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Decline in Organized Manufacturing –Policy and Industrial Performance of West Bengal

Abstract

While there was a clear policy shift towards large-scale industrialization in the state of West Bengal during the early 1990s, not much improvement can be discerned in the performance of the manufacturing output. Moreover, contrary to the Indian experience, more than half of the manufacturing output is still produced by small initiatives in the unorganized sector. We argue that it is the peculiarity of industrial policy of central (India) and state (West Bengal). The rigidities in the political as well as the economic institutions in the state are prompting us to look at West Bengal as a classic case of institutional stickiness leading to path dependency. Clearly the right institutions for creating a more enabling environment for industry do not seem to exist. Not only do they not exist, but also their keep encroaching upon every sphere. Industrial performance has resulted in a veritable decline of organized manufacturing alongside a corresponding growth of the unorganized sector in the state. Growth or emergence is frustrated by an overarching institution – ‘the party’ which seems to keep encroaching upon every sphere. Industrial performance has resulted in a veritable decline of organized manufacturing alongside a corresponding growth of the unorganized sector in the state.

Key words: formal and informal institution, industrial policy, industrial performance, India, West Bengal

Introduction

Industrial location is an increasingly important decision facing both national and international firms. At the outset, it must be mentioned that the fashion of the day is to go in for balanced development. State and Central Governments have been planning for uniform dispersal of industries to correct regional imbalances. If this is so, why should there be any necessity for a study of the factors that influence the location of industries? In other words, is it necessary to study the locational aspect of an industry when Government is planning for balanced development? The fact is that industries are located in certain areas because some factors are favourable for their growth and development. In its efforts to remove regional imbalances, the Government, too is guided by two factors. In the first place, there is no point in asking industrialists to start industries and secondly, if the Government wants that industries should be located in a particular place or region, it should be able to provide the same facilities in the area proposed by it which are available in the area in which the industrialists desire to locate their industries. It would certainly be able to provide some facilities; but there are others which it cannot because these are accidental or natural.

Historically, the focus for industrial location research has been on those variables influencing the choice of location for new firms. In this connection the location of manufacturing industries may be influenced by many factors. These are: (1) Transportation, (2) Labour, (3) Raw Materials, (4) Markets, (5) Industrial Site (land), (6) Utilities, (7) Govt. Attitude, (8) Tax Structure, (9) Climate, (10) Community.

That the rates of growth across Indian states started diverging more in the 1990s as compared to 1980s is accepted even by the sympathizers of reform. The highest rates of industrial growth were observed in the states of Andhra Pradesh and Gujrat which grew at more than 10

percent per annum. In contrast, Indian states of Assam, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and WB grew at 3 percent or less per annum. However, despite increasing convergence of the industrial policies of all the Indian states since the early 1990s (Kohli, 2004), their performances have been rather divergent. This paper tries to address this question in the context of WB. In this paper, the last 30 years have been taken into consideration to understand the state business relation in West Bengal, with special focus on the manufacturing sector which was the primary focus of the liberalization reform in India since the 1980s (Sen, 2009).

The divergences in policy performance suggest differential levels of policy implementation. Policy of Central and State both declare and arrange the above mentioned factors for location of industries. But outcome of industrial growth in spite of rich storage of minerals, raw materials, power, labour, water, climate, finance, land, community, market, smooth transportation and easy licensing and tax structure of West Bengal faces deceleration and resulting in the decline of organized manufacturing alongside a corresponding proliferation of small-scale activities in the unorganized sector of the state.

The objective of this paper is to identify the status of industrialization and location of industries in West Bengal.

The paper is based on secondary data. The secondary data sources used are the following: Annual Survey of Industries, Population Census, National Accounts Statistics and National Sample Survey, Annual Report and Agriculture Census Report.

Industrial Policies of the Government of West Bengal

Before the end of the 1980s, the pattern of industrialization within a particular state was mainly determined by the industrial policies of the Union Government. Thereafter, states in

the country got some flexibility in implementing their own economic policies under the guideline of national policies. The government of West Bengal had its own proposals for an alternative economic policy on the vital issues of industrial development, rehabilitation of sick units, generation of employment opportunities and protection of the legitimate interest of the labour. The state industrial policy of 1993-94, and also of the latter years, of the government of West Bengal provides a package of assistance for establishment of new units, expansion of existing units and rehabilitation of sick units. Since the other states were competing for attracting industrial investment, in emulation of other states, many tax concessions were also announced in the different state budgets of the government of West Bengal.

The government of West Bengal announced the Incentive Scheme, 2000, (notification no. 91-CI/H/4F-54/ 2000 dated 13.02.2001) for setting up large, medium and small scale industrial units in the state. Under this scheme an eligible industrial unit, defined in the notification, is entitled to enjoy investment subsidy as well as interest subsidy along with some other incentives at the rates specified in the notification. The rate and type of incentive depend on the location of the industrial unit. The West Bengal Industrial Development Corporation (WBIDC) has been working as a single window to assist large-scale industrial units in the state. Similarly, Small Industry Development Agency (SIDA) has been set-up to provide assistance to small scale industries.

Industrialisation in West Bengal

The dismantling of the industrial licensing regime accompanied by various other liberalization policies from the early 1990s have given the State an opportunity to boost industrial growth, private investment and employment generation and at the same time, has created an environment of competition among different States. This has put a tremendous responsibility

on the State Government to adopt appropriate steps in order to bring about rapid industrialization in West Bengal. Aware of the opportunities for industrial growth likely to be created in West Bengal, the Government of West Bengal has been pursuing policies for overall economic development of the State with a view to achieving growth with equity and social justice. The State's Industrial Policy was announced in 1994 with an aim to achieve a faster industrial development. It encourages private sector investment and envisages the role of Government as a facilitator of this process.

It should first be noted that Government's policies for land reform from the late 1970s have made a significant impact on the food production scenario. The average annual growth of food out during 1980-1991 was 5.80% compared to 0.97% between 1970-1981 [Annual Report, 2003-04, Department of Agriculture, Government of West Bengal]. However, the rate of growth of agricultural output over time has been affected by dwindling size of per capita holding of farm land which has come down from 0.99 hectare in 1976-77

(Agricultural Census Report, 2000-01) to 0.79 hectare in 2005-06 [Agricultural Census Report, 2005-06, West Bengal, (Provisional)]. The average size of land holding appears to be one of the smallest among the States and much below the national average of 1.33 hectares in 2000-01 [All-India Report on Agricultural Census 2000-01, (Provisional)].

The recent growth path of the West Bengal economy depicts a picture of falling share of agriculture in total Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) from 27.52% in 1999-2000 to 21.08% in 2006-07 [State Domestic Product and District Domestic Product of West Bengal, Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics, Government of West Bengal]. The share of the tertiary sector increased from 52.61% to 55.59%, while the secondary sector experienced a growth from 14.54% to 18.49% over the same period [Economic Review, 2007-08]. Economic development is accompanied by changes in the share of employment among different sectors,

with gradual reduction in the percentage of population dependent of agriculture for livelihood (*see Table 1*). At the same time, growth in the service sector alone cannot be sustained over a long period without an increase in the growth of manufacturing sector.

The last decade had witnessed a steady growth of SDP in the State with all the key sectors including infrastructure having recorded a significant growth over the last 10 years. The NSDP at 1999-2000 prices recorded an annual growth rate at 7.47% in 2005-06 and an even higher growth rate at 8.81% in 2006-07 [Economic Review, 2007-08]. The rural economy has witnessed a phase of distinct shift in occupational pattern and life style which is reflected in the pattern of per capita consumption of non-food items and also an increasing aspiration towards school and higher education.

Location of Industries

In pre-independence times, the industrial development in West Bengal centered around Howrah, Hooghly, Asansol and Barrackpore due to connectivity through rail, road and river and availability of raw materials. In North Bengal, industrial development has been mostly confined to tea industry and some food processing activities in Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. Thereafter, in the post-independence period, industrial growth has concentrated first in Durgapur and then in Haldia. That Haldia would develop as one of West Bengal's largest industrial areas was clear once it was decided, in the late 1960s, to set up the Haldia Dock Complex. Proximity to a port has always been a major factor in deciding location of large industries.

In order to facilitate planned industrial development, some industrial parks have in the meanwhile already been developed by the State Government such as Kolkata Leather

Complex; Shilpangan in Salt Lake for light engineering goods; Paridhan – the Garment Park in Beliaghata, Kolkata, for apparel and garment manufacturing units; Manikanchan SEZ in Salt Lake for gems and jewellery units; Food Park and Poly Park in Sankrail in the Howrah district and the Plasto-Steel Park in Barjora in Bankura district. This is in addition to the Growth Centres and Industrial Estates set up by West Bengal Industrial Infrastructure Development Corporation and West Bengal Small Industries Development Corporation. Growth Centres, i.e., large industrial estates, have been set up at Kalyani, Kharagpur, Falta, Uluberia, Haldia, Bishnupur, Raninagar, Dabgram, Malda, Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri and Bolpur. Similarly, the MSE&T Department has set up industrial estates in different parts of the MSE&T Department. It is estimated that more such planned industrial parks are required to accommodate small and medium sized industries of the State.

In order to create a balanced and sustainable industrial growth in the State and maximize use of uncultivable land in the State, it is felt that some parts of the State can be identified as industrial zones, for setting large manufacturing industries because of factors such as availability of non-agricultural land, historical industrial presence and availability of good infrastructure. This will mean optimal use of the existing industrial infrastructure, upgradation of infrastructure where required, and facilitation/creation of new industrial infrastructure for projects in backward areas.

The subject of identification of land for industry was also taken up by the Standing Committee on Commerce and Industries, Industrial Reconstruction and Public Enterprises (2007-2008).

Govt. of West Bengal settled the Industrial growth Zones : (i) Greater Kolkata comprising Kolkata and the adjoining districts of Howrah, Hooghly, South 24 Parganas and North 24 Parganas; (ii) Damodar-Ajoy Industrial Growth zone comprising the Durgapur – Asansol belt, the adjoining areas of Bankura and Purulia districts across the Damodar River and the

adjoining areas of Birbhum district across the Ajoy River; (iii) Paschim Medinipur comprising Salboni – Kharagpur – Jhargram belt; (iv) Siliguri-Jalpaiguri another Industrial Growth Zone for small and medium industrial clusters in and around the Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts; and (vi) Kalyani for IT and Knowledge based industries. Status on Implementation of projects in the Industrial Growth Zones in the Year 2007 is **shown in (Table 2)**.

The question of performance

In spite of support from New Industrial Policy 1991 in India and State Industrial Policy 1993, a vulnerable workforce, as was claimed in the case of WB, generally creates favourable conditions in the economy for renewed investment prospects. Moreover, with the changes in the policy regime at the centre since early 1990s followed by changes proposed in the new industrial policy of the state, it was expected that there would be a boost in the investment scenario of the state. But a few changes apart, the trend of predominance of the unorganized sector continues over the years. According to (*see Figure 1*), since the mid 1990s unorganized manufacturing, in fact, has been contributing almost as much as the organized sector and lately even more. Moreover, the rate of growth of organized manufacturing is consistently lower than that of unorganized manufacturing both in the post as well as in the pre new-industrial-policy regimes of the state. However, the magnitude of the growth rate in the organized manufacturing has increased in the second period. The relative decline of the organized sector in the case of WB becomes striking when we see how the state's position deteriorates with respect to the country as a whole during the last three decades when only the organized factory sector is considered. In the year 2004-05 WB stands at the 7th position in terms of manufacturing output considering all states in India. This position remains the same if we look at the organized manufacturing as well. However, the position of the state improves

significantly to the 3rd if we consider the unorganized manufacturing alone.

In the employment front the importance of the unorganized sector also accentuates over the last three decades. In 2001 only around 13 percent of the workforce was engaged in organized manufacturing. The significant decline in the absolute number of employment over the last few decades, particularly in the post new-industrial-policy era in the factory sector of manufacturing can surely be taken as one of the sources from where employees enter the unorganized domain as casuals.

The domination, and increasingly, by unorganized manufacturing in employment is not unique to WB. What is unique is the domination of unorganized over the organized sector in relation to output. This is surprising, given the notable changes in the attitudes of the state towards large industry since the early 1990s as manifested in policies for curtailing regulations and developing infrastructure. Data on Industrial Entrepreneur's Memoranda (IEM) suggest that the number of industrialists showing interest in the state is significantly low not only compared to some of the industrially advanced states but also a few relatively new ones. Disturbingly, the proposed investments are also notably smaller in dimension. Is this attributable to poor policy implementation? Or is it a deeper problem like lack of political will? However, it needs to be noted here that a number of institutional changes were initiated in order to facilitate new investment, such as the single window facility called Shilpa Bandhu, described earlier. Some new large investments also did flow in from the Mitsubishi, Jai Balaji and Jindal Groups. This probably explains the increase, though marginal, in the rate of growth of organized manufacturing in the state in the post 1994-95 period.

A related study by Roychoudhuri et al in 2007, argues that the main reason for WB's failure to attract large investment is poor infrastructure and related inability of the state to improve it over time. The physical infrastructure development index calculated by Ghosh et al in 2004

indicates a sharp decline in the comparative ranking of WB in India – from 9th. in 1981-82 to 17th . In 1991-92 .This index considered transport facility, gross irrigated area, per capita consumption of electricity and telephone main line. In this respect the northern states of Punjab, Haryana and all the southern states except Kerla show a much better prospect compared to WB. This information matches well with the entrepreneur's persistent willingness to prefer some states over others as revealed by IEM data. This is aggravated by the inadequacy of social infrastructure such as poor quality of labour arising out of lack of education, particularly technical education. This dismal plight of WB's social infrastructure is widely known today.

Do labour productivity figures suggest further clues? The level of labour productivity remained the lowest in the organized manufacturing sector of WB compared to the industrially-more-advanced states of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu over the last three decades (*see Figure 2*). The labour-productivity levels were quite close for all the four states till the mid-1980s. In fact, the real divergence came only in the early 1990s placing Maharashtra and Gujarat much ahead of WB and also TN. This is most probably because of the better utilization of liberalization policies by the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat. However we find that workers in WB's organized manufacturing are getting relatively better wage rates compared to others except in Maharashtra.

Indeed, it is interesting that when the growth rate of productivity declines in the post- 1994-95 era, the wage rate actually increases. Moreover, the rate of decline in the wage share to net value added shows an insignificant trend in the period after the new industrial policy regime. This is happening when there was a perceptibly sharp decline in the rate of growth of employment in the factory sector of manufacturing of negative order with the second period showing as low as (-) 7.19 percent per annum. We wonder to what extent the organized workforce in the state has been rendered vulnerable as claimed by others. We try to address

these apparently contradictory trends along with the increasing emergence of the unorganized sector with the help of primary data in following sections.

Labour productivity, among other things, depends directly on the production technology. While it is difficult to characterize the technological status of production processes, one possible way is to look at the real fixed asset formation per worker. In the formal or organized sector real fixed assets per worker in the late 80s in WB was lower than both Maharashtra and Gujarat but higher than Tamilnadu. While the picture remained unchanged in the mid 1990s, by the early 2000 Tamilnadu also surpassed WB. In fact, there is a deceleration of real fixed assets per worker in WB in the year 2000-01 over 1994-95 (Marjit et al, 2009). This indicates that in terms of technological modernization WB manufacturing was not competing well with the industrially more developed states.

It is worth mentioning here that none of the states shows decline in the per capita fixed assets. The labour productivity in the unorganized manufacturing in the state is not only lower than the Indian average but also lower than industrially-more-developed states as revealed from the NSS rounds on the unorganized sector. Incidentally, there is an increase in the real fixed assets per worker in unorganized manufacturing of the state, though WB remains consistently at the bottom and significantly lowers than the national average in this regard in recent years. The increase in capital intensity in production is difficult to explain considering the continuous large-scale influx of people into the unorganized sector in recent years. This may well be a result of under-reporting of human beings working on the same machine. Further, the latest round of NSS on employment unemployment (2004-05) shows the lowest wage rates prevailing in WB in both rural and urban casual labour markets. Is it then the cheapest labour that is dragging the output to the unorganized sector in this state? This also opens up the possibility of using contract/casual labour within the organized sector and farming out production to the unorganized ones. This, in turn, is likely to lead to expansion of outputs in

unorganized manufacturing.

The decline of manufacturing industries has been a serious long-term problem for West Bengal. The share of the manufacturing sector to GSDP, which was around 18% in 1980-81 steadily, fell to around 13% in 1990-91 and then further to around 10% by 2000-01. This had increased marginally to 11.14% by 2011-12 but again fell to 10.39% in 2012-13. The efforts by the LF government to attract large-scale industrial investments in the private sector in the last decade did lead to some increase in industrial investments since 2005. However, the land acquisition drive launched in order to build large-scale private sector factories and SEZs met with stiff resistance from the small rural landholders and the political opposition. Apprehensions regarding land acquisition and the absence of a credible compensation and rehabilitation policy became a major roadblock for industrialization and the turnaround in the manufacturing sector envisaged by the LF government did not materialize.

What is distinctive about the manufacturing sector in West Bengal is the proliferation of small and micro manufacturing units. West Bengal has been the leading state in India in unorganized manufacturing units (UMUs) accounting for 16% of all UMUs in India and 15% of total employment in UMUs. While the manufacturing sector as a whole grew at 4.75% per annum between 2000-01 and 2008-09, the unregistered manufacturing sector grew at a much faster rate of 6.33% per annum during the same period. As a result the unregistered factories have a higher Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) compared to the registered factory sector.

Overall economic growth in West Bengal has slightly lagged behind the all-India average over the last two plan periods. Besides the discernible slowdown in agriculture during the Tenth Plan which failed to pick up to the level of the all-India average of 3% in the Eleventh Plan, the industrial sector has also lagged behind the all-India average during the Eleventh Plan period

(see *Table 3*). Like the rest of the country, it is the services sector which has led the growth process in the state, particularly during the Eleventh Plan period.

Even as the manufacturing sector has shrunk as a proportion of West Bengal's GSDP, the sub-sectors that showed the highest growth between 1993-94 and 2008-09 in West Bengal were construction, finance and real estate, and trade, hotels and communications. The real estate and construction sectors have consistently grown at faster rates than overall GSDP, and hence have been the prime movers of the growth process in the state. What has been the impact of this construction and real estate led growth process on employment?

As per estimates based on the latest NSS data, the proportion of rural workforce employed in agriculture in West Bengal was 56% in 2009-10, which is considerably lower than the all-India average of 68%. Agricultural employment witnessed negative growth in West Bengal between 2004-05 and 2009-10 (-0.4%), whereas non-agricultural employment has grown by 2.63%. The growth in non-agricultural employment, which is concentrated in sectors like construction, retail and wholesale trade and manufacture of textile and tobacco, has been accompanied by a significant increase in the proportion of casual workers in the rural areas and self-employed workers in the urban areas. The proportion of regular salaried workers has actually declined in the urban areas of West Bengal. The proportion of workers employed in the small unorganized enterprises or the informal sector remains higher in West Bengal than the all-India average. Therefore, the shift of employment that has taken place from agriculture to non-agriculture in West Bengal does not amount to a shift from low wage/low productivity activities to high wage/high productivity activities.

The bulk of the workforce continues to remain employed in the unorganized/informal sector earning low wages and without access to any social security. The proportion of workers who did not receive any social security benefit increased in West Bengal from 70.52% in 2004-05

to 74.8% in 2009-10. Over 73% of the workforce in 2009-10 did not have any written job contract. Organized sector employment in the state has fallen from around 25 lakh in 2000 to below 20 lakh in 2010. The real wage rate of rural unskilled workers in West Bengal has remained stagnant between 2000 and 2010, even as it has shown an upward trend at the all-India level since 2007.

A key developmental challenge in West Bengal today is to reverse this trend towards informalization of the workforce and increase decent work opportunities in the organized and formal sector. The question is whether this can be achieved by aligning with the overall neoliberal growth trajectory of India or by moving towards an alternative development trajectory for the state, within the constraints set by the extant Centre-state relations. The LF government, in its last phase, practically abandoned the pursuit of an alternative trajectory and attempted to aggressively attract private investment by offering myriad concessions and land to big corporate. Not only did that unleash fierce political opposition which finally resulted in the electoral defeat of the LF, but the turnaround in the industrial scenario too did not materialize.

The advent of the TMC-led government has seen much confusion regarding its industrial and land acquisition policy. The TMC government has made it clear that it will not acquire any land from the farmers to set up industry and that those interested in setting up industries will have to purchase land directly from the landowners. Questions regarding the feasibility of direct land purchases by corporate in a landscape dominated by many small landholders owning tiny parcels of land have been raised by many. Overall GSDP growth along with growth in both the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors have slowed down in the last 4 years, compared to the last five years of the LF government. The larger problem remains that the TMC-led government does not have any clear alternative agenda for industrial

development. Failure to evolve such an agenda will only perpetuate the low wage, low productivity and informal model of economy relevant in West Bengal.

Conclusion

The industrial policy of 1993 professes to make WB a worthy destination for industrial investment by improving infrastructure and simplifying regulatory processes. Despite this, and an apparently tamed workforce, not much improvement has taken place in the performance of the organized manufacturing in recent years. Till very recently, the typically small entrepreneurs in the unorganized sector were producing more than half of the state's manufacturing output, endorsing the trend that set in during the 1960s, and which is at odds with the overall Indian experience.

In exploring the somewhat contradictory behaviour between policy and performance we found that the physical infrastructure was still wanting particularly in the domains of power, water and, ports. In a densely-populated, highly fertile agrarian state there is no clear and consistent thinking about a land bank to facilitate industry, which has momentous implications for the future of industrialization in the state. While the regulatory regime has been simplified to a great extent on paper, in practice we found its secret presence at lower levels of the bureaucracy frustrating the emergence of a benign relationship between state and business. In fact regulation hazards turned out to be a major reason behind small firms desiring to operate from the unorganized sector. Further, infrastructural inadequacies, particularly power shortage, could be a major reason leading to large-scale units not expanding their capacity but farming out to the unorganized sector. The business associations at every level are unable to sort out these issues. Among the other trust of the industrialists are utmost important for the development of the industries in this state.

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Table

Table 1- Share of various categories of Main Workers (in percentage)			
Category	1991	2001	Remarks
Cultivators	28.40	19.79	Category of Household Industry workers was included in 2001 census. In 1991, Other Workers includes data on Household Industry Workers.
Agricultural Labourers	24.56	19.64	
Household Industry Workers	NA	6.23	
Other Workers	47.04	54.32	
Total Main Workers	100.00	100.00	

Table 2 : Status on Implementation of projects in the Industrial Growth Zones in the Year 2007

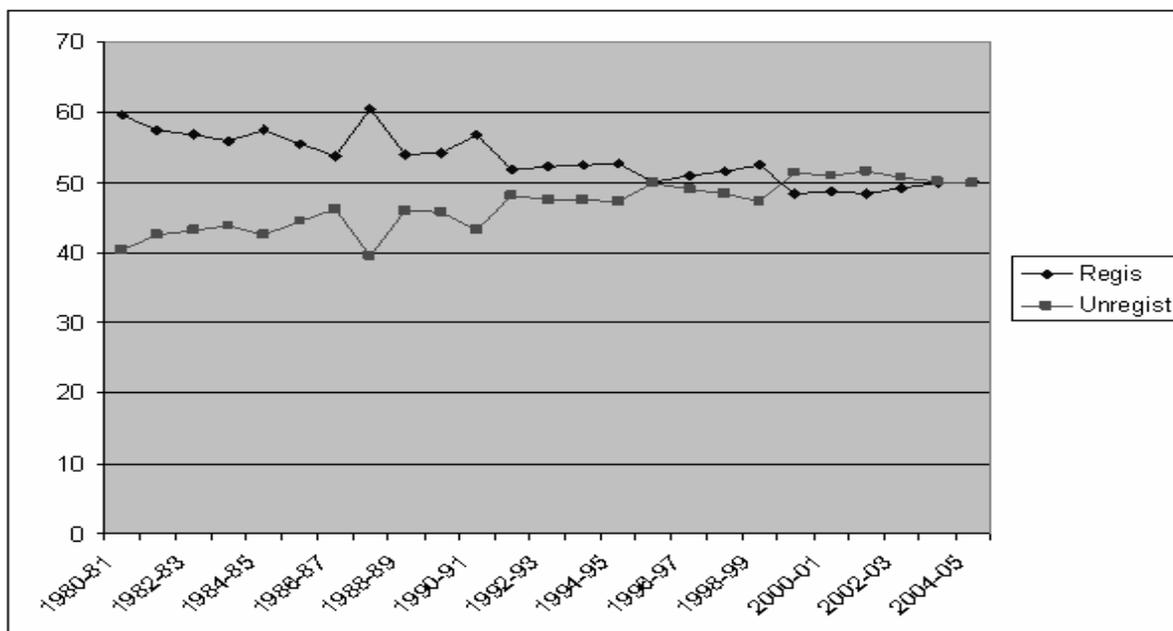
Greater Kolkata – Kolkata, Howrah, Hooghly, North & South 24 Pgs						
District	No. of Projects Implemented	Total Investment in Rs. Cr. (approx)	Power Source	Connectivity	Airport/Seaport	Water Supply
24 Pgs (N)	17	280.17	WBSEDCL, CESC	NH 35	Kolkata / Haldia	Ganges
24 Pgs (S)	83	284.88		NH 45		Ganges
Howrah	30	354.72		NH 6, NH 2		Ganges, Rupnarayan, Damodar
Hooghly	21	385.76		NH 6, NH 4, NH 2		Ganges, Damodar
Damodar – Ajoy						

District	No. of Projects Implemented	Total Investment in Rs. Cr. (approx)	Power Source	Connectivity	Airport/Seaport	Water Supply
Burdwan	36	1113.57	DVC, DPL,WBSEDCL	NH 2, NH 4	Kolkata / Haldia	Damodar
Birbhum	1	2.00	WBSEDCL			Ajay, Mayurakshi
Bankura	16	321.19	WBSEDCL, DVC			Kanksa bati, Damodar
Purulia	8	150.07	WBSEDCL, DVC			Damodar
Paschim Medinipur						
District	No. of Projects Implemented	Total Investment in Rs. Cr. (approx)	Power Source	Connectivity	Airport/Seaport	Water Supply
Paschim Medinipur	8	155.31	WBSEDCL	NH 6	Kolkata / Haldia	Subarn arekha, Rupnarayan
Haldia						
District	No. of Projects Implemented	Total Investment in Rs. Cr. (approx)	Power Source	Connectivity	Airport/Seaport	Water Supply
Purba Medinipur	10	1273.53	WBSEDCL	NH 6	Kolkata / Haldia	Rupnarayan
Siliguri - Jalpaiguri						
District	No. of Projects Implemented	Total Investment in Rs. Cr. (approx)	Power Source	Connectivity	Airport/Seaport	Water Supply
Darjeeling	5	62.77	WBSEDCL	NH 34	Bagdogra / Haldia	Teesta, Torsha
Jalpaiguri	5	24.79				Teesta,

						Jaldhaka
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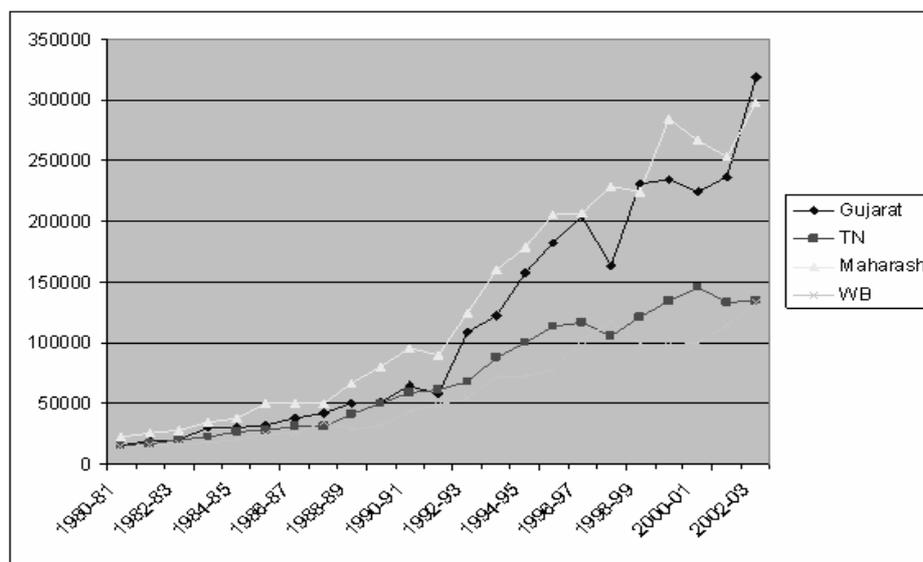
TABLE 3						
Sector-wise Average Growth Rate of GDP in India and NSDP in West Bengal Over Various Plan Periods						
	<i>Ninth Plan (1997-2002)</i>		<i>Tenth Plan (2002-2007)</i>		<i>Eleventh Plan (2007-2012)</i>	
	<i>India</i>	<i>West Bengal</i>	<i>India</i>	<i>West Bengal</i>	<i>India</i>	<i>West Bengal</i>
Agriculture and allied	2.5	3.29	2.4	1.63	3.3	2.76
Industry	4.5	6.64	8.0	8.01	7.2	5.08
Services	8.1	8.62	9.5	7.79	9.7	9.65
Total	5.7	6.53	7.6	6.19	7.9	7.32
<i>Source: Eleventh and Twelfth Five Year Plan Documents, Planning Commission and Economic Review, 2011-12, Government of West Bengal.</i>						

Figure 1: Percentage share (at 1993-94 prices) of the registered and unregistered manufacturing in total manufacturing output of WB from 1980-81 to 2004-05



Source: *National Account Statistics, WB*

Figure 2: The levels of Labour productivity in the four states: 1980/81 to 2002/03



Source: *National Account Statistics*