

MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY IN CHHATTISGARH

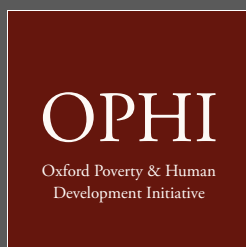
A Measure for Action

OXFORD POVERTY AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE

SUMMARY

This briefing provides an overview of multidimensional poverty in the state of Chhattisgarh in India. According to the global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), Chhattisgarh had a dramatic reduction in multidimensional poverty. Ongoing policy investments will continue that remarkable trend.

- From 2005/6 to 2015/16, the multidimensional poverty rate was cut from 70% to 37%, bringing 7 million people out of poverty.
- The MPI for Chhattisgarh was more than halved (from 0.355 to 0.153) during that decade.
- In 2005/6 it was the fifth poorest state; in 2015/16 it had improved to seventh poorest.
- Huge strides were made in reducing undernutrition, inadequate sanitation, solid cooking fuel, housing materials, and assets. All 10 MPI indicators had significant reductions.



- The changes were pro-poorest. Those living in rural areas, children, and members of Scheduled Tribes are the poorest groups, and all these groups reduced MPI the fastest. They are not being left behind but are catching up.
- Yet in 2015/16, 37% of people – 11 million – were still MPI poor, and 93% of these live in rural areas and 5.1 million were members of Scheduled Tribes. One quarter of poor people are children under 10 years of age.
- District-level poverty varies. The poorest districts are Bastar, Narayanpur, and Dakshin Bastar Dantewada.
- Ending multidimensional poverty requires integrated investments in nutrition (especially for children), improved housing materials, clean energy, and adequate sanitation.

BACKGROUND

An MPI creates a comprehensive picture of poverty. It reveals who the poor are and how they are poor by focusing on a range of different disadvantages that the poor experience.

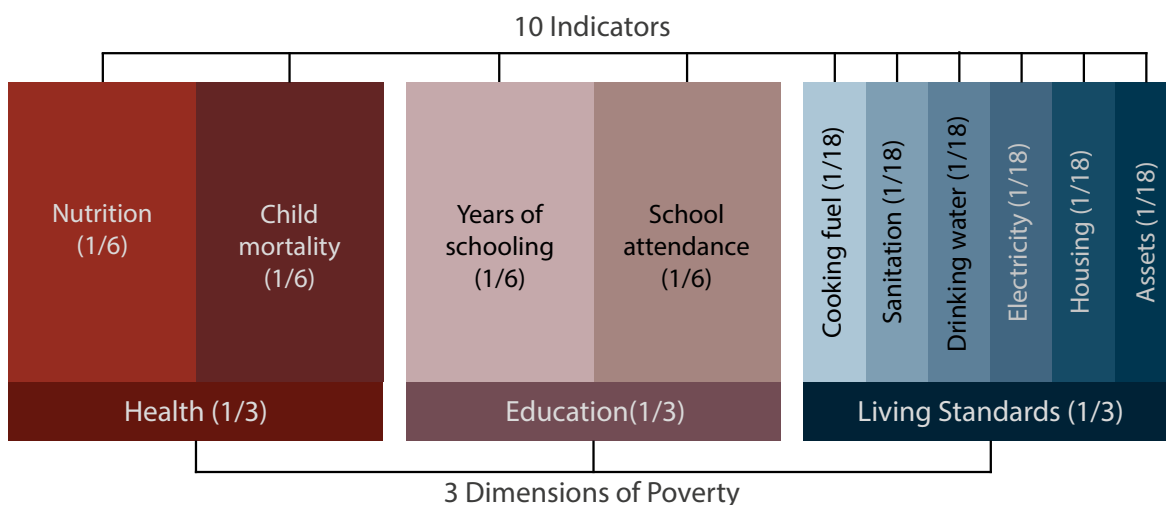
Traditionally, poverty has been defined as the lack of money. However, the poor themselves consider their

experience of poverty much more broadly. A person who is poor can suffer multiple disadvantages at the same time – for example, they may have poor health or be malnourished, lack clean water or electricity, have poor quality of work or have little schooling. An MPI reflects the overlapping nature of disadvantages that affect poor people, illuminating which disadvantages may cluster together in some areas and for specific subgroups.

Grounded in the capability approach of Amartya Sen, the global MPI was developed by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) at the University of Oxford as an international measure of acute multidimensional poverty covering over 100 developing countries. It complements traditional monetary-based poverty measures by capturing the acute deprivations that each person faces at the same time with respect to education, health, and living standards.

Each dimension is equally weighted, and the indicators within each dimension are equally weighted as well. A person who is deprived in a third or more of the weighted indicators is defined as multidimensionally poor. There are three distinctive statistics that are used to report on multidimensional poverty.

FIGURE 1. STRUCTURE OF THE GLOBAL MPI



Source: OPHI (2018).

These are:

- The incidence or headcount ratio of poverty (known as H), which is the percentage of people who are multidimensionally poor.
- The intensity of poverty (known as A), which reflects the average share of weighted deprivations that poor people experience.
- The MPI or adjusted headcount ratio (calculated as a product of H and A), reflecting the deprivations experienced by poor people as a percentage of the total deprivations that would be experienced if all people were deprived in all indicators.

The MPI is the preferred statistic of poverty used to monitor poverty over time because it takes into account changes in either or both of the two indicators of incidence and intensity.

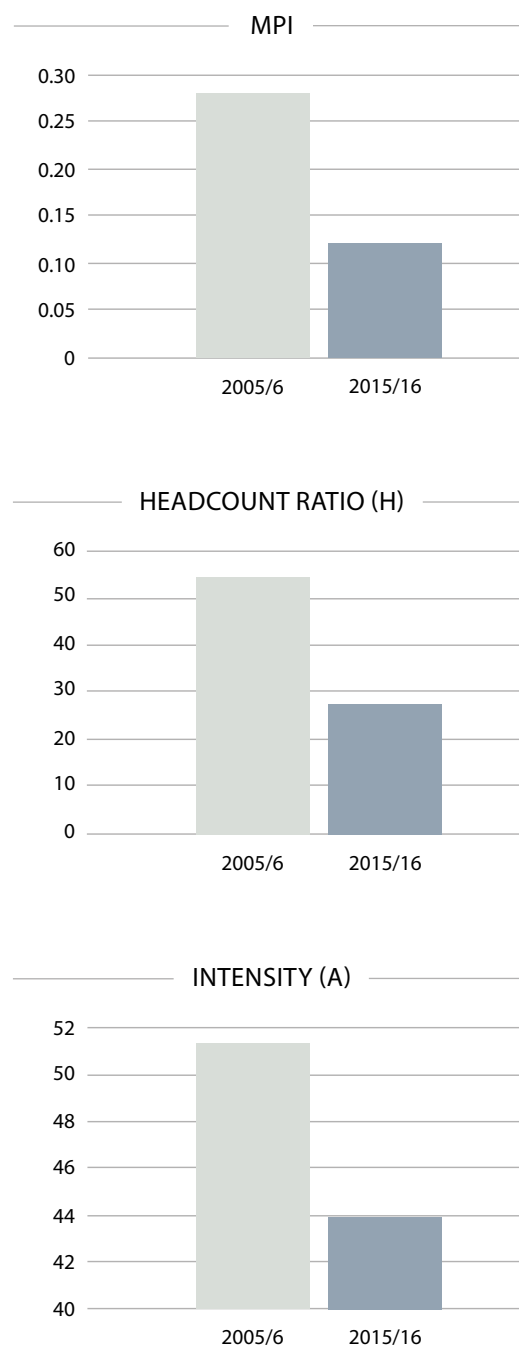
This briefing presents the global MPI figures for the state of Chhattisgarh in India based on data collected in the National Family Health Survey (NFHS) and compares the results of the 2015/16 survey with those from the 2005/6 survey. In the absence of a tailored national MPI for India, the global MPI is used because it covers indicators that rank highly among public priorities, such as sanitation and nutrition. Furthermore, the global MPI is internationally comparable and allows for comparison with the whole of India as well as with individual states.

MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY IN INDIA: THE CONTEXT¹

Progress in the fight against poverty has been remarkable as is clear from the data shown in Figure 2. In the decade from 2005/6 to 2015/16, India managed to more than halve its MPI from 0.283 to 0.123. This involved reducing both the incidence of poverty and the intensity of poverty. The incidence fell from 55% to 28% across the country. When translated into actual numbers of people, a staggering 271 million people moved out of poverty during this period.

1. The MPI figures presented in this briefing are based on OPHI (2018) and UNDP and OPHI (2019). See also Alkire, Oldiges and Kanagaratnam (2020). Disaggregations within Chhattisgarh were completed by Christian Oldiges.

FIGURE 2. CHANGE IN MPI, HEADCOUNT RATIO AND INTENSITY OF POVERTY IN INDIA FROM 2005/6 TO 2015/16



Source: Authors' calculations based on NFHS 2005/6 and 2015/16; see Alkire, Oldiges and Kanagaratnam (2020).

An analysis by state reveals that poverty levels in the poorest states reduced the most from 2005/6 to 2015/16. This is very important in the context of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the desire to 'leave no one behind'. Table 1 identifies Bihar and Jharkhand as having the highest levels of multidimensional poverty in 2005/6, and these states also showed the largest decreases in the MPI from 2005/6 to 2015/16. Despite the progress, it is important to bear in mind that India still has the largest number of people living in poverty in the world. As of 2015/16, this figure stood at approximately 370 million people. Chhattisgarh's leading role in reducing poverty is also made visible in the state rankings of Table 1. When compared with other poor states in India, Chhattisgarh was the fifth poorest state in 2005/6, with an MPI

of 0.355. By 2015/16, the MPI had decreased by more than one half to 0.153 and Chhattisgarh was found to be the seventh poorest state in India.

MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY IN CHHATTISGARH: REMARKABLE PROGRESS IN ONE DECADE

Within one decade, poverty in Chhattisgarh reduced significantly. Importantly, both aspects of the MPI saw reductions as evidenced in Table 2. In terms of the incidence of poverty, while seven out of every ten (70%) people were living in multidimensional poverty in 2005/6, this was true of only one out of every three (37%) people in 2015/16. In total, there were approximately 7 million fewer poor people in Chhattisgarh at the end of the decade.

TABLE 1. MPI VALUES FOR POOREST 20 STATES IN INDIA IN 2005/6 AND 2015/16

Rank (Poorest)	State	MPI in 2005/6	Rank (Poorest)	State	MPI in 2015/16
1	Bihar	0.449	1	Bihar	0.248
2	Jharkhand	0.429	2	Jharkhand	0.208
3	Madhya Pradesh	0.366	3	Uttar Pradesh	0.183
4	Uttar Pradesh	0.361	4	Madhya Pradesh	0.182
5	Chhattisgarh	0.355	5	Assam	0.162
6	Meghalaya	0.340	6	Odisha	0.156
7	Odisha	0.336	7	Chhattisgarh	0.153
8	Rajasthan	0.332	8	Meghalaya	0.146
9	Assam	0.317	9	Rajasthan	0.145
10	Arunachal Pradesh	0.313	10	Arunachal Pradesh	0.108
11	Nagaland	0.295	11	Nagaland	0.099
12	Tripura	0.265	12	Gujarat	0.092
13	Andhra Pradesh	0.236	13	Tripura	0.087
14	Karnataka	0.229	14	Manipur	0.085
15	Manipur	0.204	15	Uttarakhand	0.072
16	Jammu And Kashmir	0.193	16	Maharashtra	0.071
17	Haryana	0.187	17	Karnataka	0.069
18	Maharashtra	0.186	18	Andhra Pradesh	0.067
19	Gujarat	0.185	19	Jammu And Kashmir	0.064
20	Uttarakhand	0.182	20	Haryana	0.046

Source: Alkire, Oldiges and Kanagaratnam (2020).

TABLE 2. MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY STATISTICS FOR THE GLOBAL MPI IN CHHATTISGARH FROM 2005/6 TO 2015/16

	2005/6	2015/16
MPI	0.355	0.153
H	70.0%	36.8%
A	50.8%	41.5%
Number of MPI poor	18 million	11 million

Source: Authors' calculations based on data from NFHS 2005/6 and 2015/16.

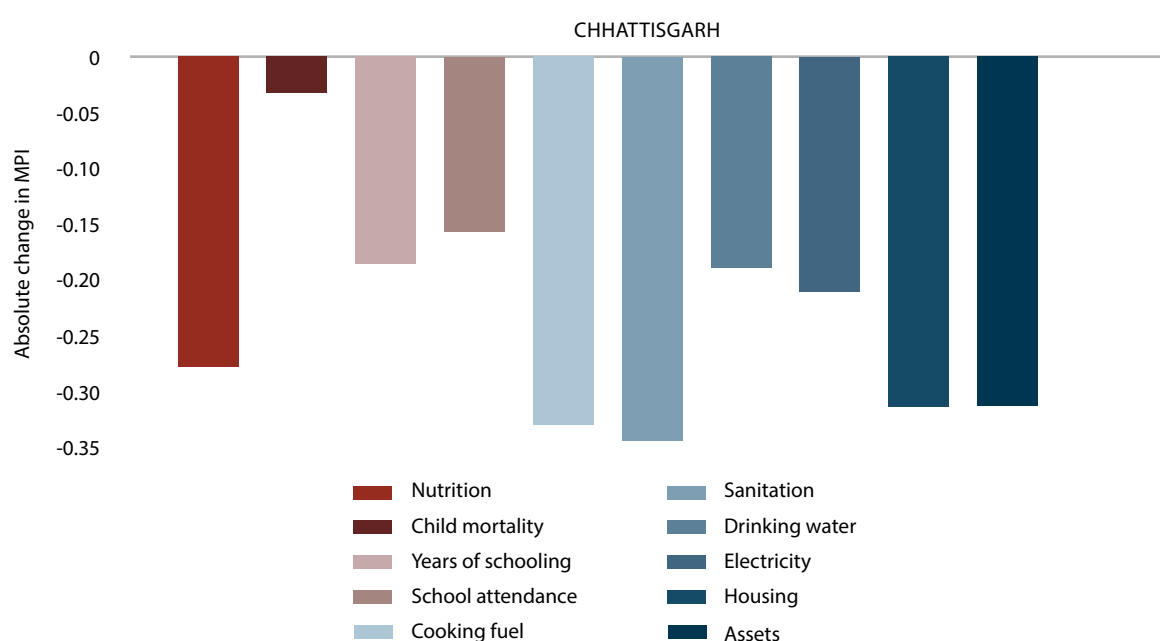
Table 2 shows that the intensity of poverty reduced from 50.8% to 41.5%. So not only were there fewer poor people in Chhattisgarh in 2015/16, but those who were still poor were not experiencing as many deprivations as the poor experienced in 2005/6, on average.

The decline in poverty was not equal across all the indicators that make up the global MPI. Figure 3 details the change in the proportion of poor people who were poor and deprived in each of the indicators between 2005/6 and 2015/16, and shows that improve-

ments across many of the living standards indicators were quite significant.

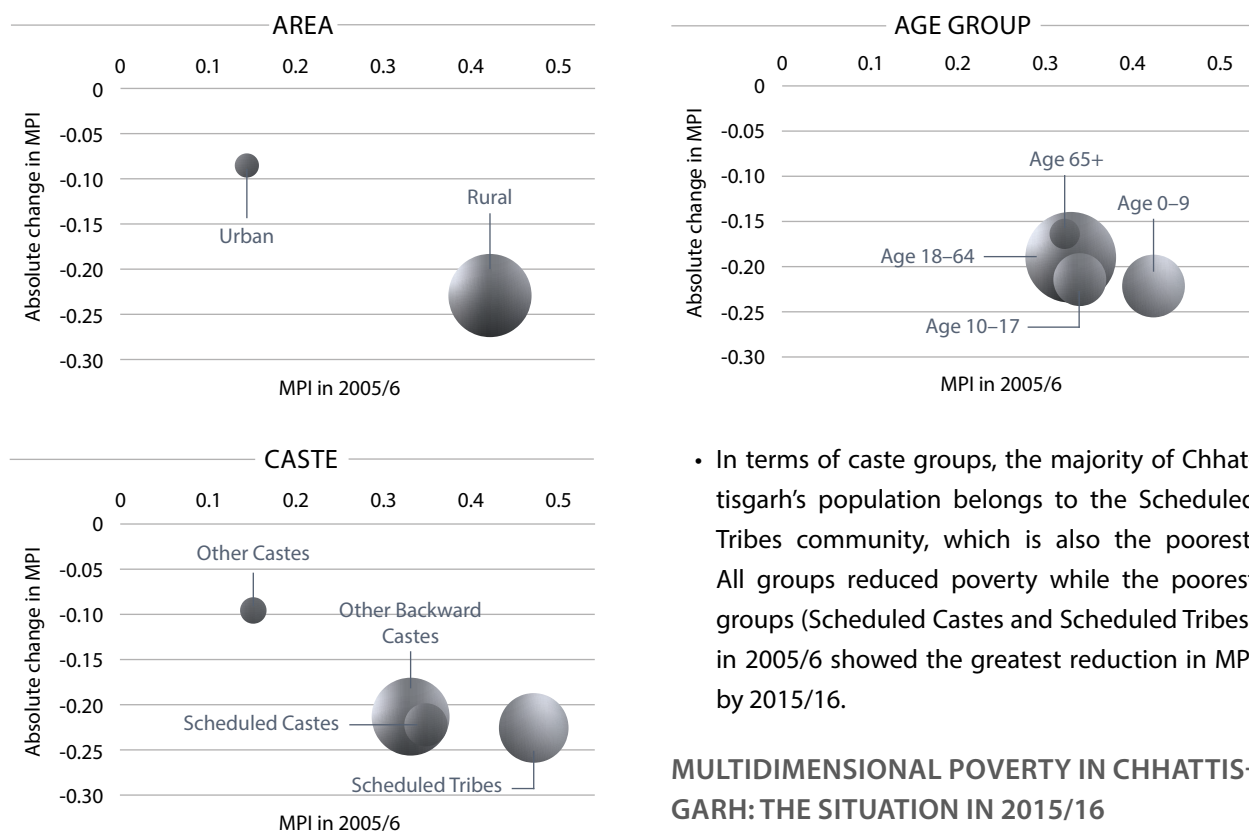
Importantly, all 10 indicators of the global MPI saw a reduction in the levels of deprivation amongst the poor. There were significant reductions in sanitation (34 percentage points) and cooking fuel (33 percentage points), with housing and assets also seeing reductions of over 31 percentage points. At the other end of the scale, the education indicators of years of schooling (19 percentage points) and school attend-

FIGURE 3. CHANGE IN CENSORED HEADCOUNT RATIOS IN CHHATTISGARH FROM 2005/6 TO 2015/16



Source: Authors' calculations based on data from NFHS 2005/6 and 2015/16.

FIGURE 4. LEAVING NO ONE BEHIND – Annualised absolute change in MPI from 2005/6 to 2015/16 by area, age group and caste



Source: Authors' calculations based on data from NFHS 2005/6 and 2015/16.

ance (16 percentage points) and the health indicator of child mortality (3 percentage points) reduced the least across the decade, yet were still remarkable.

Progress in reducing multidimensional poverty in Chhattisgarh appears to be a result of focusing on the poorest of the poor. If the poorest groups make progress less quickly than other groups then they are being left behind. Here, as detailed in Figure 4, a pro-poor emphasis can be seen when looking at the changes over time according to the following:

- When looked at by urban/rural areas, there was faster reduction among the poor who lived in rural areas. They are catching up.
- Across the different age groups, it was the poorest – and the youngest – who reduced poverty the fastest.

- In terms of caste groups, the majority of Chhattisgarh's population belongs to the Scheduled Tribes community, which is also the poorest. All groups reduced poverty while the poorest groups (Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) in 2005/6 showed the greatest reduction in MPI by 2015/16.

MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY IN CHHATTISGARH: THE SITUATION IN 2015/16

Despite the remarkable success in poverty reduction from 2005/6 to 2015/16, it is important to remember that in 2015/16, still, more than one out of every three (37%) residents of Chhattisgarh lived in multidimensionally poor households. As shown in Table 3, this translates into approximately 11 million people across the state.

The indicators of cooking fuel, sanitation, housing, and assets saw the greatest reduction in the levels of deprivation from 2005/6 to 2015/16. However, Figure 5 shows that cooking fuel, sanitation and housing remain important drivers of poverty levels in Chhattisgarh. Levels of deprivation among the poor in these three indicators are highest with nutrition contributing the most to multidimensional poverty because of its weight. The efforts that led to the reduction in levels of deprivation from 2005/6 to 2015/16 need to be intensified so that the next decade can see similar results.

TABLE 3. MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY STATISTICS FOR THE GLOBAL MPI IN CHHATTISGARH

	2015/16
MPI	0.153
H	36.8
A	41.5
Number of MPI poor	11 million

Source: Authors' calculations based on data from NFHS 2005/6 and 2015/16.

WHERE ARE THE MPI POOR?

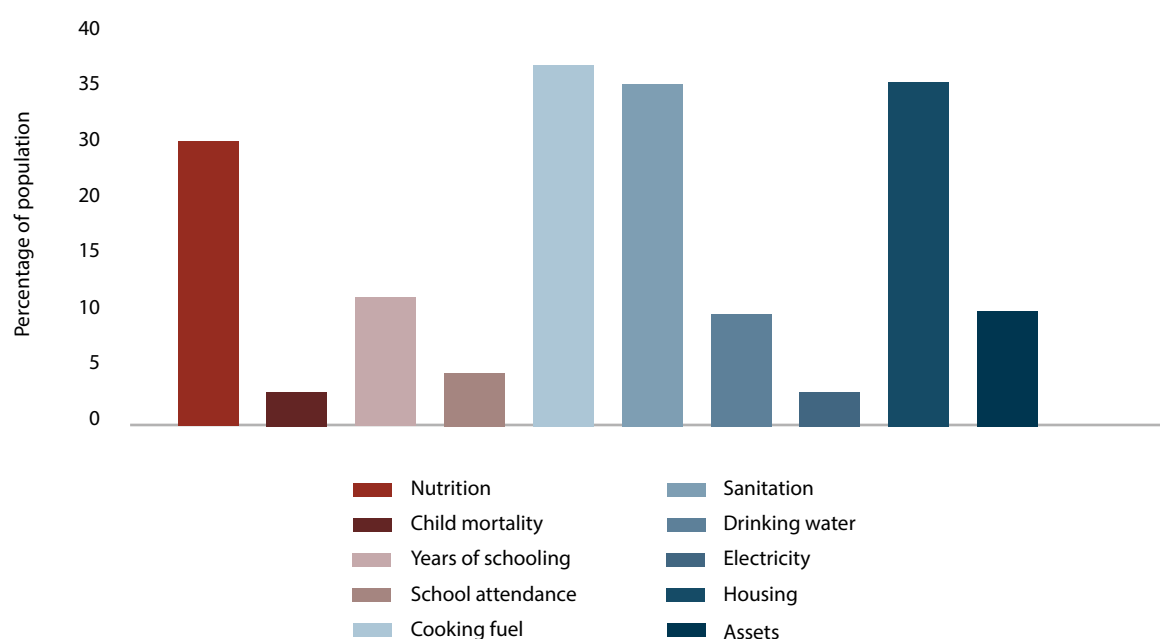
Multidimensional poverty in Chhattisgarh is far higher in rural areas than urban areas as evidenced in Table 4 (next page). This is mainly driven by a higher incidence of poverty as rural residents (44.0%) are almost four times as likely as their urban counterparts (11.8%) to be living in multidimensionally poor households. The intensity of poverty was also slightly higher in rural areas (41.6%) than in urban areas (39.9%) resulting in an overall MPI of 0.183 for rural Chhattisgarh and 0.047 for urban Chhattisgarh. Translated into actual numbers, more than 10 million people in rural areas

were living in multidimensionally poor households compared to fewer than one million in urban areas.

The poverty statistics of the MPI can be disaggregated to whichever geographic level the data allow. In this instance (Figure 6), the poverty rate for Chhattisgarh is calculated at the district level – with district definitions from Census 2011 (so some of the current districts are grouped together) – making it a powerful tool for highlighting pockets of poverty within the state.

The poverty rate in Chhattisgarh varies greatly across districts in 2015/16. Compared to the rate for the

FIGURE 5. CENSORED HEADCOUNT RATIOS IN CHHATTISGARH, 2015/16



Source: Authors' calculations based on data from NFHS 2015/16, as shown in OPHI (2018).

TABLE 4. MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY STATISTICS FOR THE GLOBAL MPI IN CHHATTISGARH BY AREA, 2015/16

Area	Population Share (%)	Number of Poor	MPI	H (%)	A (%)
Urban	22.9	0.8 million	0.047	11.8	39.9
Rural	77.1	10.3 million	0.183	44.0	41.6

Source: Authors' calculations based on data from NFHS 2005/6 and 2015/16.

state of 36.6%, Table 5 shows that the poverty rate is far lower for the largely urban of districts of Durg (24.0%), Dhamtari (25.5%), Raipur (27.1%), and Rajnandgaon (27.8%). In contrast, it is far higher in the districts of Bastar (60.8%) and Narayanpur (62.3%), while in Dakshin Bastar Dantewada two out of every three (65.4%) people are multidimensionally poor.

The MPI can be broken down by indicators in each of the districts as shown in Figure 7 (next page). This further enhances its usefulness as a policy tool. It shows how important indicators in one district may differ from another district. For example, while nutrition is a significant contributor to multidimensional poverty in all districts, it is bigger in Rajnandgaon (contributing 38% to poverty in the district) than in

TABLE 5. MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY STATISTICS FOR THE GLOBAL MPI IN CHHATTISGARH BY DISTRICT, 2015/16

District	Population Share (%)	Number of Poor	MPI	H (%)	A (%)
Dakshin Bastar Dantewada	2.1	415,446	0.323	65.4	49.5
Narayanpur	0.5	99,599	0.281	62.3	45.1
Bastar	5.5	1,016,989	0.268	60.8	44.1
Surguja	8.5	1,403,190	0.240	54.7	43.9
Jashpur	3.0	493,083	0.232	54.0	43.0
Bijapur	1.0	144,333	0.205	50.1	40.9
Kabirdham	3.2	465,954	0.203	47.8	42.5
Korea (Koriya)	2.4	325,938	0.189	44.6	42.4
Korba	4.9	573,132	0.164	38.6	42.5
Mahasamund	4.5	560,563	0.159	41.3	38.5
Raigarh	5.7	653,600	0.153	37.8	40.3
Uttar Bastar Kanker	2.7	304,569	0.148	36.7	40.5
Bilaspur	11.7	1,036,524	0.119	29.2	40.7
Janjgir – Champa	6.6	612,027	0.117	30.6	38.2
Raipur	16.0	1,308,431	0.110	27.1	40.4
Rajnandgaon	6.3	529,514	0.105	27.8	37.7
Dhamtari	3.2	243,863	0.098	25.5	38.4
Durg	12.2	888,536	0.093	24.0	38.8

Source: Authors' calculations based on data from NFHS 2015/16, see OPHI (2018), and UNDP and OPHI (2019a).

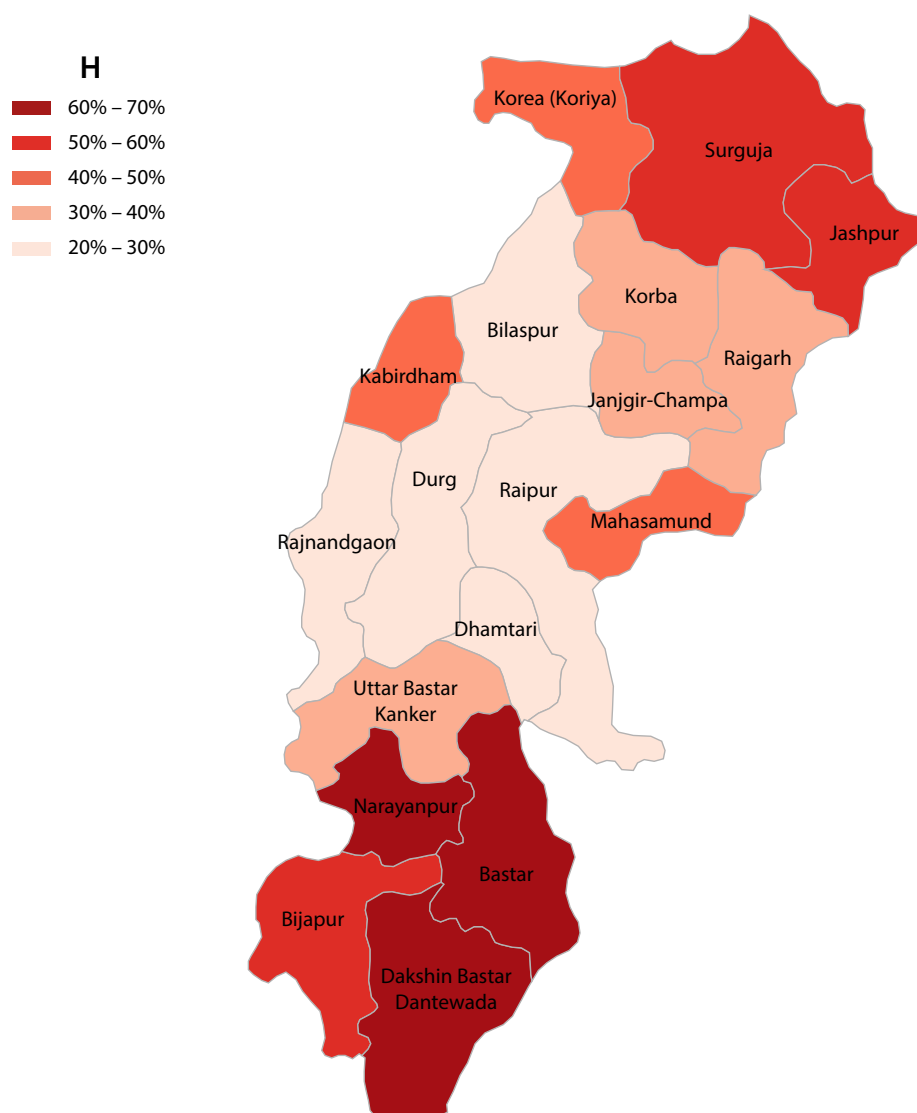
Dakshin Bastar Dantewada, where it contributes 25% to poverty.

WHO IS MPI POOR?

The MPI can be disaggregated across different demographic groups to look at the differential impact of poverty on these groups. For the purpose of looking at multidimensional poverty across age, people are divided into four age groups: 0–9, 10–17, 18–64, and 65 years and older.

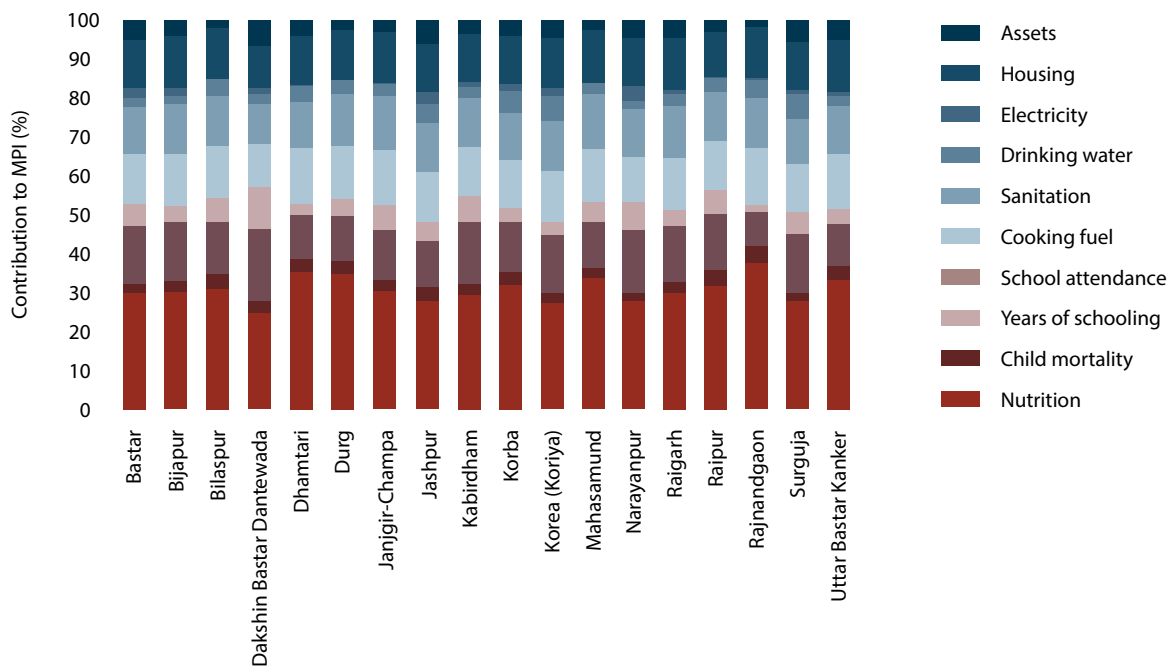
The results of the disaggregation in Figure 8 show that, according to the 2015/16 data, it is the youngest children who are most affected by multidimensional poverty. Making up a fifth (18.8%) of Chhattisgarh’s total population, approximately half (48.6%) of all children below the age of 10 are living in multidimensionally poor households. When combined with the thirty percent (30.3%) of children aged 10 to 17 who are multidimensionally poor, this translates into a total of 4.25 million children under the age of 18 who

FIGURE 6. POVERTY RATE BY DISTRICT IN CHHATTISGARH, 2015/16



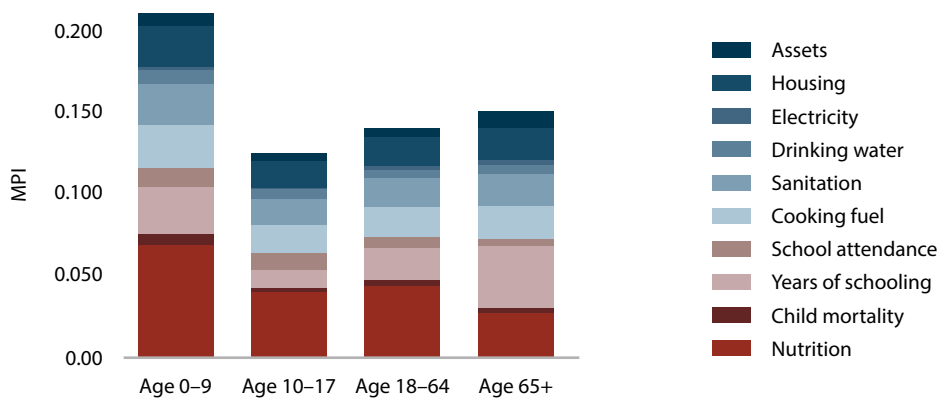
Source: Authors’ calculations based on data from NFHS 2015/16 and OPHI (2018).

FIGURE 7. PERCENTAGE CONTRIBUTION OF INDICATORS TO MPI BY DISTRICT IN CHHATTISGARH, 2015/16



Source: Authors' calculations based on data from NFHS 2015/16, as shown in OPHI 2018.

FIGURE 8. PERCENTAGE CONTRIBUTION OF EACH INDICATOR TO MPI BY AGE GROUPS IN 2015/16



Population shares for the age groups:

0-9 years:	18.8%
10-17 years:	16.3%
18-64 years:	59.5%
65 and older:	5.5%

Source: Authors' calculations based on data from NFHS 2015/16.

are living in poverty across the state. Across the other age groups, approximately a third of those aged 18 to 64 (34.2%) and four out of every ten (40.1%) people aged 65 and older were found to be living in multidimensionally poor households.

Different age cohorts are affected by different levels of deprivation across the indicators. Poor children are particularly deprived in nutrition, cooking fuel, sanitation, and housing – deprivations that not only increase childhood morbidity, but, through effects on cognitive and physical development, respiratory conditions and immune systems, can affect them all their lives. Among those 65 years of age or older, nutrition is less significant and the largest contributor to MPI is deprivation in years of schooling, which is defined as living in a household where no household member aged 10 years or older has completed six years of schooling.

Multidimensional poverty in Chhattisgarh in 2015/16 is higher among Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes than among other caste groups. Table 6 identifies that members of Scheduled Tribes are, with an MPI value of 0.238, the poorest among the poor. More than half of the Scheduled Tribes community (55.1%) was multidimensionally poor as compared to the Scheduled Castes community (33.4%), while a similar proportion of those from Other Backward Classes (29.5%) and less than one in eight (13.2%) from Other Castes were MPI poor.

The composition of multidimensional poverty is fairly similar across different caste designations. As with the contribution at the state level, nutrition is the

indicator that contributes the largest share to MPI levels across groups, followed by years of schooling, cooking fuel, sanitation, and housing.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

An MPI does not simply provide a set of results. It can be used to inform policy decisions as well as coordinate policies, guide budget allocation, inspire poverty research, and, ultimately, reduce poverty in all its forms.

There are a number of ways that the global MPI in Chhattisgarh can be used for effective policymaking in poverty reduction (UNDP and OPHI 2019b).

Tracking national and international targets

The global MPI can be used as a tool for tracking progress. This briefing has shown the remarkable progress made from 2005/6 to 2015/16. Keeping track of the MPI over time provides information on the trends in poverty reduction efforts, both in terms of the incidence of poverty and its severity. It should be updated using NFHS-5 as soon as data are available.

The MPI allows Chhattisgarh to track its progress on SDG Target 1.2 ('by 2030, reduce at least by half the proportion of men, women and children of all ages living in poverty in all its dimensions according to national definitions'). This can feed into national progress reports for India and help the state government respond to the call of the SDGs to 'leave no one behind' by tracking progress on poverty across different geographic areas or for different demographic groups.

TABLE 6. MULTIDIMENSIONAL POVERTY STATISTICS FOR THE GLOBAL MPI IN CHHATTISGARH BY CASTE, 2015/16

Caste Designation	Population Share (%)	Number of Poor	MPI	H (%)	A (%)
Scheduled Castes	14.4	1.5 million	0.132	33.4	39.6
Scheduled Tribes	30.5	5.1 million	0.238	55.1	43.2
Other Backward Classes	47.1	4.2 million	0.118	29.5	40.0
Other Castes	7.5	0.3 million	0.052	13.2	39.5

Source: Authors' calculations based on data from NFHS 2005/6 and 2015/16.

Targeting

A real strength of the global MPI is that it can be disaggregated at the district level in Chhattisgarh. This disaggregation allows for the mapping of poverty and can be used to identify and target the poorest areas in the state. Clearly rural areas are the poorest in Chhattisgarh, and the poorest districts of Bastar, Narayanpur, and Dakshin Bastar Dantewada require particular attention. Existing initiatives such as the powerful Mid-Day Meal Scheme for children and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act should be intensified in these areas. In addition, early childhood feeding programmes and maternal benefits would go a long way in reducing child malnutrition in these districts.

Similarly, households with young children under the age of 6 need to be targeted as do those with mem-

bers from Scheduled Tribes in order to target the poorest of the poor.

Guiding, coordinating, monitoring, and evaluating policy interventions

The results of the global MPI, as well as the changes over time, highlight priority areas for policy interventions. Not only do they show where the largest number of poor are living, but they also reveal where to find the highest clusters of interlinked deprivations. All this information is available at both state and district levels and can be disaggregated further to examine the situation for specific population groups, such as children under the age of 10.



The global MPI can also be broken down by its indicators, highlighting the role that some indicators may play in one area and the role others may play in another area. In this way, the indices can be used to develop interventions for specific areas or subgroups to ensure they receive tailored benefits that will reduce their particular deprivations cost effectively.

The progress made over the decade from 2005/6 to 2015/16 was also significant across the indicators of sanitation, cooking fuel, housing, and assets. The interventions underpinning these significant gains need to continue or be strengthened as many of these same indicators remain large contributors to the current levels of multidimensional poverty.

Budgeting

Finally, the results of the global MPI can clearly identify the sectors, districts, and segments of the population that require more attention and, by implication, further allocation of national resources. By integrating this information into the budget allocation process, duplications in investment – or gaps – can be identified, resources can be apportioned rationally, and efficient progress can be made in the fight against multidimensional poverty in Chhattisgarh.

CONCLUSION AND NEXT STEPS

This first in-depth analysis of the global MPI figures for the state of Chhattisgarh is not only a descriptive measure of poverty trends and levels in Chhattisgarh. It is also a tool to fight poverty and a starting point for further developments in the measurement and eradication of poverty in all its forms in the state.

Using data from NFHS 3 (2005/6) and NFHS 4 (2015/16) this briefing analyses the global MPI trends in Chhattisgarh, showing that multidimensional poverty halved in a decade and the MPI poverty rate tumbled from nearly 70% to 37%. This trend was broadly pro-poor, across districts, age cohorts, and caste groups. The poorest were not left behind. Chhattisgarh's fast progress meant that it improved its ranking in terms of the states of India by two places.

How to finish the task of ending poverty in all its forms? The work is all the more important with the

new poor from the COVID-19 pandemic. To inform policy actions, this report gives a detailed picture of poverty. For example, in urban areas, where 23% of people live, poverty is only 11.8%. Yet in rural areas 44% of people are poor; among children under 10 poverty reaches 48.6%. Among Schedule Tribes the MPI rate is 55% and in Dakshin Bastar Dantewada, an alarming two out of three persons (65.4%) lived in acute multidimensional poverty in 2015/16. For every single group, the composition of poverty across health and nutrition, education and living standards is given. Such insights can be powerfully utilised to shape policy, allocate budgets, and coordinate across different schemes and ministries.

There are some key next steps. For this information to be actioned, briefs should be translated into major languages within Chhattisgarh. A proactive communication campaign should be planned so that citizens, agencies, ministries, lower levels of government (e.g. at district and panchayat level), and others understand and can confidently use the MPI. Many countries have used an MPI as powerful policy tool, including at the level of local governments (UNDP and OPHI 2019b). But this does not happen on its own. Political leadership, field visits, focus groups, prizes celebrating progress, and active communication are all essential.

Frequent updates generates visibility, familiarity, and momentum to accelerate progress. So the update using NFHS-5 is essential. Frequent MPI monitoring has helped to reduce MPIs swiftly, because the same budget envelope is spent more efficiently using the MPI evidence.

Regions with official and widely communicated MPIs, backed by insistent political commitment and statistical rigour, have reduced MPI the fastest. The motivation of presenting this disaggregation of the global MPI for Chhattisgarh is to celebrate and further accelerate the reduction in multidimensional poverty – thereby, improving the lives of the people in Chhattisgarh.

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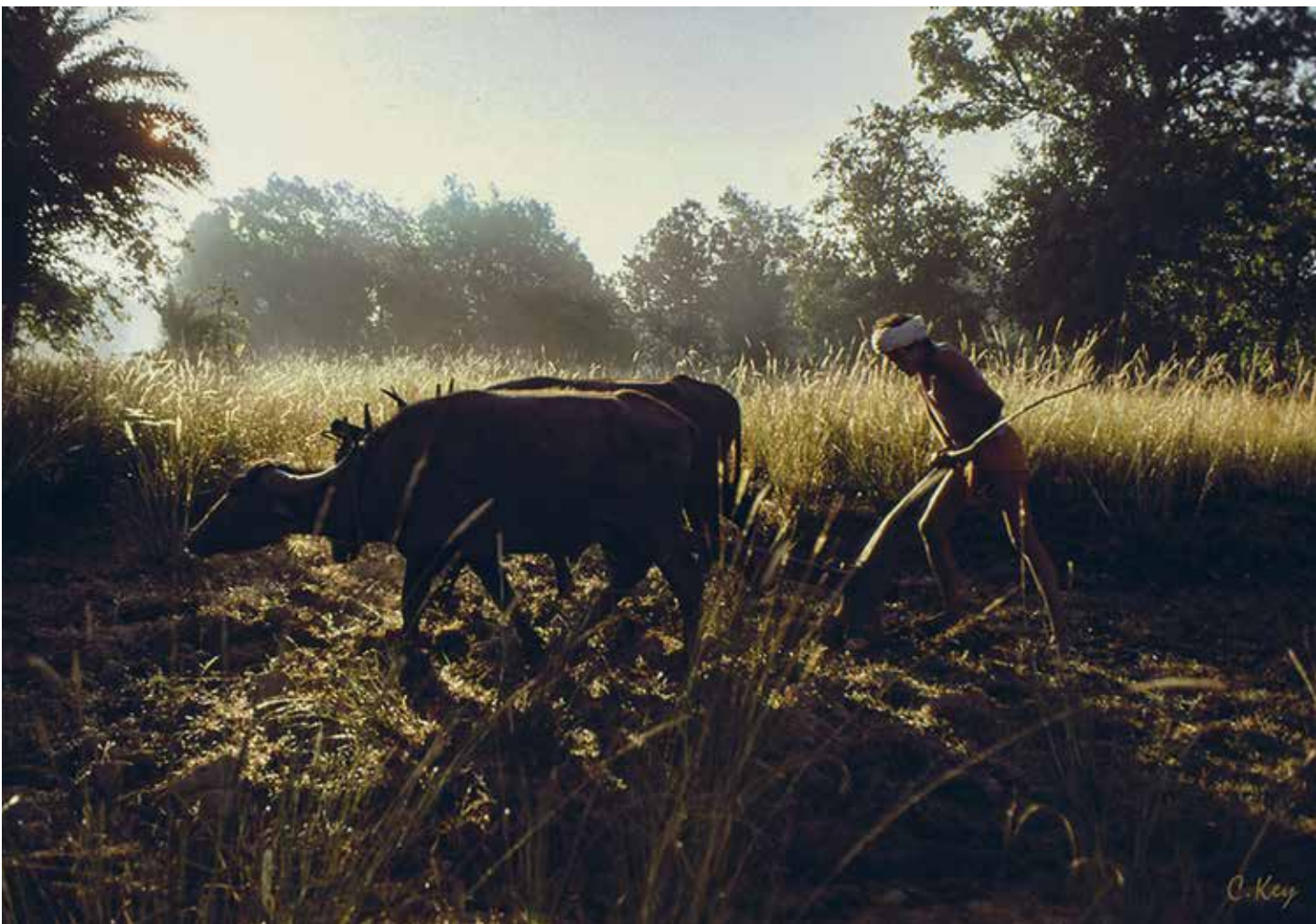
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All figures in this briefing follow the 2019 MPI methodology. For reference click [here](#). Rounding errors can occur.



CITATION

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SUMMARY

This briefing provides an overview of multidimensional poverty in the state of Chhattisgarh in India. According to the global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI), Chhattisgarh had a dramatic reduction in multidimensional poverty. Ongoing policy investments will continue that remarkable trend.

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- In 2005/6 it was the fifth poorest state; in 2015/16 it had improved to seventh poorest.
- Huge strides were made in reducing undernutrition, inadequate sanitation, solid cooking fuel, housing materials, and assets. All 10 MPI indicators had significant reductions.

