answers various queries and issues which are as follows:

1. How far MGNREGA specifically addressed the deprived sections Scheduled Castes and Scheduled tribes and women who are considered as more poor by several authors
2. How do poverty levels vary across states? Do states having higher levels of poverty have higher level of guaranteed employment days at minimum wages.
3. Does higher level of person days per household lead to higher reduction in the poverty levels irrespective of states?
4. Does rate of change of person-days per household positively correlate with rate of change in rural poverty levels across states.
5. Are there any temporal variations in the states performances on employment levels and states reduction in rural poverty levels reflected from persons in lowest strata of consumption levels as per NSS rounds?
6. Whether differential in reduction in poverty levels is actually correlated with differentials in number of person-days per household?

Issue No 1.

Specific attempt is made with respect to what has occurred on fronts of employment provision under the Scheme, and Poverty levels in the States over years.

Probing further, how do poverty levels vary across states? An attempt is made to verify the percentage households in different ranges of employment days and poverty levels in a state in three years viz. 2007-08, 2009-10 and 2011-12. Different levels of person-days used (average per year per household is worked in the intermittent duration) are 1) up to 10 person-days per household per year, 2) 11-20 days per year, 3) 21-30 days per year, 4) 31-40 days per year, 5) 41-50 days per year, 6) 51-70 days per year, 7) 71-99 days per year, and 8) 100 or more days per year.

In fact it is presumed that the states having higher levels of poverty would be requiring higher level of guaranteed employment days at minimum wages. As the scheme claims to have the in-built provisions of guaranteed employment for 100 days in employment distress periods in the years as well minimum wages to be provided, the regions and people so far deprived on account of both are likely to be more

inclined to take up the benefits of the scheme. The tables below present if the different states at different levels of poverty correspondingly lie in differentials in levels of employment (person-days per household). Presentation of the same at two different times furthers the argument making inherent comparisons on aspects of changing position of states on two accounts thereby leading if the scheme continues to address the issue in the next periods too. There is of course a possibility, that as 2009-10 was a year of aggravation and depression, the comparison on the issue poverty levels vs. number of employment days in three years provide a more realistic picture of how the temporal variations on account of poverty levels and employment under the scheme correspond.

2007-08

Percentile ranges- Poverty levels of states	Person days per household percentages									
	0 - 14.9	14.9 - 24.5	24.5- 26.0	26.0- 29.3	29.3 - 31.3	31.3 - 32.4	32.4 - 34.1	34.1 - 35.9	35.9 - 38.7	38.7 - 48.7
0-21.91			Kerala					J & K		
21.91-24.96						Pun			W B	
24.96-34.26	AP		H P	Har						
34.26 -36.16										Raj
36.16 - 37.5	Assam							UK		
37.5 - 38.56	TN			Karn						
38.56 - 44.26		UP			Chhatti					
44.26 - 52							Mah	Jhar,		
52 - 55.16			Guj							MP
55.16 - 60.8		Bihar						Odisha		

2009-10

Percentile ranges-poverty levels of states	Person days per household percentages									
	0-4.04	4.04- 7.98	7.98- 9.43	9.43- 10.24	10.24- 10.93	10.93- 12.28	12.28- 18.99	18.99- 21.05	21.05- 29.25	29.25- 37.81
0-11.71			J & K						HP	
11.71-14.84			Punjab			Kerala				
14.84-20.42			UK		Har					
20.42 -24.78	AP								TN	
24.78- 26.55							Guj			Kar, Raj
26.55 - 29.08				WB				Chhattis		
29.08 - 39.26	Maha				Odisha					
39.26 - 40.24			Assam					UP		
40.24 - 43.33						MP		Jhar		
43.33 - 56.1		Bihar								

2011-12

Percentile ranges- Poverty levels of states	Percentile ranges of Person days per household									
	0 -26.91	26.9- 35.69	35.68 38.03	38.0-39.10	39.10- 42.27	42.27- 43.39	43.39- 45.35	45.35- 7.57	47.575 0.46	50.46 -7.88
0-9.07		Punj								
9.07-11.42							Kerala			HP
11.42-11.63								UK	J & K	AP
11.63-15.96					Har				TN	

15.96-22.03				Guj				Raj		
22.03-24.34		WB					Chhatt		Mah	
24.34-31.45			UP			Karna				
31.45-34.39	Assam		Bihar							
34.39-36.25		Odisha				MP				
36.25-44.61				Jhar						

In the above three tables the States are classified in ten different percentile classes on both parameters - poverty levels as well as the per capita person days under MGNREGA. The time periods chosen corresponded more or less with the times, when poverty figures for different states were available state-wise. The three periods were 2007-08, 2009-10 and 2011-12.

A firsthand look into the tables enabled simplistic derivations with respect to the changing patterns and relationships of the two parameters. Position and figures in 2007-08 and 2011-12 depicted clear patterns and it was easier to point to distinct relationships between the employment provisions and levels of poverty in the states. The states which figured in higher levels of poverty percentiles also lied in higher percentile ranges of person-days per household in 2007-08, and those in lower levels of poverty percentiles had lower ranks in employments under poverty. 2011-12 also enable to derive upon the tendencies of the states on two fronts but with a difference. The tendency in 2011-12 was the states which figured in higher levels of poverty percentiles lied in lower percentile ranges of person-days per household, and those in lower levels of poverty percentiles had higher ranks in employments under poverty. This depicted the declining relative importance of the scheme as a provider to sustainable employment particularly amongst poor states. Of course, 2009-10 is an exception and this is also evident from the second table above. In the year of distress, there was no clear tendency of poverty levels vis-à-vis employment under MGNREGA visible. This also could be due to the reason of intermittent year of the implementation of the scheme, another source of income considered by the higher income (and lower poverty incidence) states, while distress out-migration still present in some of the poor states resulting in lower participation under the scheme (exact case by case study need to be carried out, referred, however).

Issue No 2.

Computing distinctly level of reduction in poverty levels and the employment created through the scheme an attempt is made with respect to correlate the extent of reduction in poverty levels with number of person-days per household in a state over the years. Correlation coefficients computed between reduction levels of poverty in different states and different levels of person days per household in two time periods 2007-08 to 2009-10, and 2009-10 to 2012-13 lead the discussions towards important hunches on:

a. Does higher level of person days per household lead to higher reduction in the poverty levels irrespective of states?

Particulars	Period	'r'
Reduction in poverty levels vs. average number of person-days per household	2007-08 to 2009-10	0.323439
	2009-10 to 2012-13	-0.107118

Source : Computed from MIS Data, Ministry of Rural development, Various years

In 2009-10 to 2012-13 negative correlation coefficient values -0.1071 indicate poverty levels reduction is found to be more in states wherein number of person days is less and poverty levels reduction is less in the states having higher number of person days. This is in contrast with the findings during 2007-8 to 2009-10. During 2007-08 to 2009-10, states which have been able to have higher reduction in poverty levels had more number of person-days per household and states which have been able to have less reduction in poverty levels had less number of person-days per household.

The above pictures indicate distinctly that though initially during 2007-8 to 2009-10 higher numbers of person-days resulted in higher level of reductions in poverty levels; same does not seem to take place so during 2009-10 to 2012-13. In the later periods, the tendencies hint at varied probabilities such as:

Probability1: Gradually the people belonging to different strata seem to adopt or deviate from MGNREGA.

Probability 2: Lesser numbers of persons from deprived and poor people are being employed indicating despite higher person-days per household poverty level reduction of lower rung of people is unaffected

Probability 3: Poor people are becoming poorer despite MGNREGA

b. Does rate of change of person-days per household positively correlate with rate of change in rural poverty levels across states.

A check on the relationships between the compound annual growth rate (CAGR) in person days per household and CAGR in poverty reduction across states during 2007-08 and 2012-13 was carried out through regression analysis. The positive regression coefficient values of 'r' indicate there is a positive correlation between growths of poverty levels with growth in number of person-days per household.

Higher (alternatively, lesser) poverty level changes are witnessed in a state due to more (alternatively, less) MGNREGA employment. More (less) are the number of days of employment per household, more

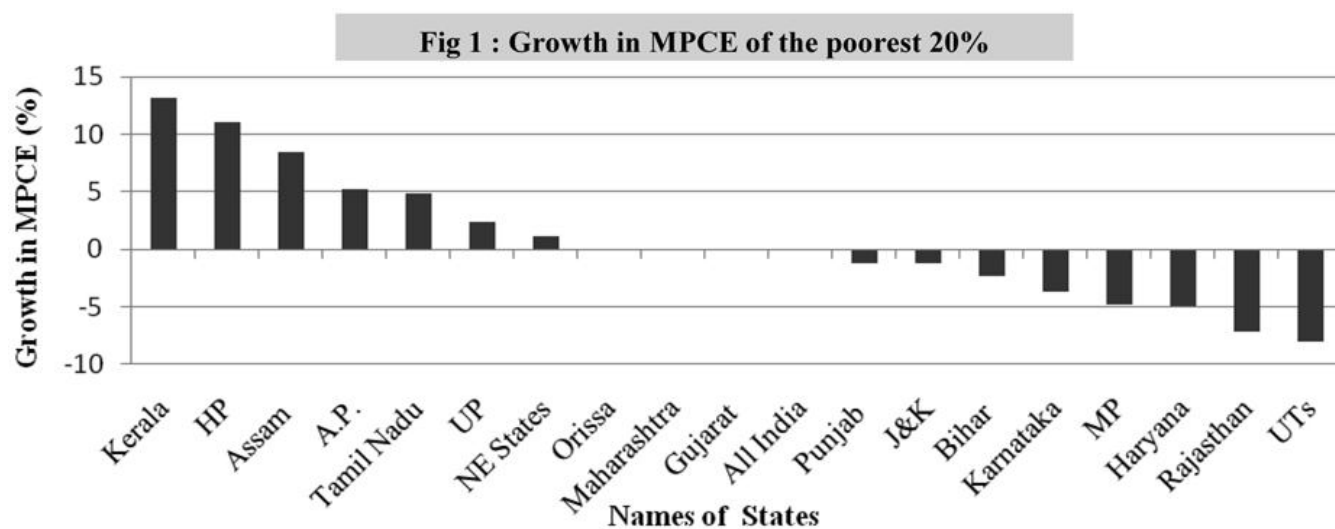
likely are the changes in poverty levels. Though the r values are very low indicating only marginal effects on the whole, but t -test values indicate the relationship is significant (99 per cent confidence level).

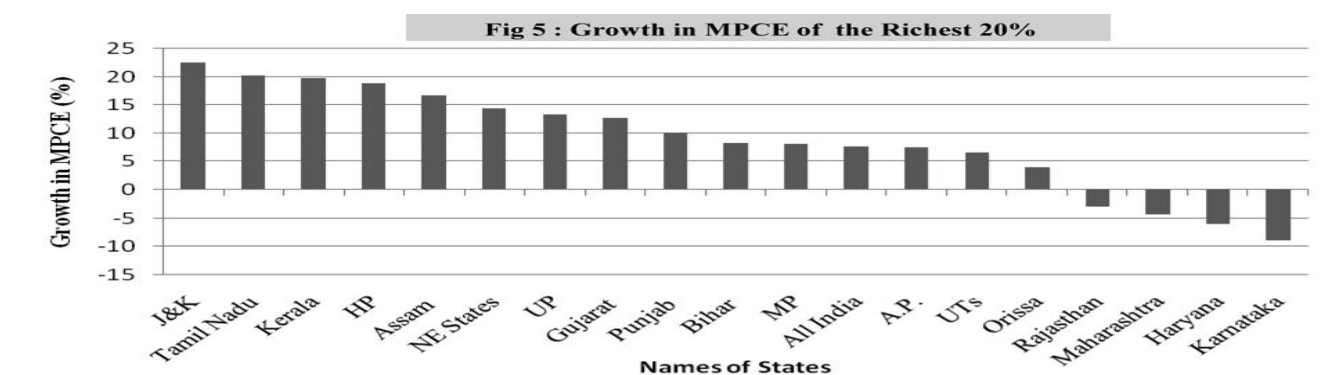
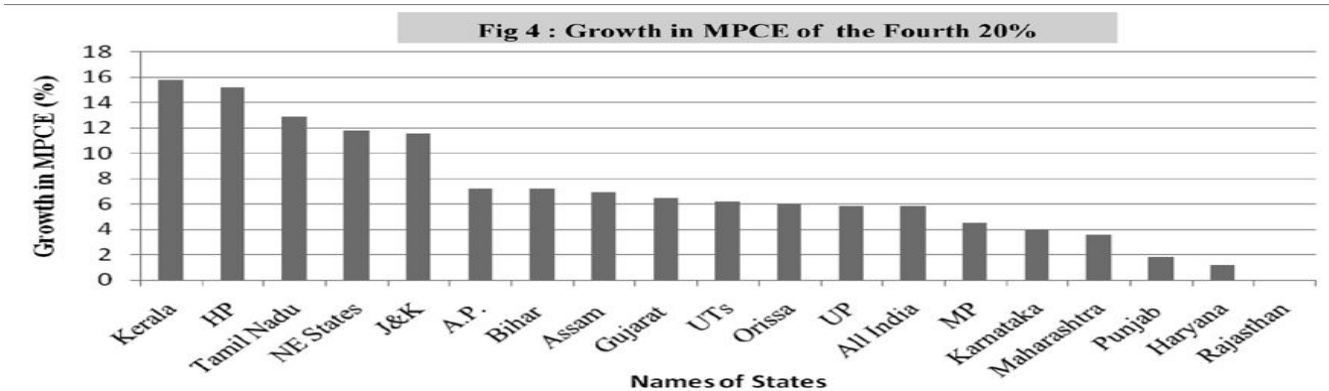
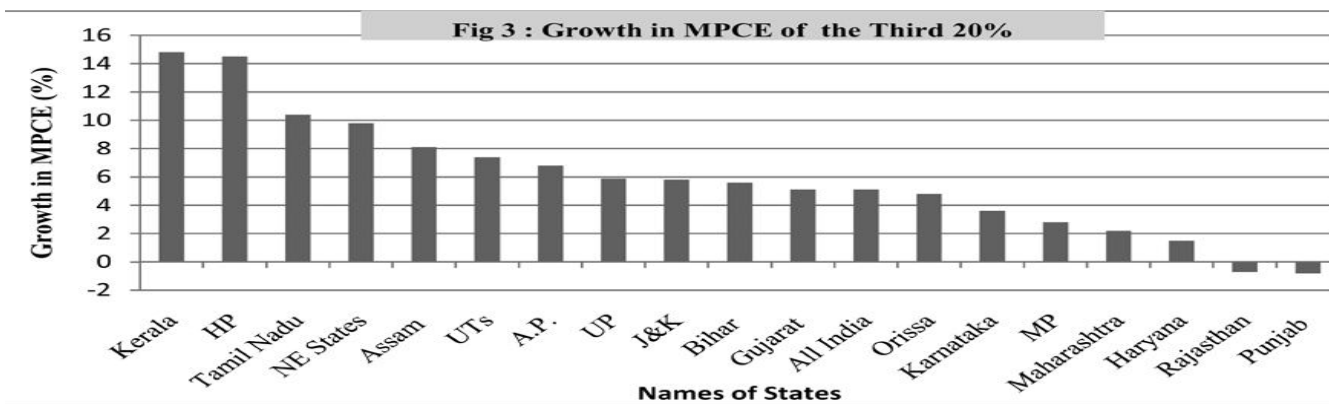
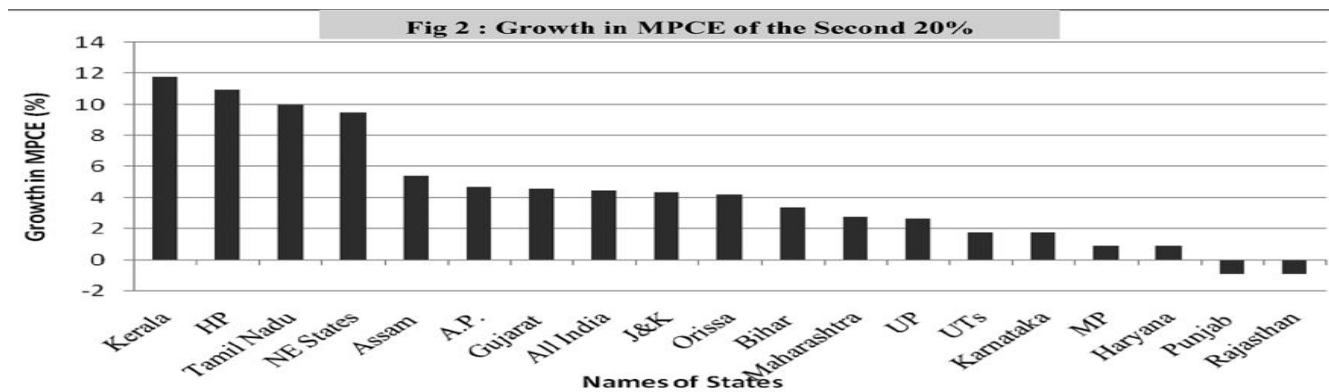
Particulars	Period	' r '
Annual Rate of Growth of Poverty levels vs. Annual Rate of Growth of Number of person-days per household	2007-08 to 2012-13	0.055857671

c. Are there any temporal variations in the states performances on employment levels and states reduction in rural poverty levels reflected from persons in lowest strata of consumption levels as per NSS rounds? This is carried out comparing trends of employment days with trends of percentage of persons in lowest strata of consumption levels as per NSS rounds.

Variability (CV) and gini ratios of income and consumption

The Gini Coefficient measuring the level of inequality is constructed at both All-India Level and states for 2004-05 and 2009-10. Between 2004-5 and 2009-10, the inequality has marginally increased from 0.2655 to 0.2758. This must have been the direct result of the differentials in growth patterns across states over the years as also due to growth in lower MPCE class average consumption has been much lower than the growth experienced in higher MPCE classes. It was observed that in rural India, there has been an increase of 0 percentage points in the share of consumption expenditure of the bottom 20 percent population and an increase of 7.7 percentage points in the share of consumption expenditure of the top 20 percentage population during 2005-2010. This meant money was more and more concentrated at top brackets of MPCE levels. Of the 22 states as many as 14 indicate higher inequality while only about a third indicate inequality to have fallen (refer table below)





The share of total expenditure on food for the bottom, middle and upper classes declined in percentage term from 73.1 to 60.3, 70.8 to 58.7 and 47.8 to 43.3 respectively during the period 1993-94 to 2006-07 (Roy, 2007). (This simultaneously reveals an increase in share of non-food items in three classes). But it was also interesting to note that the decline was from about 65 percent to 60 percent in case of bottom classes but remained almost at same levels amongst middle and upper classes during the period 2000-01 to 2006-07, (refer Roy, 2007, Chart 1, p7).

Table: Level of Inequality across States MPCE Based on MRP (Gini Coefficient) 2004-05 to 2009-10.

State	2004-05	2009-10	Change percent 2004-05 to 2009-10	2011-12	Change percent 2009-10 to 2011-12	Rise or fall in inequality	Difference Col 6-Col4
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Andhra Pradesh	25.15	26.94	-1.79	24.34	2.60	Rise	4.39
Assam	18.20	21.99	-3.79	21.08	0.91	Rise	4.70
Bihar	18.51	21.53	-3.02	20.38	1.15	Rise	4.17
Chhattisgarh	25.08	23.39	1.69	24.07	-0.68	Fall	-2.37
Gujarat	25.14	25.16	-0.02	24.65	0.51	Rise	0.53
Haryana	29.53	27.75	1.78	24.92	2.83	Rise	1.05
Himachal Pradesh	25.95	28.25	-2.30	27.20	1.05	Rise	3.35
J & K	19.69	22.06	-2.37	24.54	-2.48	Same	-0.11
Jharkhand	19.85	21.20	-1.35	21.12	0.08	Rise	1.43
Karnataka	23.22	23.13	0.09	26.05	-2.92	Fall	-3.01
Kerala	29.41	34.97	-5.56	35.07	-0.10	Rise	5.46
Madhya Pradesh	23.65	27.64	-3.99	26.12	1.52	Rise	5.51
Maharashtra	27.00	24.38	2.62	25.16	-0.78	Fall	-3.40
Odisha	25.35	24.74	0.61	23.41	1.33	Rise	0.72
Punjab	26.26	28.51	-2.25	26.91	1.60	Rise	3.85
Rajasthan	20.41	21.36	-0.95	22.75	-1.39	Fall	-0.44
Tamil nadu	25.84	25.66	0.18	27.51	-1.85	Fall	-2.03
Uttar Pradesh	23.37	23.07	0.30	24.78	-1.71	Fall	-2.01
Uttarakhand	22.26	43.75	-21.49	25.59	18.16	Rise	39.65
West Bengal	24.11	21.97	2.14	23.51	-1.54	Fall	-3.68
Total	26.55	27.58	-1.03	28.03	-0.45	Rise	0.58

Source: NSSO Report No. KI.(68/1.0) on Key Indicators of Household Consumer Expd. in India 2011-12, NSS 68th Round, NSSO

Note: Population as on 1 Mar. 12 has been used for estimating number of persons below poverty line (2011 Census population extrapolated) State specific Poverty Lines (Tendulkar Methodology) - Monthly per Capita Expenditure in Rs. 2011-12 Estimates of Average Monthly Per Capita Expenditure (MPCE) as per MRP* 2011-12, State Specific Poverty Lines & Lorenz Ratio Estimates – Monthly per Capita Expenditure (MPCE) based on MRP.

Note- Consumer expenditure data collected using 'last 365 days' as reference period for five non-food items, namely, clothing, footwear, durable goods, education and institutional medical expenses,
http://planningcommission.gov.in/data/datatable/data_2110/table_90.pdf

Table: State wise Correlation Coefficients between Previous year growth of Person days generation and Concurrent growth in Rural Per capita NSDP

Andhra Pradesh		Assam		Bihar		Chhattisgarh		Gujarat	
r	-0.920	r	0.486	r	-0.061	r	-0.736	r	-0.956
t-test	0.6706	t-test	0.5688	t-test	0.3954	t-test	0.9258	t-test	0.6787
paired	1	paired	1	paired	1	paired	1	paired	1
tailed	2	tailed	2	tailed	2	tailed	2	tailed	2
Negative		Positive		Negative		Negative		Negative	
Haryana		Himachal Pradesh		Jammu & Kashmir		Jharkhand		Karnataka	
r	0.916	r	0.556	r	0.461	r	-0.444	r	-0.688
t-test	0.6950	t-test	0.654	t-test	0.5014	t-test	0.9888	t-test	0.8582
paired	1	paired	1	paired	1	paired	1	paired	1
tailed	2	tailed	2	tailed	2	tailed	2	tailed	2
Positive		Positive		Positive		Negative		Negative	
Kerala		Madhya Pradesh		Maharashtra		Odisha		Punjab	
r	0.095	r	0.251	r	-0.123	r	-0.740	r	-0.704
t-test	0.5907	t-test	0.8488	t-test	0.4142	t-test	0.8070	t-test	0.7663
paired	1	paired	1	paired	1	paired	1	paired	1
tailed	2	tailed	2	tailed	2	tailed	2	tailed	2
Positive		Positive,		Negative		Negative,			
Rajasthan		Tamil Nadu		Uttar Pradesh		Uttarakhand		West Bengal	
r	r	0.922	r	0.803	r	0.265	r	0.534	
t-test	t-test	0.6170	t-test	0.7286	t-test	0.8593	t-test	0.5342	
paired	paired	1	paired	1	paired	1	paired	1	
tailed	tailed	2	tailed	2	tailed	2	tailed	2	
Negative		Positive		Positive		Positive		Positive	
All India									
r	-0.722								
t-test	0.8134								
paired	1								
tailed	2								
Negative									

Source: Computed Per capita NSDP from CMIE reports for various years, and Person days Employment Per household from MIS data of NREGA

Between 2009-10 and 2011-12, the inequality (Gini coefficient) has further increased though only marginally from 0.2758 to 0.2803. While the average annual growth in monthly per capita consumption expenditure (MPCE) between 2005 and 2010 in real terms stood at 1.4% , as per the 66th round of the survey, it grew by around 9% between 2010 and 2012 (Mishta,2012). In value terms, rural MPCE picked up from Rs 927.7 in the 66th round to Rs1, 281.45 in the 68th round.

The correspondence between the employment provided and income generation was next looked into. For this the employment generation under the scheme in a state in a particular year and change in income levels per capita in the following year were noted and a correlation was attempted between the two through a simple one to one correlation analysis. The state wise analysis thus carried out reflected growth in number of days of employment per household under the scheme in the states during 2009-10 2007 - 2008 had no bearing on changes in per capita NSDP is observed through a co-relational analysis. the PEARSON correlation coefficient was found to be positive in 10 states, and equal number of states had negative correlation between the two parameters. All the relationships were however found to be non-significant.

Issue No 3.

A more pin pointed approach has been carried out vide application of Randomized control tool (RCT) tool and difference in difference methodology. Randomized control tool (RCT) tool and difference in difference methodology is applied to test whether differential in reduction in poverty levels is actually correlated with differentials in number of person-days per household through a two step approach.

1. The first step herein consists of two computations:

The first being: Subtracting minimum performance level subtracted from poverty levels reduction across all cells and taking the performance level as poverty reduction differences in each cell as percentage of maximum difference.

The second computation being: to repeat the same exercise with respect to person-days per household, i.e., subtracting minimum performance level on account of person-days per household subtracted from person-days per household across all cells and taking the performance level as the percentage of person-days per household differences to maximum difference with respect to person-days per household.

2. Next step is comparing the values lying in different ranges of reduction of poverty levels with values lying in different ranges of person-days per household

This is attempted through a matrix method as specified below. (The entire exercise is carried out for two time periods 2007 to 2010 and 2010 to 2013 through a matrix method as specified below)/.

2007-08 to 2009-10.

Actual Differentials percentage of Maximum Differential Percentages: Person-days vs. Poverty Reduction

Person days per household percentages	Poverty reduction percentages										
	Zero	1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-90	91-100
zero						Y,					
1-10			Y			Y	Y				
11-20											Y
11-30											
21-30											
31-40		Y									
41-50	Y						Y Y				
51-60				Y			Y	Y			
61-70					Y						
71-80									Y Y		Y
81-90										Y	
91-100						Y	Y				

2009-10 to 2012-13

Person days per household	Poverty reduction percentages										
		1-10	11-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61-70	71-80	81-91	91-100
percentages											
zero						Y					
1-10											
11-20					YY						Y
11-30											
21-30	Y			Y	Y	Y					
31-40					YY						
41-50				YY							
51-60			Y			Y					
61-70								Y			
71-80							Y				
81-90			YY								
91-100					Y		Y				

A close look into the two tables provides the patterns of relationships vividly. These can be summarized as follows:

1. There are differing tendencies of the relationships in the two periods. While the first table presents three different tentative lines (values presented in different colours) depicting more is the differential value if number of days more is the differential recorded in poverty levels reduction, the second table earmarks the tendencies to be exactly opposite (presented in two distinct lines reflected vide two colours) - more reduction in poverty levels in the states with less number of days of employment.

	2007-08	2012-13	2004-05	2011-12	Person Days	Poverty Levels
A P		50.7	32.3	10.96		14.47
Assam	14.5	25.5	36.4	33.89	-10.7	0.90
Bihar	15.1	44.0	55.7	34.06	-19.3	6.34
Chhattisgarh	32.3	45.1	55.1	44.61	-6.5	2.68
Gujarat	25.8	41.4	39.1	21.54	-9.0	7.74
Haryana	30.9	43.7	24.8	11.64	-6.7	9.92
Himachal Pradesh	28.0	49.6	25	8.48	-10.8	14.47
Jammu & Kashmir	34.2	51.4	14.1	11.54	-7.8	2.54
Jharkhand	36.2	39.8	51.6	40.84	-1.9	2.97
Karnataka	29.7	46.5	37.5	24.53	-8.6	5.45
Kerala	24.9	54.9	20.2	9.14	-14.7	10.42
Madhya Pradesh	44.6	37.9	53.6	35.74	3.3	5.20
Maharashtra	32.6	53.1	47.9	24.22	-9.3	8.90
Orissa	35.4	34.1	60.8	35.69	0.7	6.89
Punjab	31.7	27.2	22.1	7.66	3.1	14.16
Rajasthan	48.7	52.2	35.8	16.05	-1.4	10.55
Tamil Nadu	28.6	57.8	37.5	15.83	-13.1	11.38
Uttar Pradesh	24.3	28.4	42.7	30.4	-3.1	4.34
Uttaranchal	36.2	41.1	35.1	11.62	-2.5	14.82
West Bengal	12.6	34.2	38.2	22.52	-18.1	6.83
ALL-INDIA	33.0	44.8	42.0	25.70	-5.9	6.33

Sl No	States	SC		ST		Others		Total	
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1	Andhra Pradesh	30.5	15.4	9.5	4.1	50.0	39.9	28.9	20.6
2	Assam	14.1	27.7	18.8	25.4	4.8	8.6	8.6	4.2
3	Bihar	53.3	64	37.8	26.6	57.2	67.2	41.4	18.3

4	Chhattisgarh	54.7	32.7	33.9	29.2	41.0	52.0	52.7	21.4
6	Gujarat	34.7	21.8	19.1	4.8	21.4	16.0	22.9	7.0
7	Haryana	0.0	26.8	13.9	4.2	4.6	33.4	22.5	5.9
8	Himachal Pradesh	14.9	19.6	9.1	6.4	2.4	5.6	10.1	2.0
9	Jammu & Kashmir	8.8	5.2	10.0	3.3	0.0	13.7	4.8	7.8
10	Jharkhand	54.2	57.9	40.2	37.1	45.1	47.2	19.1	9.2
11	Karnataka	23.5	31.8	20.9	13.8	58.3	50.6	39.1	20.3
12	Kerala	44.3	21.6	13.7	6.6	19.2	32.5	24.3	7.8
13	Madhya Pradesh	58.6	42.8	29.6	13.4	44.7	67.3	55.5	20.8
14	Maharashtra	56.6	44.8	23.9	18.9	40.4	43.2	35.6	26.8
15	Orissa	75.6	50.2	36.9	23.4	61.8	72.6	50.2	28.9
16	Punjab	30.7	14.6	10.6	2.2	2.1	16.1	8.4	2.9
17	Rajasthan	32.6	28.7	13.1	8.2	24.1	52.1	35.6	20.7
18	Tamil Nadu	32.1	31.2	19.8	19.1	32.5	40.2	20.9	6.5
19	Uttar Pradesh	32.4	44.8	32.9	19.7	37.4	44.9	36.6	19.2
20	Uttarakhand	43.2	54.2	44.8	33.5	64.4	65.7	46.5	25.5
21	West Bengal	42.4	29.5	18.3	27.5	25.7	28.5	10.4	1
	All India	47.3	36.8	26.7	16.1	33.3	39.9	31.4	16.0

Source: Planning Commission

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