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MESSAGE

Conventional wisdom always defined development in a uni-dimensional manner by considering only the economic growth. It was only when the concept of Human Development evolved, that the parameters of growth were enlarged to include social indicators coupled with economic variables. In this backdrop, with this Human Development Report, Chhattisgarh joins a selected band of States who have published such Human Development Reports.

I would like to congratulate UNDP and the Planning Commission, Government of India for joining hands for preparing the First Human Development Report. I would also like to place on record my appreciation for the seminal role played by CHIPS (CHhattisgarh infotech and biotech Promotion Society) in the preparation of this Report.

(DR. RAMAN SINGH)

अमर अग्रवाल

मंत्री

छत्तीसगढ़ शासन

वित्त, योजना, वाणिज्यिक कर,
सांख्यिकी, नगरीय प्रशासन, वाणिज्यिक एवं
उद्योग, ग्रामोद्योग, सार्वजनिक उपक्रम,
सूचना प्रौद्योगिकी तथा जैव प्रौद्योगिकी



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MESSAGE

The main objective of the HDR is to provide a platform and trigger a debate to evolve the human development blueprint for the State of Chhattisgarh. The problem and challenges for development are many, but I am sure the Report will help us to focus on the core issues and crystalise a growth and development model which takes into account the hopes and aspirations of the local populace, helps retain its culture and heritage and restores the ecological balance by creating synergy between elements of nature, science and technology.

UNDP and the Planning Commission deserves special mention for their contribution to this Report. The contribution of CHIPS (CHhattisgarh infotech and biotech Promotion Society) is very commendable as it volunteered to take up the responsibility of preparation of HDR at a time when there were hardly any institutions in the State which could have taken up this responsibility.


(AMAR AGRAWAL)



सत्यमेव जयते

Planning Commission



MESSAGE

We congratulate the people and the Government of Chhattisgarh for preparing their first Human Development Report.

A novel approach was adopted for the preparation of the Report, whereby a remarkably participatory process culminated in the State Human Development Report. It is heartening to note that a large number of village level and sixteen district level reports, aptly called *Jan Rapats* (People's Reports), have been prepared as part of the process. We are confident that the methodology applied for the preparation of the Report would be of immense interest globally.

The Report echoes people's voices on a range of issues that affect their day-to-day lives – issues related to livelihoods, health, education, natural resources and institutions. All through the Report, one gets glimpses of the strong desire of people to attain higher levels of human development by adopting new concepts and modern systems even while retaining respect for traditional knowledge and wisdom. It further emerges from the Report that issues of sustainability are close to people's hearts.

We are hopeful that this unique endeavour will contribute to designing and implementing policies and programmes that are conducive to human development.

Rohini Nayyar
Adviser (RD), Planning Commission
Government of India

Maxine Olson
UNDP Resident Representative &
UN Resident Coordinator



Preface

Chhattisgarh is one of the youngest members of the Indian Union, born on 1st November 2000. The *raison d'être* of Chhattisgarh was economic and social underdevelopment of this region in undivided Madhya Pradesh. The formation of the new State has thrown both challenges and opportunities for the development of the State. These challenges assume a new dimension in the backdrop of the fact that around 32 percent of the population of Chhattisgarh belongs to Scheduled Tribes and another 12 percent belongs to the Scheduled Castes. Undoubtedly, economic growth without social growth would further accentuate the regional, sectoral and communal disparities. It is in this backdrop that the concept of human development and this Report are of vital importance to the State of Chhattisgarh.

In an amazing exercise without parallel, village *Jan Rapats* were written by the people in 19,128 villages of Chhattisgarh. These reports were then ratified by the village communities. District Reports were prepared for the 16 districts of Chhattisgarh based on a 10 to 15 percent sample of the Village Reports, selected on the basis of 16 criteria. Of the total number of Village *Jan Rapats*, 2869 reports were selected for the perception analysis. A matrix was developed to categorise people's perceptions on a qualitative scale, from the discussions and comments documented in the reports. People's

perceptions are the cornerstone of this Report. Members of the *Jan Rapat* project team at the State level prepared the State Report. The Human Development Report of the State has tried to capture the essence of the village and the District *Jan Rapats* without compromising on the big picture. The State Report does have wider perception and contains many of the actionable suggestions, which have been made in the district and Village Reports.

The Human Development Report of Chhattisgarh is a unique document in more ways than one. The documentation exercise itself is without any parallel. The sheer number of people who participated in preparation of this Report is mind-boggling. Facts and figures, which have been quoted by various Government agencies, have been commented upon by the people and various claims and counterclaims have also been verified or refuted by the people themselves. One of the many remarkable features of this Report is that the perceptions of people at the grassroot level and the facts and figures have been presented in original without any cosmetic doctoring, irrespective of their sweetness or bitterness. Apparently, accuracy in reporting was one of the guiding principles of this Report.

There are no simple growth and development solutions to be adopted. The complexities

and wide ranging disparities prevailing in the State have been adequately highlighted in the text of the HDR. The northern, southern and central regions have their own peculiarities and therefore there are no common solutions. The growth and development road map has to be evolved factoring the ground realities. The strategy of growth has to be tailored as per the regional fabric i.e. the Human and Material Resources. We have to be extremely careful as diverse action plans often lead to dilution of goals, frittering away scant resources. While it is true that being a young State, we

lack organisational maturity and infrastructure; it is also true that the young possess youthful exuberance, enthusiasm, greater energy and determination. We must exploit our greatest strength – our participative work culture (as demonstrated in the preparation in the Report) to take our people ahead rapidly, along the road leading to an improved quality of life.

It now devolves on us, leaders and administrators to study this Report and develop a holistic growth model.

VIVEK DHAND, IAS
Secretary
Government of Chhattisgarh
Department of Information Technology
& Biotechnology



Prologue

The Chhattisgarh *ki Jan Rapat* is primarily an effort of the people of Chhattisgarh at the Village, District and State level. The Report is a tribute to the people of Chhattisgarh and is the culmination of the hard work done by the people of 19,000 villages, the *sangwaaris* (village facilitators) and the village *Sahyogi Dals* (village level task forces).

We are greatly indebted to the Cabinet sub committee, which was formed under the chairmanship of Shri Amar Agrawal, Minister for Finance, Planning & Statistics, and Commerce & Industries to analyse the Report. The other members of the sub committee were Shri Ajay Chandrakar, Minister for Panchayat & Rural Development, Higher Education, Technical Education & Manpower Planning, Shri Rajesh Munat, Minister of State for Public Works & School Education, Dr. Krishna Murthy Bandhi, Minister of State for Health & Medical Education and Shri A. K. Vijayavargia, Chief Secretary. We are thankful to the Chairman and the members of the committee for providing valuable guidance in finalising this Report.

The Report is an outcome of an interactive process that involved academia and academic institutions of Chhattisgarh, civil society organisations, Panchayat representatives, media and government institutions. The process included many workshops in all the regions of the

State – workshops with civil society, workshops with media, workshops with *sangwaaris* and workshops with *Panchayat* representatives. All these institutions and people deserve special thanks.

The Human Development Report team is grateful to the district level advisory boards, constituted in all the districts to facilitate the process of writing the village *Jan Rapats*. The Village Reports formed the basis of the district *Jan Rapats*.

The chapters in this Report are primarily based on background papers prepared on the basis of village and district *Jan Rapats*. Subject experts collated these papers and the final chapters draw on their inputs and contributions. The chapters on Natural Resources, on Education, Knowledge and Information and Income and Livelihoods are largely based on the background papers prepared by Sanket Development Group. The chapter on Health and Well-being was put together by Ms. Rinchin, Mr. Amitabh Singh & Ms. Leena Singh developed the chapter on Society and Institutions and the chapter on Human Development in Chhattisgarh. The perception analysis in all the chapters has been prepared by the Debate team. The 16 district profiles are also based on inputs received from the Sanket Development Group. We are thankful to Ms. Nandini Oberoi, who reworked

the chapters, and diligently edited the Report. She has also prepared the executive summary.

The Report was prepared with the encouragement and support of the Planning Commission, Government of India. We thank Dr. Rohini Nayyar, Adviser, Rural Development, Planning Commission and Mr. B.N. Nanda, Director, Rural Development, Planning Commission for their support in the preparation of the Chhattisgarh HDR.

We thank the Human Development Resource Centre (HDRC), UNDP India Country Office for providing training on estimating district income to the State and district level statistical officers. UNDP was supported by the Centre for Budget and Policy Studies, Bangalore and Spatial Data Pvt. Ltd., Bangalore in this training. The HDRC provided valuable support throughout the preparation of the HDR. We are thankful to Dr. K. Seeta Prabhu and Dr. Suraj Kumar who participated in the workshops and provided substantive guidance. They steered the process of preparation of the HDR, particularly during the finalisation of the Report. We are also thankful to Ms. Ritu Mathur who provided technical inputs throughout the exercise.

Chhattisgarh ki Jan Rapat has also benefited from several non-government organisations and institutions in the State who provided valuable comments.

The Human Development Report team received the active support of the Directorate

of Economics and Statistics and many other Departments especially the Directorate of Health and Family Welfare, Directorate of Education, Office of the Principal Chief Conservator of Forests, Directorate of Industry, Directorate of Panchayat and Social Welfare. In statistical work, Mr. P. K. Bisi, Director, Directorate of Economics and Statistics provided necessary support during the entire process.

The team that planned, organised and directed the collation of the Report under the guidance of Shri Sunil Kumar and Shri Vivek Dhand comprised of Dr. Alok Shukla, Shri Amit Agrawal and Shri Amit Kumar from the Government of Chhattisgarh. We are also thankful to Shri C. K. Khetan who provided great support and guidance in designing and printing this Report. We are especially thankful to Shri Amitabh Singh and Ms. Leena Singh from Debate team. This Report is the result of the hard work done by this team.

Chhattisgarh *infotech* and biotech Promotion Society (CH*i*PS) gave all assistance to the project. Shri R. S. Awasthi, Dr. S. Joseph, Shri N. K. Saki, Shri Hemant Jain, Shri K. Harish Kumar and all the officials team of CH*i*PS, provided necessary support and coordination during the entire process.

It may not be possible to mention the contribution of so many other individual and institutions that played a vital role in the preparation and publication of this Report. We are grateful to all these individuals and institutions.

AMAN KUMAR SINGH, IRS
Chief Executive Officer
CH*i*PS (Chhattisgarh *infotech*
and biotech Promotion Society)



Abbreviations

ANM	Auxiliary Nurse and Midwife	NTFP	Non-Timber Forest Produce
BALCO	Bharat Aluminum Company Limited	NTPC	National Thermal Power Corporation
BCG	Bacille Calmette-Guerin vaccine	NWFP	Non-Wood Forest Produce
CHC	Community Health Centre	PESA	Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas
DPT	Diphtheria, Pertusis, Tetanus	PHC	Primary Health Centre
FPC	Forest Protection Committee	PHED	Public Health Engineering Department
GVS	Gram Vikas Samiti	PPAs	Peoples Protected Areas
HYV	High Yielding Variety	PPP	Public Private Partnership
ICAR	Indian Council of Agricultural Research	PRIs	Panchayat Raj Institutions
IMR	Infant Mortality Rate	RCH	Reproductive and Child Health
JFM	Joint Forest Management	RTI	Reproductive Tract Infections
LAMPS	Large Agriculture Multi Purpose Societies	SECL	South-Eastern Coalfields Limited
LHV	Local Health Volunteer	SHC	Sub Health Centre
LSG	Local Self Government	SRS	Sample Registration Survey
MFP	Minor Forest Produce	STD	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
MP	Madhya Pradesh	TB	Tuberculosis
MRI	Magnetic Resonance Imaging	TBS	Traditional Birth Attendants
NFHS	National Family Health Survey	TRIFED	Tribal Cooperative Marketing Development Federation
NGO	Non-Government Organisation	UP	Uttar Pradesh
NSSO	National Sample Survey Organisation	VDS	Van Dhan Samitis
		WFPR	Work Force Participation Rate



Glossary

The following words from Hindi and local languages have been used in the text. In many cases literal translations are not possible but the explanations convey the general meanings.

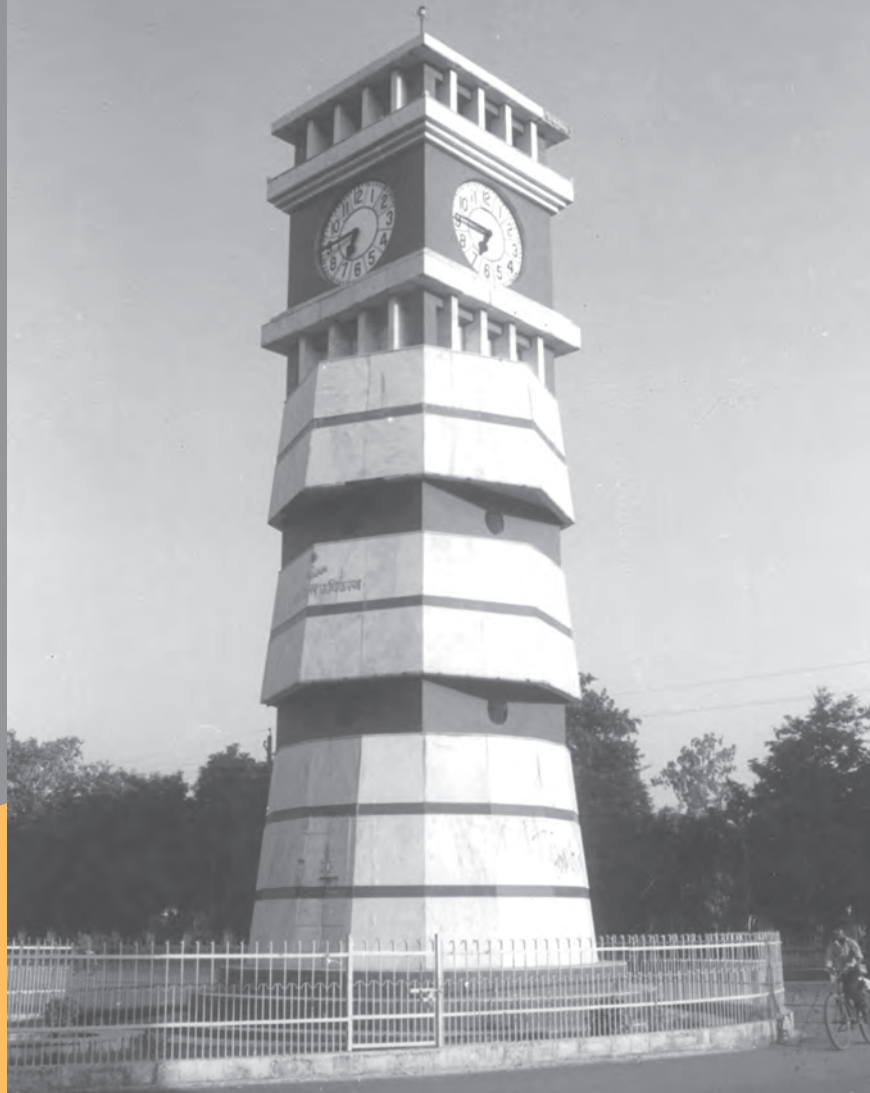
<i>Aabadi</i>	Inhabited	<i>Banyan</i>	Tree
<i>Aajivika</i>	Livelihood	<i>Basi</i>	Leftover food, often eaten the next day
<i>Aam gutli</i>	Raw mango seed	<i>Basod</i>	People who make different articles from bamboo
<i>Anganwadi</i>	Child care centre	<i>Bazaar</i>	Village market
<i>Aavla</i>	Botanical name Emblica officianalis	<i>Begar</i>	Work for no payment
<i>Akhadas</i>	Traditional place for wrestling	<i>Beeja palash</i>	Seed of the palash tree
<i>Aam Tihar</i>	A festival to celebrate the new crop of mango	<i>Bel</i>	Medicinal plant
<i>Amaltaas</i>	Cassia fistula	<i>Belosa</i>	Leader of girls
<i>Anj</i>	Cenchrus ciliaris	<i>Benami</i>	Practice where the land records are maintained in incorrect names
<i>Ashram Shala</i>	School with hostel facility or residential Government school	<i>Bhajan mandal</i>	A group which sings religious songs
<i>Ashwagandha</i>	Medicinal herb	<i>Bhakkar</i>	A traditional instrument for farming
<i>Ayurveda</i>	An ancient art of medicine	<i>Bhasm patti</i>	Ash
<i>Baad</i>	Gastric problems related to joint pains	<i>Bhatnayak</i>	Local community leader or traditional leader
<i>Baat</i>	Talk	<i>Bhatta</i>	Type of soil or wasteland
<i>Baadee</i>	Homestead or kitchen garden	<i>Bhaumcheri</i>	Variety of tubers
<i>Badis</i>	Nuggets made from lentils	<i>Bhui neem</i>	Type of shrub
<i>Badshah bhog</i>	Local variety of rice	<i>Bidi</i>	Local cigarette rolled with the tendu leaf
<i>Bahera</i>	Botanical name Termanalia ballerica	<i>Brahmi</i>	Type of shrub having medicinal properties
<i>Baiga</i>	A primitive tribe practicing traditional medicine	<i>Chaar/Chironji</i>	Type of dry fruit
<i>Baithaks</i>	Meetings		
<i>Balwadi</i>	Pre-nursery school		

<i>Chanwar</i>	Rice field (area that is waterlocked in the rainy season)	<i>Gathiya</i>	Arthritis
<i>Charauta</i>	Forest produce	<i>Ghaas</i>	Green grass
<i>Chattai</i>	Mat made of bamboo or other grasses or even cloth	<i>Ghotul</i>	A centre of entertainment for the village, managed by teenage boys and girls
<i>Chelic</i>	Boys of the ghotul	<i>Gitti</i>	Broken stones
<i>Chher chhera</i>	Local festival to celebrate the new kharif crop	<i>Gobhar</i>	Cowdung
<i>Chidchida</i>	Non timber forest produce	<i>Gond</i>	The name of one of the tribes
<i>Chikni</i>	Soft clay	<i>Gothan</i>	Place where cows are kept
<i>Chind</i>	Kind of a tree	<i>Gothiya</i>	Businessmen in the villages
<i>Chiraita</i>	A medicinal herb used in fever and other diseases	<i>Gotra</i>	A traditional and ancient Indian system used for the identification of similar sub-castes. The family of the same gotra is treated as a family of two brothers. A boy and girl with the same gotra cannot marry each other as they are considered biological brother and sister
<i>Churi</i>	Variety of rice (paddy)		
<i>Churna</i>	Powder made of herbs, good for indigestion and upset stomach		
<i>Dabree</i>	Temporary water tank	<i>Gram Panchayat</i>	Village level institution of self-governance
<i>Dais</i>	Midwives	<i>Gram Sabha</i>	Village assembly
<i>Dal</i>	Group	<i>Gum</i>	Glue/adhesive
<i>Dandia</i>	A dance performed with sticks	<i>Guniya</i>	Traditional medicine man
<i>Devangan</i>	Traditional weavers	<i>Gur</i>	Coarse sweetener made out of sugarcane juice/jaggery
<i>Dewar</i>	Traditional healers	<i>Gutka</i>	Chewing tobacco
<i>Dhabas</i>	Small eating place	<i>Gyan</i>	Knowledge
<i>Dhaura</i>	Type of a medicinal plant	<i>Gyanodaya Kendra</i>	Rural knowledge centre
<i>Dhava</i>	Type of a medicinal plant	<i>Haat</i>	Village market, which is not permanent, but takes place with some fixed periodicity
<i>Dhobi</i>	Person who washes clothes for others	<i>Hadjod</i>	Local herb that can heal broken bones
<i>Dhorrai</i>	Person who takes care of cattle	<i>Hadsighadi</i>	Medicinal plant
<i>Diwan</i>	Ruler	<i>Haldu/haldi</i>	Turmeric, a root which has medicinal properties
<i>Diyari tihar</i>	Festival of lights	<i>Harra</i>	Medicinal herb
<i>Dona Pattal</i>	Plates for eating food, made out of dried leaves	<i>Harshringar</i>	Medicinal herb
<i>Dubraj</i>	Variety of rice (paddy)	<i>Hatul ki patti ki goli</i>	Made from a medicinal herb
<i>Dukan</i>	Shop		
<i>Dumat</i>	Soil with high moisture		
<i>Gangal</i>	Type of vegetable		
<i>Gaon dahar chalav</i>	A clarion call to go to villages		

<i>Imli</i>	Tamarind	<i>Khandis</i>	One <i>khandi</i> is equal to 40 kilograms
<i>Jaankari</i>	Information	<i>Kharif</i>	Refers to the crop sown in early summer and harvested in late summer or early winter
<i>Jaiphal</i>	A spice	<i>Khel ka maidan</i>	Playing field
<i>Jajmani</i>	A traditional system where people work on the lands of landlords in return for payment in cash or kind	<i>Kirtan dal</i>	A group of people who sing religious songs
<i>Jal</i>	Water	<i>Kodu</i>	Variety of foodgrain
<i>Jameen</i>	Land	<i>Kori</i>	Shell, use as traditional currency (1 kori = Rs. 20)
<i>Jan Rapat</i>	People's Report	<i>Kosa</i>	A variety of silk (like tussar)
<i>Jangal</i>	Forest	<i>Koshthas</i>	Traditional weavers
<i>Jangalee Jivan</i>	Life of the jungles	<i>Kotwar</i>	A village level worker of the land revenue department
<i>Janmabhoomi</i>	Place of birth	<i>Krishi Upaj Mandi</i>	Agricultural product market
<i>Janpad Panchayat</i>	Middle tier of the <i>Panchayat</i>	<i>Kulthi</i>	A kind of pulse
<i>Jati Panchayat</i>	Caste <i>Panchayat</i>	<i>Kusum</i>	Flower
<i>Jawaphul</i>	A variety of rice	<i>Kutki</i>	Variety of foodgrain – local millet
<i>Jhaad phook</i>	Black magic	<i>Lac</i>	Extract from the lac tree
<i>Jhaads</i>	Bushes	<i>Lamsena pratha</i>	Type of marriage
<i>Jhadus</i>	Brooms	<i>Landa</i>	Rice alcohol
<i>Jholla Chaap</i>	Quacks	<i>Latjeera</i>	Type of herb
<i>Jirmi</i>	A variety of rice	<i>Lingopen</i>	Lord worshipped in the <i>ghotul</i> by the tribal communities (Another name is Lord Shiva, traditionally worshipped by tribal communities)
<i>Jungle pyaaz</i>	Wild onion	<i>Loo</i>	Hot summer wind
<i>Junglee jivan</i>	Life of the jungle	<i>Luchui</i>	Variety of paddy
<i>Kala Jaththa</i>	Traditional performances	<i>Luhars</i>	Blacksmiths
<i>Kali hari</i>	Forest produce	<i>Maati pujari</i>	Priest of the soil
<i>Kali jiri</i>	Forest produce	<i>Mahamaya</i>	A variety of rice
<i>Kali musli</i>	Forest produce	<i>Mahila bhajan mandali</i>	Women's group that sings religious songs
<i>Kanhai</i>	Forest produce	<i>Mahila mangal dal</i>	Women's entertainment group
<i>Kankadiya</i>	Forest produce	<i>Mahua</i>	A common tree in the tribal areas. The fruit is processed for the preparation of liquor
<i>Kanke</i>	Broken rice		
<i>Kankepani</i>	Herbs and spices having antiseptic values		
<i>Kankrili</i>	Stony		
<i>Karma</i>	Traditional dance		
<i>Karsad nritya</i>	Local village dance		
<i>Khalihaan</i>	A place where grains are separated from crops		

<i>Mahul patta</i>	A leaf	<i>Para</i>	Hamlet
<i>Malgujaars</i>	People who used to collect land revenue during British rule or during the time of kings and Nawabs	<i>Parab nritya</i>	A dance performed during festivals
<i>Mandi</i>	Market place	<i>Paras</i>	Areas
<i>Mangani vivah</i>	A marriage performed after an engagement	<i>Patal kumhada</i>	A type of pumpkin
<i>Manji Mukhia</i>	Village headman	<i>Patel</i>	Village head – as per the system introduced for the management of land revenue
<i>Marhaan dhaan</i>	Variety of paddy	<i>Pathar neem ka kadha</i>	Water boiled with the leaf of pathar neem, a medicinal plant
<i>Marhan</i>	Type of soil	<i>Pathari</i>	Refers to a stone in the body
<i>Matthi tihar</i>	Festival of the earth	<i>Patwari</i>	An employee of the land revenue department
<i>Mitanin</i>	Friend	<i>Pipal</i>	Pipal tree
<i>Moti jeera</i>	Type of paddy	<i>Porish</i>	Local measure of height, typically refers to the height of man, with his hands up
<i>Motiyari</i>	Leader of girls in the <i>ghotul</i>	<i>Prem vivah</i>	Love marriage
<i>Mung badi</i>	An edible preparation, made from lentils	<i>Preraks</i>	Facilitator
<i>Murram</i>	Red soil	<i>Purdah</i>	Veil
<i>Musli</i>	A type of medicinal plant	<i>Pyaz ka ras</i>	Juice of an onion
<i>Nacha mandal</i>	Dance group	<i>Rabi</i>	The second agricultural season (November to January)
<i>Nalkoops</i>	Tube well	<i>Ram dataun</i>	Used to clean teeth like a toothbrush
<i>Nallah</i>	Seasonal stream/drain	<i>Ritha</i>	Forest produce used as natural soap or shampoo
<i>Naukhai</i>	A festival	<i>Ritili</i>	Oil Seed
<i>Navakhani</i>	Celebrating the new crop	<i>Safed musli</i>	A medicinal plant
<i>Neem hakim</i>	Traditional health practitioner	<i>Sagwan</i>	The name of a tree, whose wood is very expensive
<i>Nidai aur gudai</i>	Weeding and raking	<i>Sahyogi</i>	Assistant
<i>Nistaari</i>	Refers to a system by which communities dependent on natural resources are granted user rights at prices set below the market rates	<i>Sal beej</i>	<i>Sal</i> seeds
<i>Ojha</i>	Medicine man	<i>Salfi</i>	A tree that provides liquid, that is used to make wine or liquor
<i>Paan</i>	Betel leaf	<i>Samitis</i>	Rural committees
<i>Paili</i>	Local measure	<i>Sammellan</i>	Gathering
<i>Pan Masala</i>	Condiments eaten either with betel leaf or by itself	<i>Sangwaaris</i>	Companions
<i>Papad</i>	Made from dried lentils or potatoes, these are often eaten as a snack or accompaniment to a meal	<i>Sankchipta vivah</i>	Brief marriage – a type of marriage practices in tribal areas

<i>Sanstha</i>	Institution	<i>Talaab</i>	Lakes
<i>Sarna</i>	Sacred grove	<i>Tantriks</i>	Faith healers
<i>Sarpanch</i>	Chairperson of Panchayat	<i>Tehsil</i>	Sub-district revenue division
<i>Sehat</i>	Health	<i>Tendu patta</i>	Tendu leaf used to make bidis
<i>Semal</i>	The silk cotton tree; the cotton is used to stuff pillows and cushions	<i>Tikra</i>	Type of land
		<i>Til</i>	Sesamum/Sesame
<i>Shauriya nritya</i>	A type of dance	<i>Tora</i>	The fruit of the Mahua tree
<i>Sheeshum</i>	A tree that provides the finest quality of wood	<i>Ulti- Dast</i>	Vomiting and diarrhoea
<i>Shiksha</i>	Education	<i>Unani</i>	Ancient Greek and traditional system of treatment
<i>Shram dan</i>	Voluntary manual labour	<i>Usufruct</i>	User right for domestic use
<i>Singara</i>	Water chestnut	<i>Vaid</i>	Traditional doctor who uses herbs to treat patients
<i>Siredar</i>	Leader of boys in the ghotul – a place to learn about married life	<i>Van Dhan Samiti</i>	Committee constituted by the Gram Sabha for the collection and sale of Non-Timber Forest Produce
<i>Sirha</i>	Faith healer	<i>Van haldi</i>	Wild turmeric
<i>Soochna shakti yojana</i>	A programme that offers computer literacy to girls	<i>Van pyaaz</i>	Wild onion
<i>Subedar</i>	Now a name, earlier referred to a post in the local kingdoms	<i>Vistrit vivah</i>	Type of marriage — literally, extended marriage
<i>Supa</i>	An instrument used by women to clean cereals like paddy, wheat, etc.	<i>Yuvak mangal dal</i>	Rural youth group
<i>Swarna</i>	A variety of rice, comes from a Hindi word meaning gold	<i>Zila Panchayat</i>	District level institution of governance



**A New State,
a New Beginning...**





A New State, a New Beginning...

The formation of a new State is a historic event. It is also an opportunity. The State of Chhattisgarh was born on 1st November 2000. It was a momentous occasion, the realisation of a long cherished dream of the people of Chhattisgarh. It was a day to celebrate and look back on past sacrifices and endeavours.

The hope and heightened expectations of the people of Chhattisgarh was apparent that day. It brought forth opportunities to understand the needs and expectations of the people and a chance to grasp this unique opportunity for change.

The Government of Chhattisgarh wished to put people at the forefront of the development process. A beginning had been made in 1995 by Madhya Pradesh, which had prepared and published a State Human Development Report. This Report provided an assessment of the status of key components of human development, including education, health and income. By identifying deficiencies and disparities amongst districts, this Report (and a subsequent report published in 1998), provided a useful basis for reorienting priorities and expenditures. Developed by the State Government through

a broad process of consultation, the reports laid the foundation for the initiation of people-centred planning.

Chhattisgarh has gone a step further. The Chhattisgarh Human Development Report has been prepared by the people. The Report is the voice of the people, an articulation of their needs and perceptions, collated and presented by a team of specialists. The Human Development Report derives from the *Jan Rapats*, (People's Reports) which were prepared at the village level by the people themselves, articulating their perceptions and aspirations, their disappointments and hopes as well as their expectations and contributions.

More than 19,000 *Jan Rapats* were prepared at the village level on the basis of an extensive process of discussion, debate and consultation by the people of each village. In this exercise the village community was assisted by *sangwaaris*¹, young men and women from the village trained and deployed for this purpose.

The outcome of this initiative, stupefying in its scale, is presented in this Report. The result is

¹ *Sangwaari* means companion. Through the exercise, and in this Report, the word is used to identify persons from village communities who assisted the processes of discussion, debate, Report preparation and analysis.

no doubt important, especially as it is available in thousands of villages and at aggregations at the district level. The process is as important because it has been far reaching in its impact. It has led to an awakening, an unparalleled sense of participation and has reiterated the State's faith in its people. The process of preparation of the State Human Development Report has been a '*gaon dahar chalay*' (return to the villages) campaign, a clarion call to go back to the villages.

Commitment to the people and their development requires little elaboration. Translating this commitment to reality, the premise of this Report, has been a challenge that has required 'out of the box' thinking and enormous participatory effort.

Skill, empathy, innovation and clarity of thought and objective have been the key ingredients of this exercise. A methodology was developed, that would encourage discussion and ensure that the voice of each sub-group of people in the village was heard, respected and recorded. At subsequent stages, the reports were reviewed, discussed and collated by special teams.

People were given the space to articulate their concerns and priorities in the manner that they wanted, or were comfortable with. They were encouraged to explore choices and develop those issues that were central to their lives. As a result, development issues have been viewed, possibly for the first time on this scale in the country, through the people.

The *Jan Rapats* provide a village level plan based on the people's analysis of their own situation. These can serve as a basis for future action for their villages, and in collated form, as guideposts for the State's planning initiatives.

Structure of the Village *Jan Rapats*

The *Jan Rapat* consist of three parts

Part I: A secondary database of the village, based on a pre-designed data format. The database development forms Part I of the *Jan Rapat* and was constructed without the active participation of the people. The secondary information was collected by officials of various Government departments.

Part II: A guideline for the Village Level Task Force was developed regarding the discussions to be carried out within the villages. More than 6,000 *sangwaaris* (women and men) were selected and trained to carry out this exercise. At the village level, group discussions were held in groups that were formed in one of three ways - a general group, a marginalised group and a highly marginalised group. There were at least four to six group discussions in each village, so that everyone got an opportunity to articulate their concerns. The discussions covered natural resources (water, forests and land), livelihoods, education, health and well-being, society and institutions and other specific issues. These discussions, held with different groups of people in the village, form Part II of the *Jan Rapats*.

Part III: Once the discussions were complete, they were collated and documented with the help of the respective Village Level Task Forces to form Part III of the *Jan Rapats*. The essential points from these discussions were presented to the Village Assembly in every village. The Village Assemblies had the freedom to modify, change, reject or ratify the draft reports. The final reports, ratified by the Village Assemblies, form Part III of the *Jan Rapats*.

Based on the basic structure of the Village *Jan Rapats*, a broad format for the District Reports was evolved² and a strategy for developing the District Reports through a process of sample selection was also finalised. The District *Jan Rapat* were based on a sample of about 10-15 percent of Village *Jan Rapats*. Village *Jan Rapats* were selected from every block on the basis of 16 identified categories like distance from the main road, villages close to all-weather roads, villages where a dominant community is in majority, villages close to forests, villages far away from forests, village close to coal mines, villages near the State or district boundaries, villages with substantial migration, villages close to district or block headquarters, etc.

A simple matrix was then designed to capture the qualitative content of each of the topics taken up for discussion in the Village Reports. From this, a qualitative scale was developed categorising people's perceptions about a variety of issues such as natural resources, employment and livelihood as well as access to health, education and social institutions.

District Jan Rapats

The District *Jan Rapats* are a collation of selected Village Reports based on the 16 criteria mentioned earlier. These reports portray the status of development in the district but also highlight at every stage that generalisations cannot be made for the district as a whole despite the numerous common problems and issues. These reports form an integral part of the State Report.³

² Debate, an NGO, developed the methodology for the District Report.

³ For details regarding the process and methodology, please see Chapter 8.

Box 1

Formulation of the Jan Rapat

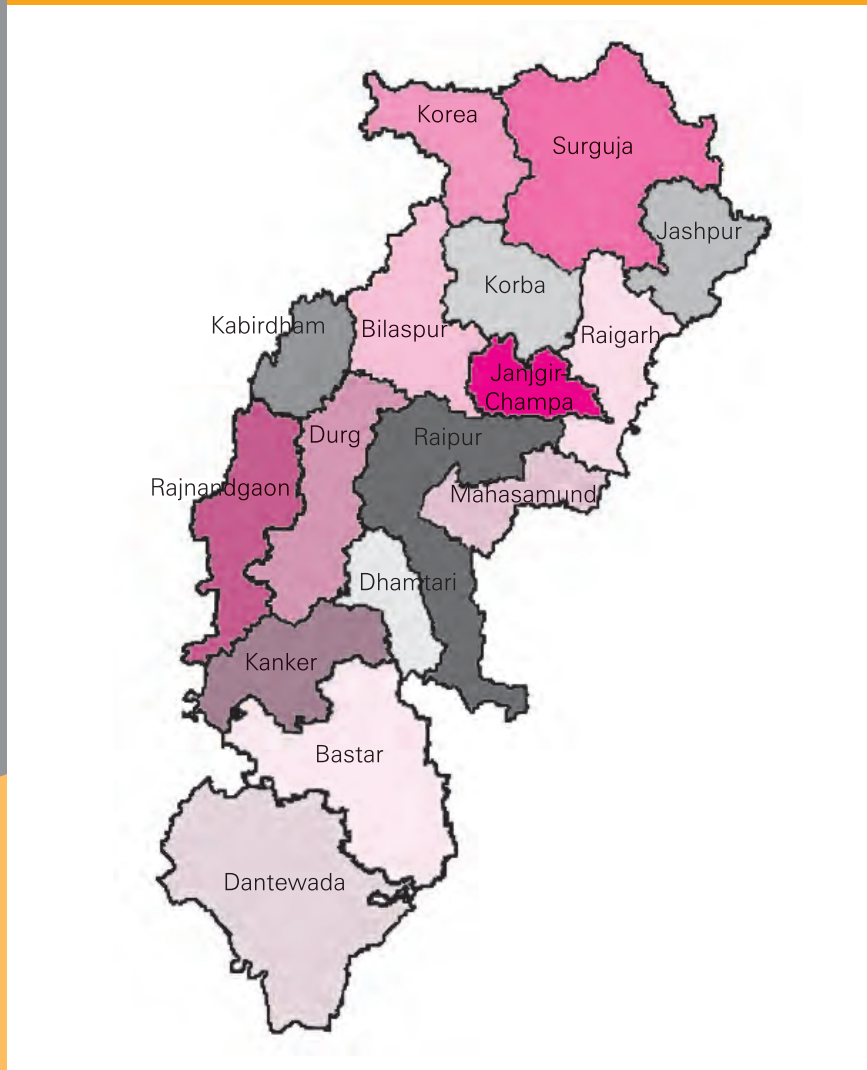
From Village Reports to the State Human Development Report

- Village *Jan Rapats* were written by the people 19,128 villages of Chhattisgarh.
- These reports were then ratified by the village community.
- District Reports were prepared for the 16 districts of Chhattisgarh based on a 10 to 15 percent sample of Village Reports, selected on the basis of 16 criteria.
- Of the total number of Village *Jan Rapats*, 2869 reports were selected for the perception analysis. (Except in the chapter on Society and Institutions where the analysis refers to all the villages that discussed a particular issue). A matrix was developed to categorise people's perceptions on a qualitative scale, from the discussions and comments documented in the reports. However different subjects were taken up for discussion by different villages, depending on whether the issues were seen as being important, relevant, or of no importance. People's perceptions are the corner stone of this Report.
- Members of the *Jan Rapat* project team at the State level, prepared the State Report.

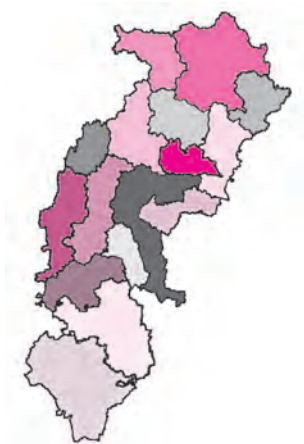
State Level Jan Rapat – the Human Development Report

The *Jan Rapat* at every level is a stand-alone Report. The methodology of writing the Chhattisgarh Human Development Report derives from the Village and District Reports and it highlights and translates issues raised at the village level to the State level. The State Report is the culmination of the '*gaon dahar chalav*' campaign.

Since the Village and District *Jan Rapats* are the primary source of information, all arguments and suggestions are supported by these documents. The State Report has a wider perspective than the Village Reports and contains many of the actionable suggestions which have been made in the Village *Jan Reports*.



Chhattisgarh: A Profile



Chhattisgarh: A Profile

Chhattisgarh is one of the youngest States of the Indian nation. Constituted on 1st November, 2000, Chhattisgarh is located in the heart of India, and shares its borders with six States of the country; Uttar Pradesh to the north, Jharkhand to the north-east, Orissa to the east, Madhya Pradesh to the west and north-west, Maharashtra to the south-west and Andhra Pradesh to the south-east. The geographical area of the State covers over 135,000 square kilometres and the total population in 2001 was 20,833,803 (2.08 crores¹).

Chhattisgarh is situated between 17 to 23.7 degrees north latitude and 8.40 to 83.38 east longitude. (The Tropic of Cancer runs through the State). The climate of Chhattisgarh is mainly tropical, humid and sub-humid. The Mahanadi is the principal river of the State. The other major rivers are - Sheonath, Hadeo, Mand, Eeb, Pairi, Jonk, Kelo Udanti, Indrawati, Arpa and Maniyari.

Regional Characteristics

Chhattisgarh can be divided into three distinct regions:

Northern region: To the north lie dense forests, hills and water reservoirs. The districts that are part of this region are Korea, Surguja, Jashpur, Raigarh, and Korba. These districts have similar geographical, climatic and cultural conditions. Many of the indigenous tribes like

the Paharikorba and the Pando live in these areas. Life here is governed by tribal customs, culture and traditions.

In the rural areas of the region, people are dependent largely on agriculture and minor forest produce. Due to the available natural resources, the level of migration from this region is comparatively limited. There are no urban centres except Korba and Ambikapur. Korba is the largest town, and the limited industry is concentrated here. There are coal mines in Surguja and Korea districts.

Central plains region: The districts that fall in the central plains region are Raipur, Bilaspur, Janjgir-Champa, Kabirdham, Rajnandgaon, Durg, Dhamtari and Mahasamund. The river Mahanadi flows through the area and meets the ever-increasing water requirement of the region, for irrigation and domestic use. The central plains of Chhattisgarh are known as the 'rice bowl' of Central India, because of the large number of indigenous varieties of rice that are grown here. Bhilai and Durg are well known urban centres, both with large steel plants. There are a large number of rural artisans in this region, and the silk weavers of Janjgir-Champa are well known.

The region is densely populated. Raipur and Durg account for almost half the total urban population of Chhattisgarh. The other districts,

¹ One crore is 10 million

apart from Bilaspur and Rajnandgaon, have less than six percent of the urban population.

Southern region: The southern region of Chhattisgarh is known for its varied and rich forests, its diverse tribal population and unique culture. The districts in this region are Kanker, Bastar and Dantewada. These districts are bordered by the States of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. The people of the region are dependent on traditional agriculture and forests for their livelihood. The Bailadila mines in Dantewada district represent the limited industry in the region.

Population

The total population of the State according to the 2001 Census, is 2.08 crore. Of this, 80 percent of the people live in rural areas and 20 percent live in urban areas. The State has a low-density of population, 151 persons per square kilometre². The sex ratio for the State is 989 females per 1,000 males. In rural Chhattisgarh, however, there are more women than men, and the ratio is 1,004 women per 1,000 men, while in urban Chhattisgarh the ratio is 932 women

per 1,000 men. Rajnandgaon (1,023 women per 1,000 men) and Dantewada (1,016 women per 1,000 men) districts have the highest sex ratios in the State.

Almost a third of the population belongs to Scheduled Tribes³ and about 11.61 percent of the population is listed as Scheduled Castes⁴. Other communities including a large number of people belonging to the Backward Classes⁵ constitute the rest of the population. The bulk of its people are concentrated in the central plains region, while the northern and the southern regions have a considerably lower density of population.

Culture

Chhattisgarh enjoys a unique culture, peopled as it is by a number of tribes and communities, each with its distinct identity and way of life. In spite of a number of tribes, its people share certain commonalities and a philosophy which is central to many tribal cultures; the veneration of natural resources – water, forests and land on which life is dependent – a regard for community values and traditions, a practical recognition of the interdependence between different communities and peoples, and a refreshing spirit.

Richly endowed with resources like forests and minerals (diamonds, gold, iron-ore, coal, corundum, bauxite, dolomite, lime, tin and granite to name a few), the people hold the earth and its forests in high regard and esteem. Over centuries, they have evolved a way of life, which while dependent on these resources uses them in a sustainable way. Indigenous knowledge regarding the growing of rice and herbal medicines is well developed but is disappearing fast, due to the influx of modern scientific practices and medicines as well as the absence of any documentation of these valuable systems.

Table 1 **Urban-rural population of Chhattisgarh**

Population	Total	Urban	Rural
Male	10,474,218	2,166,775	8,307,443
Female	10,359,585	2,018,972	8,340,613
Total	20,833,803	4,185,747	16,648,056

Source: Census of India, 2001

Table 2 **Population according to category**
(in percent)

Category	Percent
Scheduled Castes	11.61
Scheduled Tribes	31.80
Other communities including Backward Classes	56.59

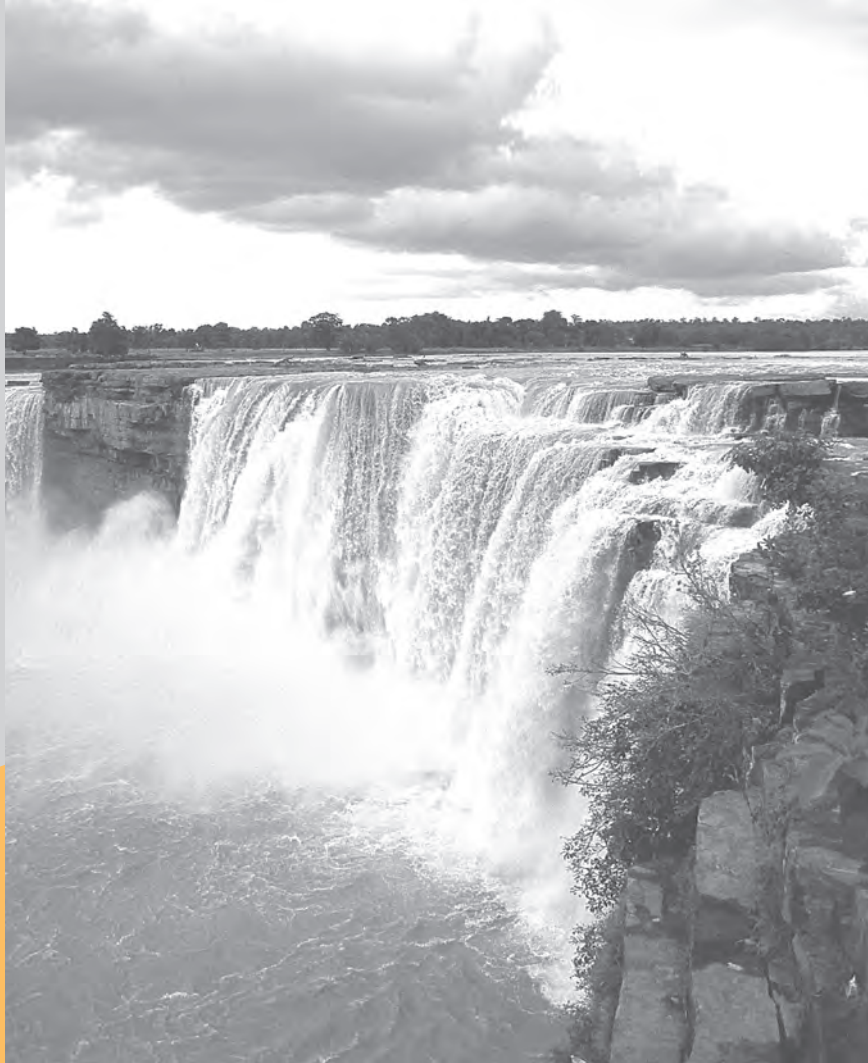
Source: Census of India, 2001

² Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Chhattisgarh

³ Scheduled Tribes refer to communities listed in the Constitution of India as such, because they reside largely in areas that are designated as part of the Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the Constitution. Their social and economic backwardness stems from their long term habitation in geographically remote areas.

⁴ The Scheduled Castes are notified in a separate schedule of the Constitution of India. They have been at the lowest end of the Hindu social caste hierarchy, based on birth and have been disadvantaged for generations.

⁵ The term Backward Classes refer to other communities who are considered to be particularly disadvantaged both socially and economically.



Natural Resources: Water, Forests and Land





Natural Resources: Water, Forests and Land

Abundantly endowed by nature, Chhattisgarh is a land blessed with a pleasant climate as well as a priceless heritage that has sustained and nourished its people through the ages. The State has rich resources including land, forests and water. These abundant resources are of high quality and are spread across the State, allowing an exceptional degree of access and availability.

In return, the people and communities have treated the gifts of nature with reverence. They have evolved a way of life unique to this verdant land, a way that seeks to protect this legacy for future generations. Pivotal to life and livelihood are the trinity of water (*jal*), forests (*jangal*) and land (*jameen*). Each of these is important, but they are also dependent on each other – and on the people. Water nourishes the forests and the land. The forests are repositories of diversity and natural wealth. From the land comes food and security, each year. For centuries, people have built their traditions, consumption, habitat patterns and livelihoods around these resources. Celebrated in song and folklore, deified and venerated, the people know and understand the importance of these resources.

These themes aroused passions and a great deal of discussion. The intensity and fervour were inversely proportional to the distance from the resources. The District and Village *Jan Rapats* present a variety of generic as well

as specific submissions with respect to these natural resources with differing language. The Village Reports tend to be more specific and their tenor more impassioned. They speak of natural resources as a chronicle of existence, of survival, and of life itself.

The District Reports express issues and relationships related to natural resources as a corollary to life and livelihood. Their definitions and content reflect a more controlled livelihood pattern and a larger economic dimension, one that extends beyond the immediate space of a village, a settlement or a city. Even so, in all the Reports it is amply clear that the relationship between the people and natural resources transcends the confines of modern market and employment approaches. These relationships

From the people

Water, forest and land are man's primary needs. Without these, life is not possible.



Village Report, Ghotiya village, Koylibeda block, Uttar Bastar Kanker

While the world is still exploring and searching, our tribal community stands at the end of this search, having already travelled that distance.

District Report, Dakshin Bastar Dantewada



From the people

There are at least 23 Minor Forest Produce (MFP) and another 32 types of roots and herbs that people collect from the forests. After agriculture, forests are the largest source of income. More than 60 percent of the villagers regard forest produce and labour in forest related work as their main sources of income. The absence of irrigation means that people are unable to sow a *kharif* crop. This increases dependence on forest produce for additional income. Almost 70 percent of the annual income comes from MFPs like *aavla*, *bahera*, *harra*, *dhavala*, *kusum*, *mahua* leaf and medicinal plants.

District Report, Korba

are immediate yet dynamic, and are a part of a complex web in which culture, societal values, environment, health, knowledge, and lifestyles are intertwined.

Table 1.1 **Availability of natural resources**
(Percentage of Village Reports selected for analysis¹)

Region	Water	Forests	Land for common purposes
Northern region	42	77.5	57
Central plains	33	39	48
Southern region	57.46	79.1	64.93
State	44.2	65.2	56.6

Source: *Jan Rapats* Part – III

There are differences too in perception, based on topography, location and region. In the plains of Chhattisgarh, land and water are seen as the primary resources. For the people of the hill tracts in the north and the south of the State, water and the forests are the critical resources, seen as the key to survival, sustenance and advancement. The availability of water resources is better in the north and the south of the State. Similarly forests and common property resources such as land are also more plentiful in these regions as evidenced from Table 1.1. In either case, the relationship with

natural resources is direct and immediate, the difference being the degree of dependence on one or the other. The exceptions to this are few, and are in the context of the tertiary sector, or in urbanised environs. The Reports, in particular the Village *Jan Rapats*, have enumerated and quantified their natural resources, and elaborated the dependence of the village on these resources. They have identified issues related not only to access and control, quality, exploitation and conservation, but to the technical and legal dimensions as well.

From the people

In the last 10 years, there have been many changes in the rainfall pattern. The number of rainy days has been steadily decreasing. Rainfall has become irregular and scattered. As a result, people are not able to use water as per their requirements and needs. For example, in agriculture, every task like sowing and preparing the land for the next crop must be done at the correct time. For this availability of water and irrigation facilities are essential. Rainfall affects the level of water in rivers, lakes, tube-wells, wells and *nallahs*. In un-irrigated areas, the level of water declines and this affects the *nistaari*² and drinking water needs of the people and of animals.

District Report, Janjgir-Champa



¹ A total of 2869 village *Jan Rapats* were selected from 146 blocks, in the 16 districts for the perception analysis. An initial reading of village *Jan Rapats* helped in developing a matrix to analyse the perception of the people. Common ideas from the Village Reports were identified and classified into different categories, on a qualitative scale.

² *Nistaari* refers to usufruct rights granted to communities dependent on forests and other resources, at prices below the market price or free of charge.

From the people

Dantewada gets a lot of rain because of its heavy forest cover. As a result many streams, waterfalls and *nallahs* come down from the hills. People have always used this water for *nistaar* and drinking water purposes.



District Report, Dakshin Bastar Dantewada

Earlier groundwater was tapped through wells. Canals were usually seasonal. Some areas were dependent on neighbouring villages for water. Most villages had a problem with drinking water.

District Report, Durg

This chapter examines the three main resources – water, forests and land – separately and discusses some of the significant issues raised in the *Jan Rapats*. It then discusses the relationship between women and natural resources and the critical issue of common property and its management. This is followed by suggestions for intervention and concluding remarks.

Water

Chhattisgarh abounds in water bodies – rivers and streams, lakes and tanks³ (*dabrees*). It also receives, in normal years, rainfall adequate to replenish water resources, and to meet the needs of the people. The annual average rainfall varies between 1200 mm to 1400 mm. Despite the abundance of water, people have learnt to conserve water, and use it judiciously and equitably, through systems and practices that have evolved over hundreds of years. A combination of wisdom, intuition and experience enables the people to tide over situations of

adversity – the preceding years of drought and poor monsoon provide an excellent example of how the people survive difficult times.

The recent drought-like conditions (in 2000 and 2002, the average annual rainfall was less than 1000 mm) and the resulting hardship find recurring mention. The Reports refer not just to the impact on agriculture and the consequent need for more irrigation. The *Jan Rapats* speak of declining water tables and of biotic pressure on the forests, the natural reservoirs of water and moisture. The need to ensure clean drinking water to all is cited as urgent. Looking ahead, many refer to the need to ensure that ground water is used wisely and sustainably, and that the forests are protected.

Control and management of local water bodies are vested in the tiered system of *Panchayats*. The *Gram Panchayats*, *Janpad Panchayats* and *Zila Panchayats* are authorised to manage and lease out water bodies. This has enabled public participation in their use and management, and in ensuring the rights of user groups – fishermen, cultivators and other users. At the same time, it has brought about visible changes in the perceptions of this resource. Building on age-old traditions of community management, equity and shared responsibility, the *Panchayats* have become effective instruments of dispute resolution.

Water resources of Chhattisgarh

The State of Chhattisgarh forms part of the extended river basin of four major rivers – the Mahanadi, Godavari, Narmada and the Ganga. The combined river length flowing through the State is 1,885 kilometres. These rivers provide a large network of surface water and support the

³ Tanks are used by the village communities for domestic use and for irrigating small patches of land. Some village ponds are also used for fisheries.

primary sources of irrigation in the State. There are also smaller rivers and tributaries, seasonal *nallahs* and natural springs.

It is estimated that surface water available for use is 41,720 million cubic metres (mcm). The State has three major, 30 medium and 2,017 minor irrigation projects maintained by the Water Resources Department. Small tanks are maintained by the *Panchayats*.

Ground water is an unregulated resource, one that land users have freedom to harness. It is relatively under-utilised, and there is scope for increasing ground water based irrigation. According to the Central Ground Water Board, the ground water available for use in the State in 1995 was over 8,000 mcm per year, and the ground water exploitation could be significantly enhanced. In most districts, less than 10 percent of the potential is currently being utilised.

Sources of water

Traditionally, water from open wells and tanks has been utilised for domestic and drinking purposes, while canal and river water has been used for irrigation.

Long-established irrigation systems provide for the diversion of water from small rivers, *nallahs*, seasonal streams, and ancient water tanks. Small

water storage tanks (*dabrees*) constructed in cultivated fields store rainwater for irrigation. These are supplemented by animal power operated water drawl systems. Traditional methods are suitable for small, compact areas but are inadequate to meet the needs of large scale, assured irrigation. Since they are substantially dependent on rainfall, they tend to be most efficient during the monsoon and shortly thereafter, and are ideally suited for single crop based agriculture. The Village Reports show that the availability of water for drinking and household needs is best in the southern region. There is a shortage of drinking water in the central plains region, although irrigation is more prevalent in this region. (See Table 1.2 for details)

Most water bodies at the village level are managed by traditional and community based systems. Over the years these have begun to break down in the face of social and economic change and due to the emergence of alternate structures of authority.

Water bodies and structures that were created or regenerated under Government programmes have not been very successful in aligning or integrating themselves with community based systems. One reason for this is that the State has not recognised or supported the traditional systems while taking over and exercising its provisioning authority. Unfortunately, there is little to indicate that alternate forms of community based and community owned systems of managing water bodies are replacing the traditional systems.

There is a need to evolve new systems that support the efficient management of modern irrigation structures. These should involve communities and users in their operations, and provide a blend of old and new ways that combines the best of both.

Table 1.2 **Adequate availability of water**
(Percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Region	Drinking water	Water for household needs	Irrigation
Northern region	42	57	19.6
Central plains	26	28	36
Southern region	56	62	16.7
State	41.3	49.0	24.1

Source: *Jan Rapats* Part – III

Drinking water

In the past, drinking water was obtained from wells, natural springs, streams, rivers, tanks and lakes. In the plains, where drinking water has been generally insufficient, wells, tanks and small rivers have been the main sources. In hilly and undulating regions, springs, rivulets and wells provide drinking water.

Most households in rural areas now rely on hand pumps for their supply of drinking water. Despite their increasing density, there are still places where hand pumps are not available or functioning.⁴ In these locations drinking water is sourced from tube wells or even rivers. Piped and tap water is still not common. The *Jan Rapats* confirm the improved availability of

drinking water and acknowledge the improved quality and access. They state that many more hamlets and households now have direct access to drinking water.

Hand pumps are sometimes non functional. This may be due to irregular or poor maintenance or due to the drying up of water sources. This is more common in remote habitations and small hamlets, particularly in hilly terrains. In such settlements, other water sources such as natural springs or streams are then used.

While the perception of water quality varies considerably, most Village *Jan Rapats* indicate that water from hand pumps is usually clean

From the people

Most *paras* (areas) in the villages of Dakshin Bastar Dantewada have drinking water facilities. Either they have hand pumps or they have piped water provided by the *Nal Jal Yojana*. People no longer have to walk long distances to get drinking water. The water level was earlier at 5-8 metres. Despite water recharging efforts, water harvesting and construction of *dabrees*, the level has fallen to 14 - 16 metres. Along with people's participation, Government's assistance is needed for water conservation.



District Report, Dakshin Bastar Dantewada

Today, we have stopped using the traditional sources of water. These are used only for irrigation purposes. Drinking water is now available from hand pumps and private or Government wells.

Bodra village, Aarang block, Raipur

Now there are tube wells and hand pumps in every village. However the maintenance of the sources and their surrounding areas is not done and hence clean drinking water is not available.

District Report, Janjgir Champa

Most villages today are self-reliant for drinking water. They have hand pumps. The problem arises when they are not working or when the water level falls.

District Report, Durg

The water table has fallen due to the mining activity carried out in the district. The hand pumps in the hilly regions have also been unsuccessful. The low level of water is causing concern. Most sources of water in the district are rain-fed.

District Report, Korea

⁴ Hand pumps have been dug in almost every habitation, and the absence of hand pumps is either due to technical reasons such as unsuitable terrain, or the non-availability of suitable places for boring.

Box 1.1

Drinking water in village habitations

Of the 54,818 habitations in the State 49,167 have adequate sources of drinking water, with an average supply of more than 40 litres per person, per day. In the last two years, 29,233 new hand pumps have been installed. In addition, 176 rural spot source water supply schemes and 220 new rural piped water supply schemes have been commissioned.

A little over 10 percent (5,651 habitations) of the total habitations get less than the stipulated amount of water. Kabirdham, Jashpur, Rajnandgaon and Bilaspur districts have the largest number of habitations with inadequate water sources.

Department of Public Health Engineering, Government of Chhattisgarh

and suitable for domestic use. They have also commented positively on the practice of adding chlorine to drinking water. In some villages especially those located in the mining and industrial belt, the issue of water pollution due to industrial waste is of concern.

Irrigation

Cropping intensities in the State are low, since agriculture continues to be largely dependent

on the monsoon, and most cultivators still practise single-crop agriculture.

The *Jan Rapats* speak of efforts made by Government, *Panchayats* and individuals to increase irrigation coverage and effectiveness. Most of the Governmental effort has gone into surface water exploitation, and there is a perception that groundwater needs to be systematically harnessed, with the support of the Government. Small and marginal farmers, with low ability to invest the capital needed, are particularly in need of support.

There are private tube wells in some villages but these usually belong to well-off farmers. Electric and diesel operated pumps are used to

Box 1.2

Irrigation coverage

In 1999-2000, 22 percent of the net sown area was irrigated, and the net irrigated area was 10.8 lakh hectares. The overall irrigation intensity in the State was 117, with the highest intensity recorded in Janjgir-Champa, Dhamtari, Durg and Korea districts.

Canals accounted for three-fourths (76 percent) of all irrigation. Tube wells provided 13.4 percent of irrigation, while tanks and ponds accounted for only 5.6 percent of the irrigated area.

There are regional variations in irrigation coverage. The plains are better provided for (30 percent coverage), while the coverage in the hill areas is much lower (5 percent). In the Bastar plateau, irrigation coverage is only 1.2 percent.

Department of Water Resources, Government of Chhattisgarh

From the people

Earlier *talaabs* and *dabrees* were used for irrigation and for agricultural purposes. Today there are big *talaabs*, rivers, *nallahs* and lift irrigation systems. Grants for tube wells on private land and the Hasdev-Bango project have resulted in 1.1 lakh hectares being irrigated for the *kharif* crop. In addition, 2.7 lakh hectares are being irrigated by rivers, *nallahs*, tube wells, wells and pumps and lift irrigation.



District Report, Janjgir-Champa

Table 1.3 **Sources of irrigation and their use**

Sources of irrigation (percentage of villages)					Use of sources for irrigation (percentage of total)			
Sources	Northern region	Central plains	Southern region	Total	Northern region	Central plains	Southern region	Total use of source
Tube wells	4.3	15.7	1.1	21.2	74.4	73.3	91	74.5
Dug wells	26.8	22.4	5.4	54.7	59.4	64.8	71	62.8
Springs	0.3	0.4	0.4	1	67.8	61.3	75	68.1
Tanks	4.4	7.6	1.5	13.6	49.2	65.7	72	61
Other	0.6	0.9	0.2	1.7	67	44.6	71	55.7
Region	39.7	51	9.3	100	60.1	67.4	74	65.1

Source: *Jan Rapats*, Part I data of villages

draw water from canals and rivers where the fields are appropriately situated.

The last few years have seen a significant increase in the irrigation infrastructure of the State, in irrigation schemes as well as in the investment in irrigation such as energised pumps.

Wells (dug) are a major source of irrigation in the State. The villages have reported the number and type of sources available within the village. Of the sources of irrigation, mentioned in Part 1 of the Village Reports, 54.7 percent of the villages have listed wells. Thus wells constitute the most common source of irrigation. Tubewells are present in 21.2 percent of the villages. Tanks are another source of irrigation and have been reported in 13.6 percent of villages. The major difficulty lies in utilising these resources for irrigation. The overall usage of sources like tubewells, dugwells, springs and tanks amounts to 65.1 percent. Tube wells are the most popular, and 74.5 percent of the total installed tube wells are functional and in use.

Data relating to sources like canals and rivers shows that about 45 percent of the habitations

Table 1.4 **Use of rivers and canals for irrigation**
(percentage of total habitations)

	Northern region	Central plains	Southern region	Total
Canals	22.6	54.8	75.5	45.1
Rivers	46.7	57.7	64.5	53.3

Source: *Jan Rapats* Part I data of villages

in Chhattisgarh have access to canal-based irrigation. The overall dependence on rivers for irrigation purposes is 53.3 percent. Both canals and rivers are an important source of irrigation in the south, while in the north and central areas, other sources are also important.

Table 1.5 **Region-wise distribution of sources of irrigation**
(percentage of total)

Sources	Northern region	Central plains	Southern region	Total
Tube wells	20.4	74.3	5.4	100.0
Dugwells	49.1	41.0	9.9	100.0
Springs	30.6	34.6	34.8	100.0
Tanks	32.7	56.1	11.2	100.0
Other	38.0	52.3	9.7	100.0
State	39.7	51.0	9.3	100.0

Source: *Jan Rapats*, Part I data of villages

The distribution of the other sources of irrigation (apart from rivers and canals) shows a distinct concentration of these sources in the central plains (see Table 1.5). Three out of four tube wells are installed in the central plains

Box 1.3

Irrigation initiatives undertaken by the State

A major programme has been taken up to motivate cultivators to set apart marginal plots under their ownership for construction of tanks (*dabrees*). These help in moisture retention, meet domestic needs, prevent soil erosion and provide water to fields. The construction of *dabrees*, (using public funds) also provides wage employment under drought relief operations.

Khet Ganga Yojana

This initiative seeks to provide irrigation to the rain-shadow areas of the State. It aims at tapping ground water potential and riparian run-off through tube-wells and lift irrigation. To safeguard against the excessive exploitation of groundwater, it is mandatory to maintain a minimum distance of 300 metres between two tube wells.

Assistance (subsidy) ranges from Rs 10,000 to Rs 18,000 for drilling and Rs 10,000 to Rs 25,000 for installation and energizing pump sets. Failed tube wells are usually compensated for. Subsidy reimbursements for farmers from the Scheduled Castes and Tribes have a higher ceiling of Rs 45,000.

Gaon Ganga Yojana

This scheme aims to create at least one source of water in every village/habitation. This will be achieved through conservation of existing sources of water through community initiated maintenance and renewal with the involvement of the *Panchayat*. It also seeks to develop new sources of water through sustainable exploration of ground water potential and prevent waste and run-off through appropriate community level interventions.

Department of Water Resources,
Government of Chhattisgarh

of Chhattisgarh. Springs are more common in the southern region than in the other two regions. Tanks are concentrated in the central plains (56.1 percent), while in the southern region, tanks are relatively less common and only 11 percent of the total tanks are located here, reflecting the high dependence on rivers and canals.

With the increase in private ownership of irrigation infrastructure, community management systems of water for irrigation purposes have reduced. These are however extremely important for small and marginal farmers, who cannot afford to establish their own irrigation facilities.

Community tanks are usually multi-purpose providing users' water for purposes other than just irrigation. They provide water for domestic use and often function as fisheries as well. When community water bodies, tanks and *dabrees*, are governed under common property regimes there is better and more equitable use of water.

Problems associated with water

A number of problems and issues have been highlighted in the reports, ranging from the contamination of ground water sources as a result of mining, chemical fertilizers and industrial activity to the declining water table. Some of these problems are listed in Table 1.6.

Forests

The people of Chhattisgarh have a symbiotic relationship with forests. There is religious reverence and a grateful recognition of nature's benevolence. There is also an appreciation and understanding of the impact of the environment on the lives of the people. With its vast forest

Table 1.6 **Problems associated with the management of water**

Water pollution due to economic activities	The Korea District Report refers to the contamination of groundwater due to mining activities. In Bilaspur, a paper mill is cited in the Report has been held responsible for toxins in the water. Many Village Reports also refer to water pollution due to the use of chemical fertilisers.
Improper maintenance of drinking water sources and disrepair	A recurring theme in the reports has been the irregular and unsatisfactory maintenance of hand pumps. Several reports have indicated that the Government appointed mechanics do not respond to complaints and that little local expertise is available to repair hand pumps.
Declining water table	While most parts of the State have good availability of ground water, there has been a decline in the water table. Digma village of Block Ambikapur of Surguja district, reports that in earlier times, their forefathers had to dig to a depth of 25 to 30 feet (4 to 5 <i>porish</i> ⁵) to reach water but now they have to dig up to 60 to 70 feet (8 to 10 <i>porish</i>). Similar reports have come from other villages, especially in the hill regions, from villages where ground water is being used for irrigation and from villages where industry and mining compete for limited water resources.

Source: District Reports

cover⁶ (135,224 square kilometres, 44 percent of the State's area), the State's economy⁷, culture, tradition and livelihood are inextricably linked to the forests.

The forests of the State are of two major types: tropical moist deciduous and tropical dry deciduous. Most of the dense forests are concentrated in the northern (Surguja, Korea, Jashpur and Korba districts) and the southern regions of the State (Bastar, Kanker and Dantewada districts). These areas also have large tribal populations. The plains of the central region of the State have much less forest cover. In this region, the dependence on agriculture and therefore on land as a source of livelihood is much higher.

The *Jan Rapats* have documented the benefits from the forests, extensively. The forests provide food for the people and for their

From the people

The forest is the very basis of our lives. We exist because the forest exists. Thus, we strive to protect the forest, at any cost.



Our traditions and rituals are closely linked to our forests and trees. We believe that our forests are sacred because our gods and goddesses reside there. The *saja*, the *mahua*, the *semal*, the mango, the *karanji*, the *banyan*, the *pipal*, the *salfi* trees are symbols of good fortune and prosperity. The number of *salfi* trees in a house is an indicator of the wealth and prosperity of the household. The drink that is made from its fruit is an integral part of our culture. If the drinks of *salfi*, *chind* and *mahua* are not offered in ceremonies of birth, death and marriage, the ceremonies are considered incomplete. People revere trees just as they revere their parents and their deities.

*District Report
Dakshin Bastar Dantewada*

⁵ '*Porish*' literary means man. In Chhattisgarh, the height of a person is used as a measure and one *porish* would typically be between five to six feet.

⁶ The State has the second largest area under forests, in the country after Assam. It is famous for its *sal* forests, which account for 40.56 percent of the forest cover. Teak forests account for 9.42 percent of the forests in the State, and are concentrated largely in the western and southern parts of the State. Mixed forests and bamboo account for the remainder.

⁷ There are 10,000 thousand forest product based industrial units in Chhattisgarh of which 306 are registered manufacturing units. These small-scale industrial units include sawmills, household furniture manufacturing units, *beedi* industries and *kosa* silk units.

Table 1.7 **Direct and indirect benefits from forests**

Direct benefits	Indirect benefits
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Food items such as fruits, roots and shoots directly available from trees, and animal products such as honey and meat Raw material for the production of soap, oil and liquor <i>Nistaar</i>^B items such as fuel wood, fodder and timber Medicinal plants and herbs such as <i>safed musli</i>, <i>brahmi</i> and <i>ashwagandha</i> MFPs for the market such as <i>tendu patta</i>, <i>sal seeds</i>, <i>gum</i>, <i>lac</i> and <i>wax</i> Minor minerals and water. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Soil conservation Rainfall Climate control Biodiversity conservation

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*

animals, raw materials for household based industry, firewood, medicinal plants and minor forest produce like *tendu patta* (tendu leaves) and *lac*. The Reports have also acknowledged that forests hold the key to the climatic conditions and bio diversity conservation in the area.

Dependence on forests

The culture of the people of Chhattisgarh is linked to the forests and the people share an intense emotional bond with the '*jangal*'. This is especially true of forest based and tribal communities. Major festivals, religious practices, social events, traditional customs

Table 1.8 **Use of forest resources for different purposes**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Region	Furniture	Firewood	Herbs and medicines	Minor forest produce	Livelihood	Income
Northern region	22.4	60.7	23.3	50.4	62	27
Central plains	9	12.5	7.5	39	41	12
Southern region	31.8	61.9	39.5	60.1	63	20
State	21.1	45.0	23.4	49.8	55.3	19.7

Source: *Jan Rapats* Part – III

^B *Nistaar* refers to usufruct rights of communities dependent on forests and other resources, at prices below the market price and sometimes even free of charge.

of child birth, totems and the systems of indigenous medicine and nutrition are based on forest produce. The forests provide employment, forest produce, food for self-consumption and *nistaari* rights.

The data from the Village Reports (Table 1.5) shows that the dependence on the forests for livelihood, firewood, herbs and medicines and minor forest produce is highest in the southern region and marginally lower in the northern region. It is the least in the central plains area. However more villages depend on forest as a source of income in the north than in the south.

Fuel wood

In rural areas non-commercial fuel wood and animal waste continue to be the main source of energy. Women are the main collectors of this resource, which is used for cooking and household activities. Women often have to traverse a large area in search of fuel wood. In the plains, where the forests may be far away, women depend on energy from animal waste.

Like cow dung, fuel wood has to be bought from the *nistaar*⁹ depots and this means an additional financial burden on poor households. The ownership of forests lies with the State. The Forest Department extends the privilege of extraction of forest products to the people within the stipulations of forest policies. These include the provision of *nistaari* rights to forest dependent communities.

- There are 797 *nistaar* depots in the State. Each family is eligible to get bamboo for domestic use at a subsidised rate from these depots.

From the people



There is no forest near our village. We face many problems in getting fuel wood and wood for construction. Some people have plants and trees on their private land. They use this for fuel and construction. Prior to forests being nationalised, we could go to the forests further away and get fuel wood, timber, fruits, *harra*, *bahera*, *gum*, etc. Now we have to go to the depot for fuel wood and timber.

Women of Kothar Village, Kabirdham block, Kabirdham

In Borla block of Kabirdham, people get fuel wood and fodder for their animals, fruits and flowers, *tendu patta*, *mahua*, *aavla*, *harra*, *bahera*, and other roots and herbs from the forest. People from the forests near Thakurtola, Minminiya, Baijalpur and Chapri villages, also procure bamboo from the forest. People from the villages of Boda and around make brooms (*jhadus*) with material from the forest.

District Report, Kabirdham

- Forest dependent communities are entitled to access forests for grazing, limited by the carrying capacity of forests. They may collect (free of cost), dry and fallen fuel wood and fodder. Medicinal plants may also be collected (by non-destructive means) for sale.
- The *Basod* community is eligible to get 1,500 bamboos per family, per year, (subject to availability of bamboo) at subsidised rates, for bamboo-based income generating activities.
- Forest dependent communities are free to collect *tendu patta*, *sal* seed, *harra* and *gum* and sell this to notified outlets

⁹ *Nistaar* depots refer to depots where stocks of forest produce are kept for distribution to the people. *Nistaari* is the system by which communities dependent on forests and other resources are granted user rights.

of Chhattisgarh Minor Forest Produce Cooperative Federation at pre-determined rates. Registered collectors of *tendu patta* are eligible for bonus and group insurance facilities.

Fodder

Most households in the State own livestock. Animals are used to till the land and they also provide energy. They are an investment and a valuable asset, especially in times of adversity like drought, or in an emergency. Most villages have common grazing and pasture lands for animals. In the plains, paddy straw is used as fodder for cattle. In the forested belts, animals too depend on the forest for fodder.

The most important issue related to fodder which has been elaborated in the *Jan Rapats*, is the degeneration and shrinking of grazing and pasture lands. Another issue is that of encroachment. Common lands are most susceptible to encroachments. This has directly affected the quantity of fodder available for the cattle.

Over the years the availability of fuel wood and fodder from the forests has declined, measured in terms of availability as well as access. The factors responsible are sporadic clearing of forests and growing biotic pressure. Adding to the complexity of the situation is the fact that the traditional systems of people managing and self-governing common lands have been eroded.

Minor forest produce

Forest produce is categorised in two main categories: a) major forest produce (mainly wood or timber) and b) minor forest produce. Ownership of the major forest produce is with the Government. People and communities may extract minor forest produce (MFP) for consumption or sale under certain conditions.

Chhattisgarh accounts for about 20 percent of the total production of *tendu patta* in the country. Other major MFPs of the State include *mahua* flowers and seeds, *harra*, *bahera*, *mehul* leaves, tamarind, *lac*, *gum* and *katha*. These are mainly used to make brews, toys, disposable leaf plates, etc. Tamarind and *katha* are used in food items.

Table 1.9 **Products available from the forests**

District Report, Uttar Bastar Kanker	Fuel wood, timber, MFPs (<i>jamun</i> , <i>harra</i> , <i>bamboo</i> , <i>mahua flower and seed</i> , <i>tendu patta</i> , <i>lac</i> , <i>aavla</i> , <i>bahera</i> , <i>gond</i> , <i>madras</i> , <i>tikhur</i> , <i>ghaas</i> , <i>mile</i> , <i>aam guthli</i> , <i>dhaura</i> , <i>beeja palash</i> , <i>haldu</i> , <i>saja</i> , <i>sheshum</i> , <i>bel</i> , <i>ram dataun</i> , <i>mahul patta</i> , etc) and other medicinal plants (<i>bhui neem</i> , <i>kali hari</i> , <i>dev kanda</i> , <i>van pyaaz</i> , <i>chidchida</i> , <i>van haldi</i> , <i>charauta</i> , <i>peng beej</i> , <i>dudhi beej</i> , <i>hadsighadi</i> , <i>amaltaas</i> , <i>stavar</i> , <i>patakumhada</i> , <i>kevti</i> , <i>safed musli</i> , <i>kali musli</i>) are collected from the forest.
District Report, Korea	There are thick forests in Korea district. Other than timber and fuel wood, various kinds of forest produce are found in these forests. The forest dwellers collect MFPs like <i>mahua</i> fruit and flower, <i>harra</i> , <i>bahera</i> , <i>aavla</i> , <i>chaar</i> , <i>chiraunji</i> , <i>mahul patta</i> , <i>tendu patta</i> , <i>sal beej</i> , and other types of herbs and roots. The collection of forest produce is a major source of income for the people. These MFPs are the basis of many small and home industries.
District Report, Korba	Many medicinal plants grow in the forests and are regularly used in various treatments. These include <i>chiraita</i> , <i>safed musli</i> , <i>kali musli</i> , <i>satavar</i> , <i>adusa</i> , <i>lat jeera</i> , <i>vaybirang</i> , <i>jungli pyaaz</i> , <i>hadjod</i> and <i>dhava</i> .

Source: District Reports

In Chhattisgarh, the ownership of all minor forest produce in forest areas is now vested with tribal communities through Primary Cooperative Societies of actual collectors and *Gram Van Samitis*. This has become possible through the provisions of the *Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas Act (PESA)*, 1996. The collection of specified nationalised produce is done by the Societies and primary processing is also done by the Societies. The proceeds from the sale of MFP are transferred to the Societies. While elected representatives manage these Societies, the Forest Department continues to exercise control by holding key positions in the management.

The Village and District *Jan Rapat* have provided a comprehensive list and inventory of products acquired from the forest. The forest produce collected is sold at approved collection centres. These include *sal* seeds, *tendu* leaves, *harra*, *bahera*, *mahua*, *char*, *tendu* and *imli*, which are sold at pre-determined rates.¹⁰

In addition to the Joint Forest Management (JFM) programme, initiatives have been taken by the State Government to develop an efficient and people friendly system to manage minor forest produce as well as its marketing.

Recently, some efforts have been made to involve people in the marketing of major forest produce as well. Under the Statesponsored scheme of Public Private Partnership (PPP), proceeds from the timber stock and bamboo in degraded areas, is made over to Gram Van *Samitis* (GVS). GVSs have been encouraged to enter into buy-back arrangements with private industry and the Federation of *Gram* and *Van Suraksha Samitis* fix the selling rates. In degraded

From the people

Traditional knowledge and our culture prevent us from felling trees. Trees are where the gods reside.

District Report, Raigarh

forest areas, where the Government spends on greening, 30 percent of the final harvest and all the intermediate yields (from thinning) go to the GVSs. In well-stocked forests, 15 percent of the proceeds from the final harvest are distributed to Forest Protection Committees (*Van Suraksha Samitis*).

The Forest Department estimates that about 2,00,000 tribal families are associated with the forest based economic activities of the department. This number is expected to go up, as all economically significant minor forest produce, including medicinal plants, are brought under the PPP arrangement. However, caution will need to be exercised to ensure that the PPP programme does not become a means for enabling industry to gain access to forest resources.

Forest management

Forest management in the state is being carried out both in the traditional ways and according to the policies of the Forest Department.

The traditional regime

Traditional management systems have certain time-tested, practical and effective ways of managing as well as utilising natural resources. The *Sarna*¹¹ (sacred groves) system, common in the northern districts of the State is an excellent example of sustainable management. The cutting of trees in these sacred groves is

¹⁰ For details regarding the different kinds of forest produce and the rates at which these are sold, see Appendix.

¹¹ A *sarna* is a place where some trees are planted (usually starts with five trees) and the cutting of these trees is prohibited. The people take care of the trees and worship them. Every young couple begins life with such a plantation and then cares for it through out their lives.

prohibited. Sanctified by belief and practice, this system has been an important factor in conserving the green cover of the State.

The official regime

The Forest Department of the State manages the State's forest wealth in accordance with prescribed policies and guidelines. The Joint Forest Management (JFM) system encourages people's participation in managing forest resources. Members of JFM committees receive usufruct¹² rights, a portion of the revenue from the felling of timber and from intermediate thinning. They are also eligible for employment under afforestation and other programmes carried out by the Forest Department. The Forest Development Agency and the Chhattisgarh State Minor Forest Produce Co-operative Federation are involved in the management and development of forests and nationalised MFPs. The Village *Jan Rapats* have suggested solutions for managing and maintaining forests. While these suggestions are quite varied, they do reflect a sense of disquiet at the denuding forest resources and the helplessness that people feel in the circumstances.

Other issues related to forests

Other forest-related issues include the depletion of forests, their legal status and control.

Depletion of forests

A common concern cited in many reports is the degradation and depletion of forests. The causes, according to the Village Reports, are the increasing biotic pressure on forests from the increase in human and animal population. Significantly, many Village Reports state that distancing people from the management of forests has also been a contributory factor. According to them, since people have been alienated from utilising forest produce, they have become less concerned about conserving the forests. The people say unequivocally that they want to participate in preserving their forests. They also feel that unless they are fully involved in the work of protection, forests will continue to get degraded.

The legal and institutional framework

The State Forest Policy guides the legal and institutional arrangement, based on the guidelines of the National Forest Policy, 1988, provided by the Central Government. Along

From the people

Water, forests and land are inseparable. We cannot imagine one without the others. Our lifestyle is more dependent on forests than on agriculture. Our life is wretched without the forests, as we are dependent on them for flowers and fruits, for wood, for leaves, for ropes and for fuel.

We want to stop the illegal clearing of forests so that the environment remains balanced and so that adequate and regular rainfall takes place. We can then get the benefits from the forests for a long time. The importance of forests in our lives has to be conveyed to every person in the village so that the forests can be saved from destruction.

We will carry out afforestation and will put a stop to illegal felling. The Government should provide information about medicinal plants and trees, so that people can appreciate the importance of forests better.



Village Report, Jhunjhrakasa village, Nagri block, Dhamtari

¹² Usufruct refers to user rights for domestic and own use- such as water for the family and for domestic animals, wood for firewood and house construction etc.

with this, the provisions of Scheduled V areas in the Constitution of India and the Provisions of the *Panchayats* (Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996 (PESA) also determine the legal situation.

The State Forest Policy asserts that the management of the forests should be such that forests are converted from an Open Access Resource to community controlled, prioritised, protected and managed resources through Joint Forest Management (JFM), People's Protected Areas (PPAs) and other such measures. The Government, through its Forest Policy, has made an attempt to recognise the ownership and relationship of the forest dwelling communities, especially the tribals. The Policy states, "...For sustainable forest development, livelihood security and bio-cultural diversity conservation, People's Protected Areas (PPAs) should be established. This paradigm shift of adaptive management can reconcile the dichotomy of threat perception arising out of conservation-development orthodoxy by taking into account human sensitivities, socio-cultural norms, beliefs and systems borne out of history, culture and traditions."

From the tenor and content of the *Jan Rapats*, it is however apparent that the people and communities feel a sense of deprivation and alienation as well as a loss of access to their valued and valuable resource – the forests. The forest laws and its regulatory regime has divided the people from the forests and led to a realignment of the age-old relationship.

Village *Jan Rapats* repeatedly affirm that preserving and using the forests in a sustainable manner, was, and should be a way of life for the people. The forest laws and their implementation has resulted in the alienation of the people from their resources, and turned

Box 1.4

The extension of PESA to Chhattisgarh

The Constitution provides for special provisions for administration and control of Scheduled Areas. The provisions of the *Panchayats* Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act, 1996, give special powers to the *Gram Sabhas* in Scheduled Areas especially in the management of natural resources. Areas with pockets of substantial Scheduled Tribe populations living within the dominance of non-tribal communities have been categorised in the Constitution as Scheduled V Areas. Of the 16 districts in Chhattisgarh, seven districts (Surguja, Korea, Jashpur, Kanker, Bastar, Dakshin Bastar Dantewada and Korba) are categorised as Scheduled V Area districts and six (Bilaspur, Durg, Rajnandgaon, Raipur, Raigarh and Dhamtari) are partial Scheduled V Area districts.

The objective of PESA is to enable tribal communities to safeguard their traditional rights over natural resources. The Act emphasises the rights and ownership of people's institutions and respects tradition in the control and management of resources. It clearly states that, 'A State legislation on the *Panchayats* that may be made shall be in consonance with the customary law, social and religious practices and traditional management practices of community resources'. Further it states that 'A village shall ordinarily consist of a habitation or a group of habitations or hamlet or a group of hamlets comprising a community and managing its affairs in accordance with traditions and customs.'

Some of the powers vested with the *Gram Sabha* in Schedule V Areas include:

- The ownership of minor forest produce.
- The power to prevent alienation of land in the Scheduled Areas and to take appropriate action to restore any unlawfully alienated land of a Scheduled Tribe.
- The power to exercise control over institutions and functionaries in all social sectors.
- Exercise control over local plans and the resources for such plans including tribal sub-plans.

them into mere 'users' of the forests. Most people feel that the real control and therefore, the responsibility for the forests, now lies with the Government. They no longer feel a sense of ownership.

Control, ownership and power equations

Forests are a controlled natural resource. This control impacts substantially on the lives of people who depend on forests.

- For communities and households dependent on forests and for others for whom the forests sustain and supplement their livelihoods, accessing forest resources means contact with the Forest Department, the regulatory arm of the State. The unvarying threat of a powerful institution, with legal and physical resources to control this interface makes people, especially tribal communities, feel vulnerable and uncomfortable.

From the people

Due to decreasing forests, forest-based livelihoods of the people are declining. Earlier almost half of the population was dependent on the forest. Fodder, fuel and timber are no longer available from the forest. The cutting of trees has not been in proportion to their planting. This is the main reason for depletion. Plantation should be done and the Forest Protection *Samitis* should be given recognition and rights. To prevent cutting of the forests, the Government should provide people with cooking gas and kerosene.



District Report, Janjgir Champa

The discovery of iron ore in the forests in Bailadila has led to their destruction by the National Mining Board. Many plant varieties are dying out. Encroachment, illegal felling and mining have depleted the forests. One third of the forest area in Dantewada is degraded. Use of forests for *nistaar* has aggravated the problem. It is necessary to educate the forest dwellers and protect the forests with the participation of the people. For this we will have to strengthen the economic situation of those living in and near the forests by encouraging forest based industries.

District Report, Dakshin Bastar Dantewada

Now the villagers take turns to protect the forest. They have formed groups of four persons, two people from two families to protect the forests. The administration has also posted its own guards to protect the forests. It has made strong arrangements to manage the forests and has made various laws and rules in this regard. But the guards cannot take care of the interior areas. It is the people at the village level who are helping to protect the forests.

Bhatapara Village Report, Raipur

In Borla, people feel that the cutting of forests should be stopped and that they should not be deprived of the advantages and benefits of the forests. The residents of village Sarai, complain that fuel wood and selling of *jhaads* is now under reservation.

District Report, Kabirdham

The *jangal* is our friend and companion. We get many things from it such as *tendu*, *mahua*, *laathan* wood for making our houses and to keep us warm during winter our friendship is such that no one loses in it (neither we nor the forests). The Government is cutting down trees to make sleepers at a fast pace and thousands of truckloads of wood have already been taken away.

Tikarkhurd Village Report, Gorela block, Bilaspur

- Communities that have lived with the forests, managed and conserved them for generations now find that the space for participating in forest management is dependent on the benevolence of the regulatory regime. They find this difficult to comprehend. The conservation effort is no longer natural but programme driven. People from all the villages state that the experience with officials and the mechanisms for interface are neither adequate, nor conducive to the common goals of society and State.

The issue of forest management involves a series of complex relationships between the stakeholders of the forests, the revenue department, the *Panchayats* and people. Regulations are perceived as being arbitrarily used by the Forest Department. This, combined with the restrictions imposed by the Government, causes friction between the people and the administration. The critical balance between resource use and the issue of rights and people's ownership, and therefore responsibility of these resources especially in relation to forests, is an idea that the Forest Department is still coming to terms with. It is imperative for the State to define a role for itself vis-à-vis forests and the people who depend on them, in order to be able to stop forest depletion and encourage afforestation. This will help to re-establish the vital balance in the forests of Chhattisgarh owned and managed for centuries by its people.

Land

The land area of Chhattisgarh is about 1.35 lakh square kilometres. About 36 percent of

From the people

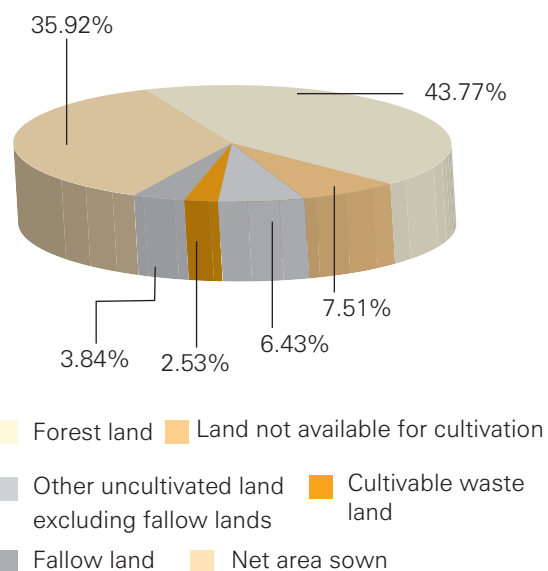
To make forest land available for agriculture, forests were cut away. While the cultivable land increased, rain has decreased, because forests have been destroyed. For irrigation, many *nalkoops* are being dug. The water table is falling. The water in wells and lakes is drying up. The productivity of the land is also falling as chemical fertilisers are being used.

Paleva village, Charama block, Uttar Bastar Kanker



the area is cultivated, and another 44 percent is under forests (forest land and revenue forests). Of the total land area in the State, 4,828 thousand hectares are sown, and the net sown area¹³ per head is 0.24 hectares. The gross sown area¹⁴ is 5,327 thousand hectares¹⁵. The highest percentage of land

Figure 1.1 **Land use classification**



¹³ Net sown area refers to the total area sown; area sown more than once is counted once.

¹⁴ Gross sown area refers to the sum total of areas covered by individual crops; areas sown with crops more than once during the year are counted as separate areas for each crop.

¹⁵ Source: Statistical Pocket Book of Chhattisgarh; Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Chhattisgarh - 2001

under agriculture is in Durg, Janjgir-Champa, Mahasamund (all above 50 percent), followed by Raigarh, Bilaspur, Kabirdham, Rajnandgaon and Raipur (all above 40 percent). The lowest percentage of net sown area to total area, is in Korea (18.7 percent), followed by Dakshin Bastar Dantewada (19 percent) and Bastar (21 percent).

Soil types

Chhattisgarh has at least five different types of soil. In the districts of Bilaspur, Surguja, Durg, Raipur and Bastar red and yellow loamy soil is dominant. Both are low in nitrogen and humus content. A major part of paddy production comes from this region. In the hill ranges, the soil is sandy loam, which is also suitable for paddy. Laterite soil is good for cereal crops, while the black soil is best suited to cotton, wheat and gram¹⁶.

In the *Jan Rapats*, land has been categorised according to the traditional classification. This varies from district to district. The choice of the type of seeds, the crops that are sown and the technology that is used depends on this classification. It is a choice that has been tested and tried over generations and ensures some productivity irrespective of the quality of the land.

In many villages, the quality of land is not suitable for agriculture. While the undulating terrain and rocky surface is a constraint, the setting up of coal mines and coal related industries in districts like Korea, have meant that both land and water have been contaminated by pollutants such as fly ash. Many Village Reports have highlighted the fact that indiscriminate use of chemical fertilisers has affected land quality and led to a decline in productivity.

From the people



Durg has four kinds of soil – *Bhatta, Dorsa, Matasi, Kanhai*. In southern Durg, the soil is largely *Bhatta* and *Matasi*. These soil types have a lot of granite and shaello. The northern area has *Kanhai* soil. The productivity of this is higher than that of other soil types.

In Dakshin Bastar Dantewada, the land is classified according to its physical features: The Bairamgarh *pathari* area has *Marhan, Tikra, Mal* and *Gabhar* types of land. Other types of soil, include *Kankrili, Ritili*, red yellow soil, sandy *Dumat* and *Chikni dumat*. The soil here is less productive and the water retention capacity is low. Farmers are now using various techniques to improve productivity.

In Darhora village, Pratappur block, Surguja district, agricultural land is categorised into three categories based on productivity. The driest land is called *Dand*, which is land that does not have any irrigation. This is the most unproductive land and is suitable only for cultivation during the monsoon. *Chanwar* land is a middle level land and is suitable for paddy and crops that require well drained soil. The most productive land is called *Bahera*, which is usually low-lying land, located near the source of irrigation and is suitable for paddy.

Village and District Reports, Durg, Dantewada and Surguja

Mining in Chhattisgarh

Chhattisgarh is rich in mineral resources. Vast reserves of coal, iron ore and bauxite are found here, along with limestone and dolomite. This is the only State in the country where tin ore is found. Diamonds and semi precious stones like corundum, quartz and garnet are also mined here. While mining provides employment to some people and substantial revenue to the

¹⁶ For a detailed description of soil types and respective suitability of crops see Table 3 in Appendix.

State, the industry has an adverse impact on the environment in some districts.

Pollution is one of the major impacts of mining, according to the *Jan Rapats*. This results in a number of problems ranging from declining productivity to contamination of drinking water.

- Village *Jan Rapats* mention that mining activities have affected the productivity of land and quality of water. District reports such as that of Korea have mentioned that the coal dust from coal handling plants covers the agricultural fields and affects the yield adversely.
- Pollution of the water that drains into reservoirs and rivers is another major problem. Several villages depend on surface water for domestic purposes, *nistaari* and irrigation. Polluted water has adversely affected both health and crops.
- Some reports have pointed out that illnesses related to breathing and respiration, falling levels of immunity, weakness and ill health are all outcomes of pollution. In some cases, people have been forced to migrate due the adverse impact of pollution on their health.
- Forest degradation due to mining activities has also been detailed in the *Jan Rapats*.

Land distribution and fragmentation

Land ownership and distribution are other important issues. The land distribution pattern is skewed, by the presence of a number of large farmers, due to *benami*¹⁷ land records and old *malgujars* (landlords who were earlier responsible for collecting rent on behalf of the State), who continue to operate in the central

From the people

The dust from the coalmines in the district spreads to the villages and the fields. This affects the productivity of the land as well as the health of the people.



District Report, Korea

In Daundi block, the red water that comes from the mines has reduced the productivity of the land.

District Report, Durg

Most families in the village work as agricultural labourers for the farmers during the agricultural season and in the factories of IBP and NTPC during the rest of the year. NTPC has constructed a large fly ash dam, in the north of the village at an altitude. The ash particles are carried down by the wind and pollute the village.

Dhanras village, Katghora block, Korba

People suffer from respiratory diseases because of ash in the atmosphere. Tuberculosis is also quite common.

District Report, Korba



¹⁷ *Benami* refers to the practice where the land records are maintained in fictitious or incorrect names.

belt of the State. Increasing population and subdivision of holdings has led to tiny and unviable plots of land for small and marginal farmers.

Land – an eroding resource

Soil degradation and soil erosion are increasing problems, leading to a decline in agricultural productivity. The *Jan Rapats* have noted this, and the following reasons have been cited:

- Pollution due to mining activities in the vicinity of agricultural fields and excessive use of chemical fertilisers.
- High cropping intensity without allowing the land to replenish the nutrient content and aerating the soil.
- Absence of good forest or vegetative cover, which leads to more soil erosion. The lack of good vegetative cover has also reduced dry leaves and twigs that fall on the land and which add to the productivity of the land.

Land records

Two issues find frequent mention in the *Jan Rapats* – a) the problem of information on land records, and b) errors in the records.

From the people

Every village has various types of land – Government land, private land, *aabadi* (inhabited) land and pasture land. Pasture lands are for fodder for cattle. Compared to the past, there is now more soil erosion. To prevent this, there is a need for afforestation and the construction of small check dams. Earlier the presence of *jungles* would prevent soil erosion.

Matpahad Village Report, Pathalgaon block, Jashpur



Access to land records is not easy and the role of field level revenue officials is not always that of a facilitator. In many cases the records do not reflect actual ownership, especially in the case of larger landholdings. Another problem is that a large number of forest dwellers do not have clear land titles. Many of them have officially been categorised as 'encroachers' on forestland, although they were there long before the State declared their land as State forests.

Encroachments and displacements

The issue of encroachments has been regularly cited in the *Jan Rapats*. While encroachments are present in almost all categories of land (private, State owned, open access and common lands), common

From the people

Encroachment exists on land meant for roads and pasture lands for animals. This leads to a lack of space for the animals, as well as shortage of pasture and fodder for them.



District Report, Durg

For personal gain we will not encroach on land. The revenue department should periodically check on encroachments on community land, roads and pasture lands. This will help curb illegal encroachments.

Portenga village, Jashpurnagar block, Jashpur

In 1988, the Pachpedi dam was built on the land of Parasda, Uganiya and Devri villages. The dam was a good thing, but the compensation for it hasn't been received till today. The Government needs to ensure that every poor farmer who lost his land in the building of this dam should get his money. Due to the construction of this dam, many farmers, including tribal and marginalised families, have become landless.

Devri Village, Gunderdehi Block, Durg

lands have suffered the most, especially pasture and grazing lands. This has affected the quantity of fodder available for the cattle, especially for the landless, small and marginal farmers who depend on grazing and pasture land for feeding their cattle (they are unable to produce enough crop residues to feed their cattle). Grazing is prohibited in forest areas and the continuously degrading forest cover does not provide enough fodder to feed their cattle, for the whole year.

The Village and District Reports express serious concerns over encroachment. The political and power dynamics of these encroachments are such that people believe strong State intervention is essential for stopping and removing encroachment. There have been instances of families being displaced for the construction of dams, factories and industrial projects, and have not been fully rehabilitated.

Women and Natural Resources

Women are the principal stakeholders in natural resources, since they use these resources in the home and for the market. They are the custodians and keepers of the rich cultural traditions of Chhattisgarh. The usage, maintenance and management of natural resources are issues closest to their hearts. Any change in Government policy impacts them. Lack of drinking water means they have to walk longer distances to fetch water, or manage with less water. Each day women have to travel longer distances to collect the same amounts of *tendu* or *mahua*. Thus, reduced access to the jungle or a decline in its produce means an additional burden on the time, energy and finances of women.

Despite this women remain outside the management system. Their legitimate right to

From the people

The major occupation for the people of the village is agricultural labour. Almost all the people in the village are landless and work in the fields of the *malgujaar* whose name is *Dani*. In the past all the villagers worked on his fields and were paid in kind at the wage rate of three *Paili* (local measure of paddy or *kodu*). Apart from this no other source of livelihood is available. The administration should bring the land owned by *Dani* under the Land Ceiling Act and redistribute it to the villagers. We know that 300 acres of land has been declared as ceiling surplus but the land has not yet been distributed.



Gotatola village, Mohala block, Rajnandgaon

From the people

Land records are maintained on paper. There is also *nistaari* land, which is allotted for specific purposes - graveyards, *sarnas*, *akhadas*, *khalihaan*, *khel ka maidan*.



Basod discussion, Sagibhavan village, Kasbil block, Jashpur

In a particular village, in block Sonhat, the residents claim that during the last *bandobast*, there were problems in the land records. Somebody's land was shown as someone else's land. This has happened in other villages also. Land records are not available easily or on time.

District Report, Korea

participate in natural resource management exists largely in documents and programme manuals.

The *Jan Rapats* have mentioned the role of women in natural resources, but with a few exceptions the Reports have been unable to identify the centrality of women to the issue of natural resources. While provisions have been constituted for their involvement, women remain at the periphery of natural resource management, despite being primary stakeholders.

From the people

Women are involved in cutting and collection of fuel wood from the forests. In the more forested blocks of Borla and Pandariya, they are involved in activities of collection of forest produce like *tendu patta*, and in the processing of forest produce (brewing *mahua*, making *jhadus*), and the collection of medicinal and other plants.



District Report, Kabirdham

The management of natural resources lies in the hands of Government departments and some People's *Samitis*. People accept that women can play a very important role in the management of natural resources in the use of drinking water, women can check any wastage. They can also ensure that tube wells and hand pumps are managed well. Since they are involved in the collection of *tendu patta* leaves, they play a significant role in collection of MFPs. They contribute to agriculture and land development by doing *nidai aur gudai* (weeding and raking) of land.

District Report, Korea

Village Reports (16 percent) have listed women as being engaged in any trading activity. Only 5.1 percent of Village Reports have said that women play no role in the economic activity of the village or have no role in the management of resources.

The culture and orientation of State Departments and market negotiation instruments that affect natural resources – the *patwari*, the land markets, PHED staff, water markets, the hand pump mechanic, the forest guard, the forest officers, the timber depot management, the JFM dynamics – are all such that women find it difficult to interact with them.

Every natural resource initiative should factor in the role played by women. Institutions and their staff should be gender sensitive and ensure that women are involved in the management and care of natural resources. The rights of women as the primary stakeholders in the interface between people and natural resources should be recognized.

The data from the Village Reports has shown that women in 68.3 percent of the villages are engaged in non timber forest produce (NTFP) collection. Women are employed as agricultural labour in 63.7 percent of the villages. In trading, however their role is extremely limited. Less than one in five of the

Common Property and Management

The management of natural resources and ownership have emerged as major issues in the *Jan Rapats*. The reports have pointed out that communities are protectors of these resources

Table 1.10 **Women and natural resources**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Region	Work in Agriculture	Collection of NTFP	Participation in trading	No Role
Northern region	73.8	80.3	21	3
Central plains	49.2	53.3	9	8
Southern region	68	71.2	18	4.2
State	63.7	68.3	16.0	5.1

Source: *Jan Rapats* Part III

and not exploiters, in contrast to the generally held opinion in administrative circles.

Current policies, rules and regulations regarding natural resources hinder the locals from managing these resources according to their traditional practices. These policies and laws are framed to protect natural resources from depletion. Lack of transparency, lack of information about the laws regarding these resources, about rules and regulations regarding their management as well as their complexity and frequent changes in policies add to the dilemma of the villagers. *Panchayats* have been ignored and have been excluded from the management of the resources.

The *Jan Rapats* have suggested that changes be made in the system to make it more people friendly and sensitive to their concerns. Providing the people with a real sense of ownership will be helpful in replenishing these resources. The *Jan Rapats* have spoken of both common property resources and open access resources. There is no categorical distinction made between the two, and one has converted itself to the other over a period of time, resulting in the degradation of resources and an erosion of the system that managed it.

The reason for this is not necessarily the non-feasibility of common property resources as a concept but that the institutional arrangements and decision making regimes are not sustainable. Ownership of the resource itself is often ambiguous and sometimes, it is controlled by an entity external to the village community. Being multiple shared resources, common property resources must have well defined ownership rights and operational rules

From the people

In our village we have 1,391 acres of cultivable land. The inhabited land is 100 acres. The pasture land is within the forest. *Nistaari* land is 10 acres. Cremation ground takes up six acres. Forest land is four acres. Other land is seven acres. The land of the village is looked after by the land owners. The village also has unused land which we want to use for a PHC, a veterinary centre, a school and a dairy farm.



Lohari Village, Marwahi block, Bilaspur

to be effective and equitable, both economically and socially, to their users. The older systems of community managed resources were to a large extent based on such parameters but these have now faded out.

The *Jan Rapats* have unambiguously stated that while development of open access¹⁸ resources is a necessity and that State intervention in these areas can actually help in the revitalising of such resources, management of common property should eventually remain with the community and its institutions.

If community rights and authority over the same are clarified and people take over its management by framing rules for regulating use and access, the same open access resource would become a common property resource under community management. The ownership of these resources by centralised, absolute power structures, especially in the case of forests, also have a history - of tension, corruption, conflict, non transparency and the swift isolation of people from these resources. Most State endeavours have enabled a transfer of ownership of resources to the State and its

¹⁸ Open access land is a common pool resource, which is not being managed by the community or an institution and is therefore referred to as 'open access' land. It usually belongs to the Government.

perceived agents. This has reduced both the access and the special bond that people shared with resources and converted an equitable system into an exploitative relationship.

The traditional systems face a challenge in that the primary stakeholder, which was the village community, has to take a secondary position to the State and thereby subscribe to norms dictated by the State, rather than those agreed jointly upon by co-users of resources.

The people are therefore unable to adequately utilise the resources and the State is unable to fully optimise these. There is a mutual mistrust between the institutions of the household/ community/ village and the State, in spite of common goals of sustainable livelihood for all people and the need to optimally utilise renewable natural resources. There is an urgent need for control and natural resource managing regimes

to get closer to institutions of the household/ village and community, and be directed by the same set of goals and objectives. If interactions between the community and the State are translated into collaborative relationships and partnerships, the results will be more tangible and sustained.


Suggestions for Intervention

Many suggestions have been put forward in the *Jan Rapats*. These have been broadly categorised to indicate the general direction of thought in the Village and District Reports. It must be emphasised that these broad categories only demonstrate some of the more common suggestions. It is imperative that the suggestions made in the Village *Jan Rapats* find recognition and reflection in negotiations between villages, *Panchayats*, administrative conglomerations of people and the Government and agencies involved in development.

From the people

A committee should be constituted for the protection of natural resources like water, forests and land. To maintain the balance of environment, more trees should be planted. If one tree is cut, ten should be planted.

Parasda village, Akaltara block, Janjgir-Champa District Report



The State Report is an attempt to put the specific and focused suggestions of people into a broader frame, to give direction for policy and programme preferences and should in no way interfere, change or modify the priorities and suggestions in the Village *Jan Rapats*. What this implies is that it is unacceptable to move from the whole to the part. The village *Jan Rapats* have put forward certain suggestions and

Table 1.11 **Management of natural resources**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Region	Participation of <i>Panchayat</i> in management	Participation of CBOs ¹⁹ in management	Management by rules and law	Protection of natural resources	Management by adopting traditional ways of managing resources
Northern region	23.3	25.2	22.4	38	21.1
Central plains	18	15	33.6	29	19.4
Southern region	5	11.5	44	47	33.2
State	15.4	17.2	22.1	38.0	24.6

Source: *Jan Rapats* Part- III

priorities, which are specific to their context and these, must be acted upon, regardless of what happens at the State level.

A large number of Village Reports (38 percent) have stated that protecting or securing the natural resources should be the first priority. About a fourth of the Village Reports have suggested using traditional ways of management. Rules and laws as a system of management is suggested by 22 percent of the Village Reports and 15.4 percent state that participation by the *Panchayats* in the management of natural resources will be desirable.

It is necessary to recognise that women form a large and primary section of forest users and collectors of natural resources. The sizeable use of natural resources for home consumption and its economic relevance as forest produce make women integral and primary stakeholders in collection and gathering. The District and Village Reports have tended to undermine this fact and have not emphasized the vital role that perhaps only women can play in the conservation and protection of natural resources. The State acts in a similar manner. Although adequate provisions have been made in the policy framework for involvement of women in management of forests through reservations, their participation has actually been more formal than real. In any attempt to increase people's real participation in management of natural resources, adequate

and actual involvement of women must be ensured, especially in decision-making.

The suggestions emanating from the *Jan Rapats* are listed under three broad heads – water, forests and land.

Water

Irrigation is a major concern and the requirement for increased irrigation has been stated in all the Village and District *Jan Rapats*. Village after village has expressed the need for irrigation. Nearly half the Village Reports (46 percent) have listed the low level of water as a key concern. Falling level of water and its management has been listed as the most common problem, after the issue of tree felling. (See Table 1.12 for details).

The people have suggested ways to increase irrigation, identifying sources of water as well as ways to store and harvest water. They are eager to extend their help and labour for such activities. Stop dams, check dams, small canals have found mention in the Reports as possible water conservation mechanisms. In order to effectively utilise these structures, support for lift irrigation schemes will be required.

The suggestions and the need for developing water conservation structures are not restricted to irrigation alone.

Table 1.12 **Key concerns in natural resource management**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Region	Low water level	Soil erosion	Cutting of wood	Strict rules and regulations	Damage by cattle	No problem
Northern region	43.9	19.6	37.2	34.2	34	28.9
Central plains	41.2	31.2	41.3	44	31.8	11
Southern region	53	29	65.6	39	22.7	31
State	46.0	26.6	48.0	39.1	29.5	23.6

Source: *Jan Rapats* Part III

From the people

Extension of irrigation facilities, digging new ponds and better maintenance of canals is needed. If such works are sanctioned, the villagers are willing to contribute their support and labour. These will allow them to grow multiple crops, as opposed to the single crop that they grow at present.



District Report, Korea

Improvement is needed in irrigation facilities, to decrease the dependence on rain and increase productivity and make double and triple cropping possible. There should also be construction of ponds and tanks to store rain water and use it for fisheries and irrigation.

District Report, Surguja

The villagers feel that for increased rain and water harvesting, it is important that Government and non-government land be used for plantation and the development of pasture lands. For this the villagers will need saplings of multi-purpose trees from the forest department. Land which has been illegally encroached upon should be freed and developed as pasture land for cattle. The boundaries of the *talaabs* and the fields should also be used for tree plantation so as to improve rainfall.

District Report, Janjgir-Champa

In Aarang block, people have suggested that a stop dam can be constructed on the Todhgaon Kolhan *nallah* and this can be used for irrigation. In Kasdol block, the people of Chikli village have suggested a dam on the Tendu Dhari *nallah*.

District Report, Raipur

- The multiple advantages of water harvesting, which can be used for domestic purposes, for *nistaari*, for fisheries and for ground water recharging have been recognised by the people. Many reports have identified sites, which can be used for water conservation, by

constructing check dams and for watershed development. They have also identified small rivers and tanks that can be utilised.

- The drought situation in the last few years has directed the attention of people to group based action for water conservation. The people have a rich tradition of water conservation and community water management systems, so it is not difficult for people to come together and develop equitable and sustainable systems to manage water. Efforts should be made to document such systems and wherever possible, traditional systems should be used for community water management.

Forests

Regarding forest produce and the interface with forest managers in collecting and using forest produce, the *Jan Rapats* have many suggestions that span legal, administrative, inter - personal and technical dimensions. Some of these suggestions are:

- Planting prominent fuel wood and fodder species on *bunds* of agricultural fields, pasture lands, fallow land and community owned land.
- Freeing encroached land and using it for fuel wood plantation and as grazing land.
- Planting trees in forests, to replace those that have been cut down for fuel wood, so as to maintain the sustainability of forests.
- Ensuring people's participation and control in the management of forests. This is important to maintain the sustainability of forests and to provide opportunities for sustainable livelihoods to forest dependent villages and communities.

Land

The Village Reports have certain concrete suggestions with regard to land and its utilisation. These are:

- Wasteland and barren lands should be better utilised. They can be used as common property resources, or can be used for social forestry projects or as grazing land.
- Training and know-how should be given to people to enable them to manage barren and un-utilised lands better and put such land to more productive use.
- Fallow, open access and common lands should be used in various ways that can benefit the village community as a whole.

Conclusions

As the *Jan Rapats* explore the issue of natural resources, they reflect a distinct tone of concern. They call for a reflection and re-examination of the role of the State in regulating and managing natural resources. It is evident that the new State stands at a critical juncture. The last fifty years has seen the consequences of natural resource management essentially by the State. There are innumerable examples, from across India, which point to the fact that whenever and wherever people have been involved in managing natural resources in their context and their organisations, these have been successful. This experience must guide Chhattisgarh in the future.

An issue which directly affects people's lives and to a large extent dictates their very existence, requires a complete understanding of the natural systems, their inter linkages and the relationships that govern them. An understanding of the natural diversities, which manifest themselves spatially and over time, is

From the people



People in most villages of Pandariya block want illegal encroachers on Government land to be removed and suggest some plantation on that land, which will give them fuel wood and wood for construction. The *khali* (unused) land should be given to the poor for cultivation.

District Report, Kabirdham

Encroached land should be freed from encroachment and developed as pasture land or used for plantation to increase resources.

District Report, Janjgir-Champa

Increasing encroachments are leading to reduction in fallow and *nistaari* lands. We should increase the irrigated land and prohibit surface digging on pasture lands and *nistaar* land. Unused (*khali*) land should be converted to playgrounds and pasture lands, barren land should be used for cultivation or to plant forests.

District Report, Mahasamund

critical to the evolution of a development path, which is holistic and sustainable.

The lives and livelihoods of the people in the State are intrinsically linked to water, forests and land. Therefore, there is an existing, almost institutional interaction between people and their environment. Initially, there were strong systems of community ownership and local self-regulating mechanisms, based on mutual participation and democratic decision making which helped in the conservation of these common lands. The last hundred years or so has weakened this relationship by distancing people from these resources. Today, it is apparent that these systems have broken down, or are unable to operate for a variety of reasons, leading to exploitation and over use of resources.

The encouraging aspect is that these institutions can be revived and reconstructed,

with clearly detailed goals and objectives and can form the basis of a vibrant and sustainable conservation mechanism. A re-iteration by the State of its commitment to its people and their well being, accompanied by the provision of a set of facilitating factors (and the withdrawal to a sustainable regulatory and conflict resolution role) can lead to people regaining their synergetic relationship with water, forests and land.

The diversity in the social fabric and milieu of the villages does not allow for broad and centralised decision making processes. Instead, these have already led to infringements of the umbilical relationship that existed between people and their resources. The State's enthusiasm and mandate to preserve natural resources by engineering largely sanitised, static, non-interactive, natural environments is not sustainable.

An alternate participatory paradigm that is people-owned and people-oriented is essential, if these resources are to be optimised. The people have to look upon these resources as their own and not as something, which is removed from them. In fact, the singular most important characteristic of the Water, Forests and Land chapter of the *Jan Rapats*, that sets it apart from the other chapters, is the over-riding fervour that people display to come together, to conserve, build and maximise these natural resources.

It is apparent from the *Jan Rapats* that the logical and most suitable role for all stakeholders, is to harness a partnership-oriented and people-owned system, which will make natural resource

management sustainable. This will include the State as a partner in the decision-making processes, reducing its current administrative intrusion but achieving its purpose to preserve and optimally utilise natural resources. Such a synergy would make natural resource ownership and conservation far more effective and equitable by virtue of being plural, local, context-specific and partnership-based.

If the State envisages such a role for itself, especially in the management of forests, people will also have to affect a matching change. They will have to overcome their hostility to State led conservation and assume responsibility for the natural resources, which they have come to regard as belonging to the State, their interaction (especially in the last few decades) being limited to user groups. In addition to ensuring adequate and quality forest cover, the State has the added responsibility to make certain that acts like the Forest Conservation Act and critical constitutional and legal provisions such as those for Scheduled V Areas, *Panchayati Raj* legislation and PESA, are followed both in letter and spirit. The Provisions of the Constitution, Acts, Rules and Regulations and the interpretation of the laws that guarantee people's rights over natural resources as well as the support of democratic institutions should be strengthened. Democratic bodies already exist in the form of people's elected institutions – the *Panchayats*. If capacities at this level are built up, these institutions have the potential to play an instrumental role as custodians and co-managers of natural resource regimes. This transition will necessarily need to be strategically planned and long term in nature.



Income and Livelihoods





Income and Livelihoods

The Village and District *Jan Rapats* treat livelihood as one of the central aspects of human development. A secure, stable and sustainable livelihood—that provides employment and helps people grow and live with dignity – is imperative for human development.

Only secure livelihoods can give people the means to ensure access to facilities such as education, health care and safe habitats. Livelihoods impact the quality of life, afford a certain standard of living, and help people overcome the daily battle for survival. Secure livelihoods reduce dependence on natural resources, Government or middlemen. Secure livelihoods bring about economic independence and lead to increased self-reliance, help to build productive assets and skills, and give to people the ability to intervene in the environment (natural, cultural, social, economic and institutional).

Recognising the multidimensional impact of livelihood on living and lifestyle, people perceive livelihood not merely as a job that provides an income, but assign a larger and more significant role to livelihood, since it helps to expand their choices.

The first section of this chapter presents a macroeconomic view of the livelihood pattern based on secondary data. The second

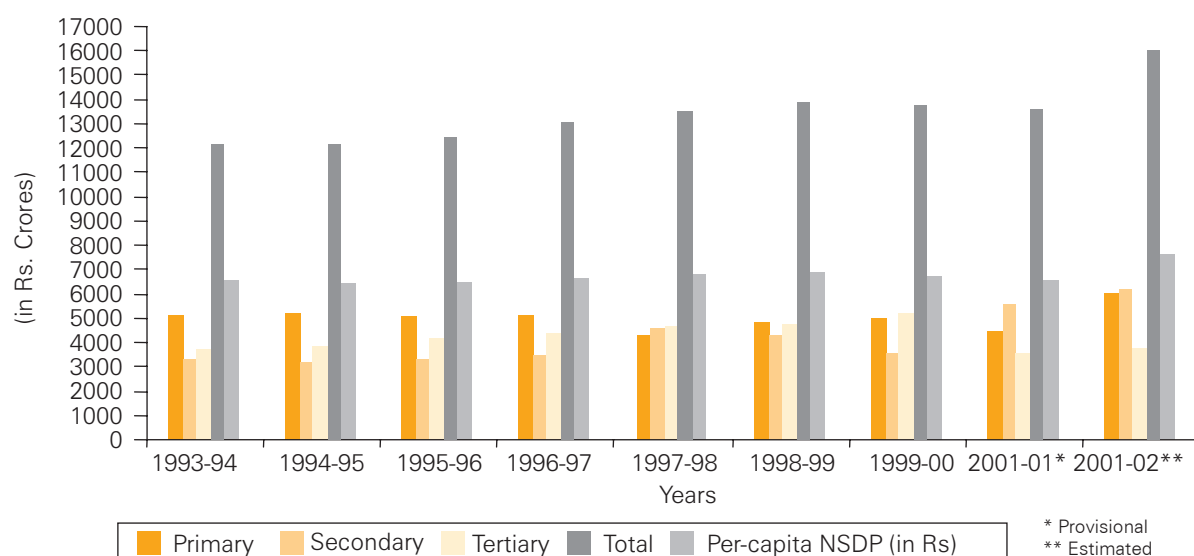
section explains the regional characteristics of livelihood on the basis of secondary and primary information available from the *Jan Rapats*. This is followed by a detailed discussion of various livelihood choices. The next section analyses the perception of the community on the status of livelihoods, income and employment, sources of livelihoods, the resource base and the survival and growth strategies as reported in the *Jan Rapats*. Two separate sections deal with issues of women and livelihoods and institutions and livelihood choices. The last section details the suggestions, which emanate from the Reports and discusses the future challenges.

Economy and Livelihood Patterns

This section focuses on understanding the broad canvas of livelihood in the State of Chhattisgarh. The economy of the State, the livelihood pattern and major sources of employment are explained using quantitative data from primary and secondary sources.

The primary sector, more specifically agriculture and allied activities, forms the base of the State's economy and provides livelihood to 80 percent of the rural population. The rural economy has a diversified base with agriculture and allied activities as the mainstay, accompanied by a thriving rural non-farm economy.

Figure 2.1 **Net State Domestic Product of Chhattisgarh – constant prices (1993-94)**



Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Chhattisgarh

Income and employment - a macro view

According to the available secondary data on income and livelihoods, the per capita Net State Domestic Product (NSDP) in the State was Rs 12,476 in 2001-2002. The per capita NSDP has increased at an average rate of about two percent per annum, (at constant 1993-94 prices) since 1993-94.

Although there has been a gradual decline in the share of the primary sector in the NSDP,

it still continues to be very significant. The primary sector accounted for about 38 percent of the NSDP in 2001-02, which was roughly the same share as the secondary sector. The secondary sector expanded rapidly from 27.3 percent to 38.5 percent of NSDP, in the 1993-94 to 2001-2002 period. The share of the tertiary or services sector in the State income has seen a decline, in 2001-2002, after a rapid increase in the late 1990s (see figure 2.3).

Table 2.1 **Net State Domestic Product of Chhattisgarh**
(in Rs. crores, at constant (1993-94) prices)

Sector	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-00	2000-01*	2001-02**
Primary	5118	5183	5034	5169	4293	4827	4985	4471	6048
Secondary	3322	3162	3320	3485	4592	4294	3515	5567	6158
Tertiary	3723	3835	4142	4387	4664	4761	5220	3556	3778
Total	12163	12181	12496	13041	13551	13882	13720	13594	15984
Per-capita NSDP (in Rs)	6539	6445	6474	6654	6810	6873	6692	6567	7647

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Chhattisgarh

*Provisional ** Estimated

Table 2.2 **Net State Domestic Product of Chhattisgarh**
(in Rs crores at current prices)

Sector	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-2000	2000-01*	2001-02**
Primary	5118	5543	5758	6462	6302	7342	8153	7461	9914
Secondary	3322	3449	3816	4278	6055	6073	5100	5422	6158
Tertiary	3722	4205	4860	5630	5985	6897	8077	8667	10002
Total	12163	13198	14435	16372	18344	20313	21331	21551	26074
Per capita NSDP (in Rs)	6539	6983	7479	8353	9218	10056	10405	10363	12476

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Chhattisgarh

*Provisional ** Estimated

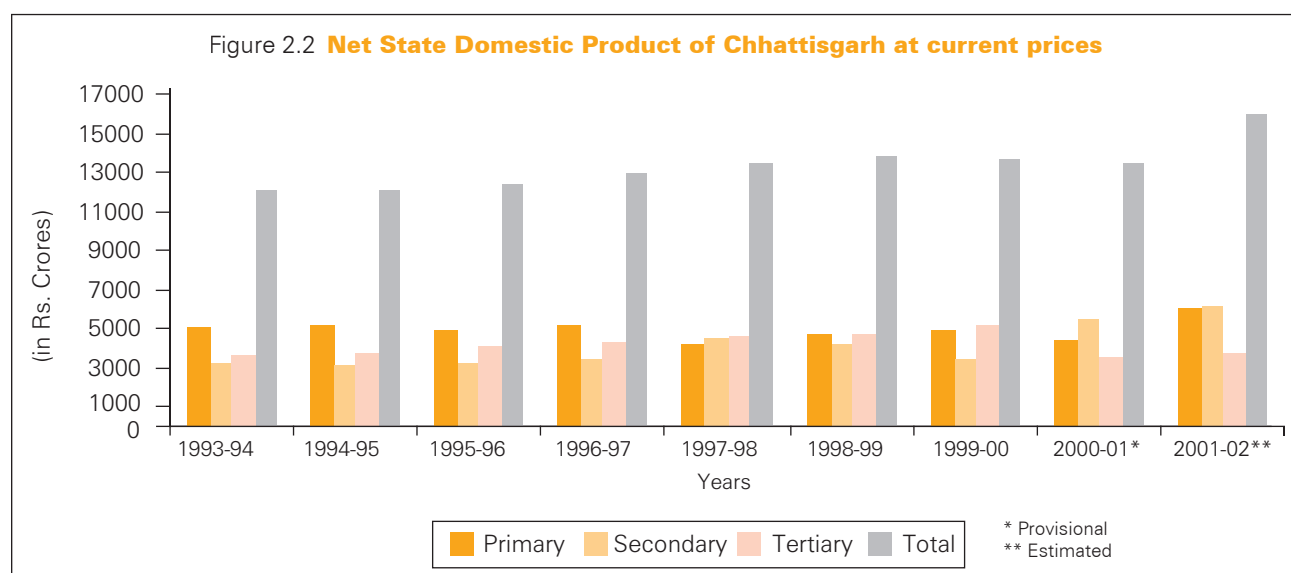


Table 2.3 **Sectoral composition of NSDP of Chhattisgarh**
(as a percentage of total NSDP)

Share of Sectors	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1999-00	2000-01*	2001-02**
Primary	42.1	42.5	40.3	39.6	31.7	36.3	32.9	37.8
Secondary	27.3	26.0	26.6	26.7	33.9	25.6	41.0	38.5
Tertiary	30.6	31.5	33.1	33.6	34.4	38	26.2	23.6

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Chhattisgarh

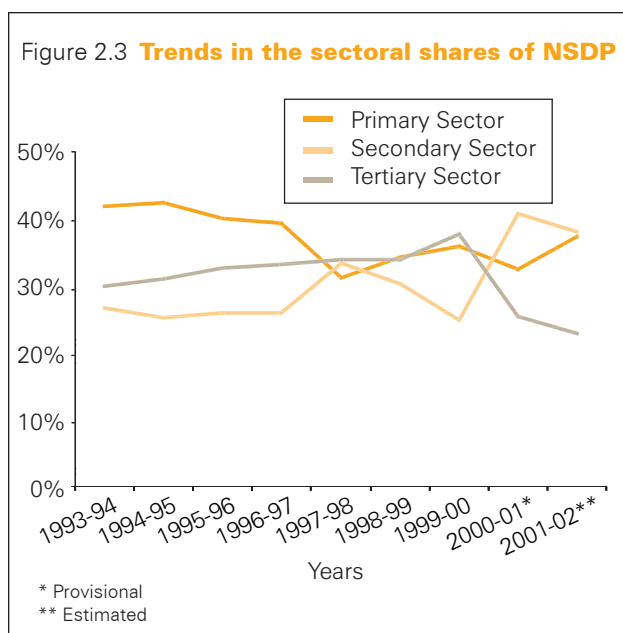
* Provisional ** Estimated

Work force participation rate¹

According to the 2001 Census, the Work Force Participation Rate (WFPR) for the State is 46.5 percent. The rural WFPR is higher, at 50 percent,

compared to the urban WFPR of 31 percent. Marginal workers constitute about 27.2 percent of the total work force in the State of which 70 percent are women. Around 76 percent of

¹ Work force participation rate is defined as the number of workers divided by the total population



the total workers are employed in agriculture. Agricultural labour accounts for 32 percent of the workforce.

Table 2.4 **Average growth rate of income per annum, 1993-94 to 2001-02**

Sector	1993-94 to 2001-02 (growth rate in percent per annum)
Primary Sector	2.11
Secondary Sector	8.02
Tertiary Sector	0.18
Total	3.47
Per capita NSDP	1.98

Source: Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Chhattisgarh

Regional Characteristics and Classification by Livelihoods

The livelihood patterns depend on distinct regional characteristics. Three broad regions emerge in the State, based on the terrain, cropping pattern, forests and industrial development.

Regional classification

Each of the three broad regions of the State has distinctive characteristics that influence the lives of the people. This has been explicitly brought out in the *Jan Rapats*. The three broad areas are northern Chhattisgarh, the central plains area and southern Chhattisgarh.

Northern Chhattisgarh

The hilly and forested terrain in the north of the State includes the districts of Korea, Surguja, Jashpur, and parts of Bilaspur, Korba, Kabirdham and Raigarh districts. The environment and the topography shape the lives of the people of this region.

- People and communities are dependent on the forests for fuel, firewood, medicines, liquor, food, implements and housing material. Many trees, shrubs and creepers provide vegetables and fruits that form an important part of the diet of the people.
- The main agricultural crop is paddy. Despite the increasing use of high yielding varieties (HYV), local strains continue to be popular. A wide variety of other local crops are grown as well, primarily for self-consumption.
- Goats, poultry and cattle are the major animal assets.
- The area has ample sources of water, from rivers, streams and springs.
- This region is the coal belt of Chhattisgarh. Most of the coalmines are situated here. Mining activities provide limited opportunities for wage employment.
- Korba is the major industrial town in this region.

Central plains

The plains area of the State covers the districts of Rajnandgaon, Durg, Raipur, Mahasamund, Dhamtari and some blocks of Bilaspur.

- Single crop agriculture is the norm and paddy is the main crop. The increasing spread of irrigation has provided opportunities for double cropping and diversification, and has encouraged horticultural activities. This is the most fertile and productive region of Chhattisgarh.
- There are a few forests in this region. Villagers in the vicinity of forests, gather forest produce for sale and for self-consumption.
- The animal population consists mainly of milch animals.
- In terms of infrastructure, the plains are relatively well developed. Industrial activity and urban conglomerations provide opportunities for non-farm activities, as well as markets for horticulture and animal produce.
- Migration is common from this region, from the villages to towns within the State, and even to other States such as Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana.
- Durg is the major industrial district and the Bhilai Steel Plant is situated here.
- Exceptionally fortunate in its water resources, the region has good rainfall and rapid run off due to the undulating terrain. There is substantial potential for rainwater harvesting and watershed development.
- Forests play an important role in the lives of the people, providing food security and livelihood through the collection of minor forest produce, and employment (as casual labour) in the Forest Department. The forests provide for people's consumption needs — fuel and firewood, medicines, food and drink, implements and housing materials.
- Agriculture is mainly single cropped. People depend on traditional knowledge and techniques for agriculture. The main crop is paddy, grown with local seeds, fertilisers and implements. This region is one of the richest sources of local paddy varieties. Many local crops are grown for self-consumption and these ensure nutritional and food security. Most people keep domesticated animals as well – cattle, goats and poultry.
- Infrastructure and communication channels are poor. Much of the area gets cut off during monsoon.
- This region is well known for its rich iron ore deposits and the Bailadila mines are located here.

Southern Chhattisgarh

This area consists of the forested hill tracts of the districts of Bastar, northern Bastar (Kanker) and southern Bastar (Dantewada). It has a lot in common with the forested and hilly tracts of the north. The region is heavily forested and forests are the primary source of livelihood, providing for many household needs.

Classification of livelihoods

The *Jan Rapats* provide an analysis of the livelihood patterns in the State. There are several distinct categories, which have been identified. The various categories that emerge from the village reports are detailed below:

Table 2.5 **Classification of livelihoods**

Agriculturists: People with land, who depend almost entirely on cultivation, either on their own holdings or on the holdings of others.	They supplement their income and consumption with animal husbandry, and sundry labour at times. Some of them have also diversified into small services or small manufacturing activities.
Labourers: People without their own land or with very little land.	They survive by working as farm and casual labour. They also work in the non-farm sector, in mines, small shops, on construction sites and as part of the urban work force.
Agriculturists and forest gatherers: Those with some land, and living in the vicinity of forests	In areas adjacent to the forests, most people (including those who own some land) gather minor forest produce. A major part of the household consumption and income is based on forest gathering, with agricultural activities providing supplementary income.
Forest gatherers and labourers: People living close to the forests with very little land or without their own land	They are primarily dependent on forest produce, which they gather and sell or directly consume. Occasional labour on fields or in the forest supplements their income. Sometimes they migrate to other places to sell their labour.
Manufacturers: These are traditional occupation based producers	These include the silk weavers of Raigarh, the blacksmiths, carpenters, <i>chattai</i> (woven mats of bamboo or other grasses) weavers and tailors of Raipur, bamboo craftsmen of Korea, and the potters of Bilaspur. They operate in the cottage or household sectors, in tiny units, which may be family-owned and worked, or may even have some contracted workers. Some people have taken to modern manufacturing, operating electrical repair or lathe shops. These are located in the big villages or along main roads.
Service persons: These include traditional as well as modern service providers.	This group is bridging traditional livelihoods and new opportunities, sometimes replacing but often merging with each other. It is a growing segment, its expansion fuelled by the need for manufacturers and users to establish common ground. It tends to be based on simple and easily understood transactions. Entry barriers and requirements are few. Even as the demand for some services is declining – for those offered by cobblers, for example, there are newer trades that are springing up – car and tractor mechanics, for instance, based on apprenticeship and ‘on the job training’ systems. The processes of skill acquisition tend to break social and cultural barriers, as people work together at <i>dhabas</i> , (food stalls) workshops and construction sites.
Organised sector: People with jobs in the public / private organised sector.	Typically requiring formal education, this segment includes public sector service, and employment in offices, industries, and educational institutions and in development related services.

Source: District Reports

Agriculturists and farmers

The analysis of primary data collected from the villages shows that 78 percent of the total rural households are farmers. Only 1.5 percent of all farmers are familiar with modern agricultural practices like the use of modern equipment, chemical fertilisers and HYV seeds; and most of these farmers belong to the central plains region.

Small and marginal farmers constitute the most vulnerable group amongst the cultivators. With just one crop in a year and low productivity, their land is not sufficient to sustain their households. They need to work on additional land, as sharecroppers or as wage labour. Attachment to their land hinders mobility. They have to incur expenses for production and are seldom able to take advantage of any increase in the market

Table 2.6 **Farmers in Chhattisgarh**
(percentage of total farmers)

Region	Small and Marginal farmers	Medium farmers	Large farmers	Total	Farmers with knowledge of modern agricultural practices
Northern region	25.31	25.20	23.96	25.09	22.29
Central plains	64.05	62.34	59.14	62.86	71.45
Southern region	10.64	12.45	16.90	12.05	6.26
State	56.02	30.16	13.82	100	1.5

Source: *Jan Rapats* Part I, data of villages

price, due to small outputs and low bargaining power. (For details see Table 2.6).

Workers, shopkeepers and skilled workers

The data from the Village *Jan Rapats*, gives category wise information about major sources of livelihood in Chhattisgarh. About 18.74 percent of households are workers or wage earners. Around three percent of the rural households run shops. It is important to note that this figure refers to those households that are completely dependent on wages and other work. A sizeable proportion of agriculturists live on the margins. During the lean season, or when they face a shortage of food grain, they look for wage labour. Wages are an important source of livelihood. Within the wage labour category, there are several sub-categories like agricultural wage labour, wage labour for forest

produce collection and wage labour in cattle rearing. Wage earners are engaged in cottage industry, manufacturing industry, construction work, mines, transport related activities and in small hotels and *dhabas*. The smallest category of rural households (0.15 percent of all rural households), is that of skilled workers and they are largely rural artisans.

Wage earners

About 82 percent of rural wage earners find employment in agricultural activities. Cattle-rearing is second in importance to agriculture and provides employment to 6 percent of all rural wage earners. However, wages from cattle rearing are largely contractual in nature. About five percent of the rural wage earners get wages from forest-based activities.² Construction labour provides employment to about 2.7 percent of wage earners. (See Table 2.8)

Table 2.7 **Workers in Chhattisgarh**
(percentage of total workers)

Workers as per occupation	Region			
	Northern region	Central plains	Southern region	Total
Farmers	72.53	79.64	81.49	78.01
Shopkeepers	3.06	3.63	0.39	3.10
Wage labour	24.26	16.58	17.99	18.74
Skilled workers	0.15	0.15	0.13	0.15
State	26.05	62.18	11.77	100.00

Source: *Jan Rapats* Part I, data of villages

² There are two kinds of forest based work. The forest department provides employment as a part of regular departmental activity in forest areas. Secondly, people collect non-timber forest produce from forest areas.

Table 2.8 **Category-wise distribution of rural wage earners**
(percentage of total)

Workers	Agriculture	Forest	Cattle rearing	Fishery	Cottage industry	Petty industry	Construction	Mine-worker	Transport	Big industry	Dhaba/ Restaurants	
Northern Region	76.44	5.98	8.61	0.60	1.06	0.41	3.76	1.62	1.18	0.18	0.17	100
Central Region	85.85	3.25	4.84	1.16	1.02	0.34	2.09	0.60	0.35	0.24	0.26	100
Southern Region	79.07	9.13	5.04	1.00	1.99	0.15	2.92	0.26	0.27	0.03	0.15	100
State	81.98	4.96	6.01	0.97	1.18	0.33	2.72	0.86	0.59	0.19	0.22	100

Source: *Jan Rapats* Part I, data of villages

The central plains account for 54.7 percent of the total wage earners. A third (30.2 percent) of the wage earners are located in the northern region while only a sixth (15.2 percent) of the wage earners are in the southern region. Of the total agricultural workers, around 57 percent workers belong to the central plains. A high proportion (44 percent) of the total people engaged in cattle rearing also belong to the central plains. The southern

region accounts for only 13 percent of the wage earners engaged in cattle rearing. (For details see Table 2.9) This is not surprising given the population distribution between the three regions. The central plains are home to about 60 percent of the people, while the northern and southern regions account for 25 percent and 15 percent of the population respectively.

Table 2.9 **Region-wise wage earners in each category**
(percentage of total)

Field	Northern region	Central plains	Southern region	Total
Agriculture	28	57	15	100
Forest	36	36	28	100
Cattle rearing	43	44	13	100
Fishery	19	65	16	100
Cottage industry	27	47	26	100
Small industry	37	56	7	100
Construction	42	42	16	100
Mining	57	38	5	100
Transport	60	33	7	100
Large and medium scale industry	29	69	2	100
Dhabas / Restaurants	23	66	10	100
Region-wise percentage	30.2	54.7	15.2	100

Source: *Jan Rapats* Part I, data of villages

Table 2.10 **Traditional artisans/workers**
(percent of total artisans)

Artisan category	Northern region			Central plains			Southern region			State		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
Art/ Painting	4.3	5	4.65	6	6.7	6.35	6	5.9	5.95	5.43	5.87	5.65
Pottery	37.9	22.9	30.4	33.4	18.5	25.95	28.6	15.7	22.15	33.30	19.03	26.17
Mining and metallurgy	4.9	3.4	4.15	5.0	3.3	4.15	7.1	5.9	6.5	5.67	4.20	4.93
Carpentry	5.6	25.3	15.45	5.5	24.5	15	11.1	31.7	21.4	7.40	27.17	17.28
Blacksmith	7.5	12.5	10	3.3	6.7	5	8.3	16.1	12.2	6.37	11.77	9.07
Weaving	5.8	3.7	4.75	9	5.4	7.2	5.5	3.4	4.45	6.77	4.17	5.47
Dyeing / colouring	1.2	0.9	1.05	1.2	0.7	0.95	0.6	0.3	0.45	1.0	0.63	0.82
Stitching / Embroidery	32.8	26.3	29.55	36.6	34.2	35.4	32.8	21	26.9	34.07	27.17	30.62

Source: *Jan Rapats* Part I, data of villages

Rural artisans

The artisans of Chhattisgarh are famous for their craftsmanship. Primary data, collected from the villages, gives a profile of the artisan families in rural Chhattisgarh. Rural artisans range from weavers, potters and blacksmiths to carpenters, tailors and metal workers. There are around 1,84,000 families in rural Chhattisgarh. The data from 19,128 villages shows that around 1.8 percent of the total rural workforce (population aged 15 and above) earn their livelihood from artisanship. About 17 percent of the artisans in the State are women. Among rural artisans, 30.62 percent are involved in stitching and embroidery related activities. Art and painting engage 5.65 percent of the artisans, while 5.47 percent work as weavers. The *koshthas* or *devangans* are traditional weavers of Chhattisgarh. Both communities are spread all over the State, from Raigarh to Bastar, and most of the community members are engaged in their traditional craft. Around 0.8 percent of the artisans are engaged in dyeing and colouring activities. A little over a fourth of the artisans (26.17 percent) earn their livelihood through craftsmanship in pottery. About 17 percent of the total artisans work as

carpenters. Another 9.07 percent of the artisans earn their livelihood by working as blacksmiths while traditional mining and metallurgy provide livelihood to 4.93 percent of the artisans.

Rural craftsmanship is perhaps the most important non-farm activity. However, the production is largely for rural consumption and very little finds a market outside the rural economy. The terracotta from Bastar and *kosa* silk are two products that have reached urban markets. The Government has taken some



steps to develop the institutional infrastructure to assist the rural artisans, including access to markets. An important aspect of this activity is the role played by women. They are partners in these activities. The disaggregated data of the villages (disaggregated by craft and gender) shows that in crafts such as earthenware, metal related activities (excluding blacksmithy), weaving and stitching, there is a higher proportion of women than men.

Jobs (in Government and the organised sector)

Only about 3.61 lakh people are employed in the Government and the private organised sector. According to the *Jan Rapats*, among the total number of people employed in Government jobs, only 14.3 percent are women and 85.7 percent are men, reflecting a high gender inequity. The percentage of women in private sector employment is higher (23.9 percent) than in the Government sector. Of the total Government employees, 53.5 percent belong to the central plains, reflecting the inter-regional population distribution.

Livelihood Choices

In Chhattisgarh, there are a variety of livelihood options, although agriculture is the

From the people

Raipur district can be divided into three regions, on the basis of dominant livelihood patterns:



- Agriculture dependent: Abhanpur, Arang, Dharsiva, Bhatapara, Baloda *Bazaar* and Devbhog blocks.
- Agriculture and forest dependent: Mainpur, Gariyaband, Chhura, Kasdol and Bilaigarh blocks.
- Agriculture and Industry dependent: Dharsiva, Bhatapara and Tilda blocks.

Apart from agriculture, the people are involved in animal husbandry (poultry, goat-rearing, piggery etc.), fisheries and non-timber forest produce collection. Some people work in traditional occupations like blacksmithy, carpentry, mat-weaving and stitching. Others have taken up service-based occupations like minor repair work, running grocery stores, betel nut shops and trinket shops.

District Report, Raipur

main occupation. Rarely does one vocation dominate the livelihood profile of a household. With the exception of those with the luxury of a Government job, most people take up supplementary activities, to add to their income and meet their basic needs.

Table 2.11 **Distribution of people working in the organised sector**
(percentage of employment)

Region	Government jobs			Organised private sector		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
Northern region	32.3	30.2	30.5	24.1	36.9	33.8
Central plains	46.6	54.7	53.5	50.2	52.8	52.2
Southern region	21.1	15.1	15.9	25.6	10.3	14.0
State (percentage of total employment)	14.3	85.7	100.0	23.9	76.1	100.0

Source: *Jan Rapats* Part I, data of villages

The earlier rigidities of vocation are breaking down. People have diversified their portfolio of work, taken to new occupations and even migrated in search of employment. One of the few binding factors is land; landowners give up their land, if at all, only very reluctantly. Small and marginal farmers are worst affected because they do not have adequate land for agriculture to be sustainable nor do they have the mobility to look for a job elsewhere. The exceptions to the multiple vocation norm tend to lie on the extremes of the livelihood spectrum — either those who are doing very well in their primary and single occupation, such as large asset holders and those comfortably and securely employed, or alternatively those who are extremely poor and have no other option or assets but to depend solely on their only livelihood source.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the main occupation of the people and the foundation of the economy. Even in the districts in the north and south, where forests play a significant role, agriculture is very important.

Crops and cropping pattern

The norm is single cropped and rain-fed agriculture, with paddy as the main *kharif*³ crop, in about 80 percent of the net sown area.⁴ It is only in the plains that there is any significant double cropping, mainly in the districts of Durg, Raipur, Bilaspur and Rajnandgaon.⁵ The net sown area in the State is 4,828, 000 hectares, which is 35.92 percent of the total area of the State. The gross cropped area⁶ is 5,327,000



Table 2.12 **Area under different crops**

Crops	Area	Total Percentage
	(In 000's of hectares)	
Paddy	3477	62.97
<i>Kodo kutaki</i>	146.8	2.66
Maize	151.01	2.74
Wheat	142.2	2.58
Gram	281.39	5.10
<i>Tiwra</i>	472.34	8.55
<i>Ramtil</i>	129.83	2.35
Linseed	152.7	2.77
Mustard	127.78	2.31
Groundnut	61.24	1.11
Fruits and vegetables	379	6.86
	5521.29	100.00

Source : Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Chhattisgarh

³ *Kharif* refers to the crop that is sown in early summer and harvested in late summer or early winter. Some prominent *kharif* crops are cotton, paddy, maize, jowar and *bajra*. The *rabi* crop is sown in winter and harvested in late winter or during early summer. Important *rabi* crops are wheat, gram, barley, rapeseed and mustard.

⁴ The net sown area represents the total area sown; area sown more than once is counted once.

⁵ Durg has a substantial area of 43-45 percent that is double cropped. Raipur, Bilaspur and Rajnandgaon each have a fourth of their areas under double cropping.

⁶ The gross cropped area refers to the sum total of areas covered by individual crops; areas sown with crops more than once during the year are counted as separate areas for each crop.

hectares (2000-01),⁷ which is about 40 percent of the total area of the State.

While the main *kharif* crop is paddy, other *kharif* crops are *kodo*, *mariya*, *kutki*, *kulthi*, *makai*

Table 2.13 **Cropping pattern (percentage)**

Region	Villages dependent on a single crop paddy	Double cropped villages, sowing wheat	Double cropped villages, sowing pulses	Total
Northern region	75.1	10.7	14.2	100
Central plains	66.7	12.5	20.8	100
Southern region	83.7	5	11.3	100
State	70.7	11.2	18	100

Source: *Jan Rapats* Part I, data of villages

and *jowar*. Village Reports indicate that most farmers plant another crop along with paddy, typically a hardy crop that brings in some food grain, or gives other produce like oilseeds. A little more than 70 percent of the villages grow a single crop and these villages depend entirely on paddy. Only 11.2 percent of the villages go in for wheat as a second crop, after paddy. The remaining 18 percent of the villages sow pulses. In some areas, farmers use HYV seeds, but even in these areas, the use of local and indigenous varieties of paddy, such as *swarna*, are common. Local varieties are perceived to be more drought resistant, provide assured yield and therefore act as an insurance. A mix of HYV and local seeds is the preferred strategy. The

Box 2.1

Rice varieties in Chhattisgarh—the Raipur collection

Chhattisgarh, boasts of an impressive range of rice varieties, and is one of the places where the indica variety of rice originated. The rice varieties vary in type (flavour, size of grain and fragrance) and days of maturity (60 – 150 days). Many rare varieties of rice, which have curative properties, are also grown in the State.

The local varieties of rice have been developed and nurtured by farmers in the State over generations. In 1971, an effort was made to evaluate and document these varieties by Dr. Richcharia, former Director of the Central Rice Research Institute, Cuttack. The aim was to study the local varieties, using the method of 'adaptive rice research' and determine which varieties could be strengthened and developed for specific, local situations. The implicit agreement was that the farmers would make available these local varieties for the purpose of study and once the process was over, the varieties would be handed back to the farmers for cultivation.

Over a period of five years (1971-1976) Dr. Richcharia accessed over 19,000 varieties of rice. This repository of these 19,116 varieties came to be known as the 'Raipur Collection'. Today, it is stored with the rice germ plasm bank at the Indira Gandhi Krishi Vishwavidyala, in Raipur and is the second largest collection of its kind in the world.

However, Dr. Richcharia's vision of replicating 'adaptive rice research centres' in a decentralised

manner, all across the State, is yet to be fulfilled. It is especially relevant in the present context and can be instrumental in increasing productivity as well as in providing a counter to the drought problem.

The situation today, as reflected by the District *Jan Rapats*, shows the increasing popularity of the high yielding varieties of rice (especially IR-36, IR-64, *Mahamaya* and *Swarna* amongst others) along with a continued dependence on the local varieties (especially *Dubraaj*, *Saphri*, *Javaphul* and *Vishnubhog* amongst others), in the face of drought and other calamities.

Some of the local varieties documented in the *Jan Rapats* include *Sultu*, *Paltu*, *Hanslo*, *Luchai*, *Kankadiya*, *Murmuriya*, *Churi*, *Badshah bhog*, *Kutki*, *Dokra megha*, *Marhaan dhaan*. Other varieties include *Jag Phool* (smallest grain), *Dokra dokri* (longest grain), *Hathi Panjara* (two grains in one floret), *Naargoidi* (which can grow in up to 10 feet of water) and *Gurmutiya* (which has a purple stem).

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Rainfed Rice – A sourcebook of best practices and strategies in Eastern India, V.P. Singh and R.K. Singh, International Rice Research Institute, 2000

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Genetic Resources – The Raipur Collection, Asha Krishnakumar

Seeds – Source of life or profit-making, Suresh Kumar Sahu

⁷ Source: Statistical Pocket Book of Chhattisgarh; Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Chhattisgarh - 2001

HYV seeds ensure a surplus in good years, and the local varieties ensure that there is some production in case of any natural calamity.

Despite some improvements, crop productivity in Chhattisgarh is relatively low in comparison with other States. There are also region-wise variations and from village to village. Small and marginal farmers, unable to use improved agricultural techniques, usually get low yields. Productivity also changes with the type of technology used. Availability of assured irrigation in the *kharif* season makes a big difference to productivity. Thus, some farmers may have low yields while in the same village their neighbours may be getting substantially higher yields.

Within the State, traditional seeds and traditional technology have shown good yields. The use of organic farming is now nationally accepted as an option that if used properly can get yields close to HYV seeds, with much lower costs of production. Local seed varieties in paddy have shown resilience towards climatic and other uncertainties and there are seeds that yield produce even in poor soil. There is already a large pool of local seeds, which has been built up by the work of Dr Richcharia, and this invaluable pool can be used to select, develop and then disseminate better yielding and resistant varieties of paddy seeds. Dissemination of the better yielding and resistant varieties of paddy will have two significant benefits. Firstly, it will preserve and promote the varieties that are hardy, locally suited and ensure good production. Secondly, these are varieties with high nutritive values and their propagation will help in promoting food security as well as in conserving the rich agrobiodiversity of the State.

Water and agriculture

Availability of water for irrigating fields is cited as a crucial issue in rural Chhattisgarh. A good

monsoon suffices only for a single crop. The inadequacy of water conservation, storage and drawl systems precludes the possibility of a second crop for most people and areas. Even in villages that have ponds and *talaabs*, there is a need for facilities to draw out groundwater or facilities for lift irrigation. All Village and District Reports stress the urgent need for more irrigation to ensure adequate water for the *kharif* crop and to increase the area under *rabi* cultivation.

Most districts of the State have terrain that is suitable for watershed development, water conservation and storage of surface water. Villagers are ready to collaborate with the State to exploit this potential. The scars of consecutive drought years are evident in the tenor of the *Jan Rapats*.

The one overriding need of the people in Chhattisgarh today is water. The drought in recent years has intensified the people's concern for water. The Reports also mention the adverse impact of natural calamities like drought, hailstorms and insect/ pest attacks which lead to a decline in agricultural production.

Agriculture extension

The Government is making concerted efforts to provide information on new technologies and farming techniques to the people. It is seeking to persuade farmers to change cropping patterns, introduce crop diversification and raise productivity and returns. Agriculture extension is seen as an activity of the Government, carried out by Government employees. Community based organisations and NGOs are not involved. Village and District *Jan Rapats* have not talked about the Government's extension efforts in agriculture. But there is a demand for information on agriculture, new crops, crop rotation, seeds and modern techniques. Villagers

have demonstrated a need for information and knowledge, as well as the capacity to take a decision based on this knowledge, when they are ready for it.

Animal husbandry and fisheries

Most households, irrespective of their land holding, (even those without any land) keep animals such as milch cattle, goats, pigs and poultry. This is an important source of supplementary income and nutrition. It also enhances soil productivity through organic manure. Wherever agriculture is good and there is water and fodder available for cattle, people keep buffaloes and cows as well. They rear them for milk (for home consumption and for sale). Draught animals are also reared as most agriculture is based on animal power.

In regions where agriculture is poor, as in forest belts, or for the small and marginal farmers and the landless, animals play a crucial role. They are often the only assets that can be disposed of in times of distress and therefore provide security as well.

The animals are not very productive as far as milk production is concerned. Animals usually produce enough milk for home consumption with some surplus but do not afford a sound business proposition, unless there is a large herd in an area where there is enough good fodder. This is not always a matter of concern, as many communities in Chhattisgarh do not consume milk, and it does not form an essential part of their diet. This is especially true of the tribal communities in southern Chhattisgarh, in Bastar, Kanker and Dantewada.

In the plains, animal husbandry is a more viable option. Fodder and the marketing of milk and eggs are both relatively easier. In the southern and northern regions animal husbandry

poses a challenge because of the absence of infrastructure to rear high quality animals. Pasture lands within the villages are small and not well maintained. Grazing in the forests is common. Animals do not get good quality fodder but feed instead on *mahua* leaves and graze on poorly vegetated common lands.

Fisheries are an important source of livelihood for many communities. A number of community ponds have come up under the Government's promotional programmes or have been revived. In these cases fishing rights have been given to co-operative groups or to local women's self-help groups. There are many positive factors that sustain and promote fisheries in the State. These include the large number of standing and flowing water bodies that enable fishing. The standing water bodies require proper management to sustain quality fishing over long periods as well as to enable fishing on a larger scale. Fishing ponds that fall under the common property management regime have been highly successful as far as maintenance, management, output and profit distribution are concerned. The presence of fishing communities, which have expertise and experience in fishing and good local markets, provide a strong local base for this activity. Better connectivity to the large markets of eastern India can make fisheries an extremely viable economic activity in the State.

Forests

The role of forests in people's lives and their livelihoods is the defining characteristic of Chhattisgarh State. The reports delineate three broad patterns:

- a) For households and villages in the vicinity of, or within forests, there is a cultural, economic, social and physical dependence. The lives of the people in such areas revolve around the

forests. Forests provide employment and sustain livelihoods through the collection of Non Wood Forest Produce⁸ (NWFP), which people consume or sell to Government promoted co-operatives and societies as well as private traders. The forest has proved itself as a provider for the entire year, particularly during the lean agricultural season. This high dependence and reliance is found mainly in the three southern districts, as well as in Surguja, Korea and the forested belts of Kabirdham, Janjgir-Champa and Raigarh. Access is however increasingly regulated and governed by policy and unsympathetic policy makers. The control of the State is all pervasive and is operationalised through the forest guards and their administrative hierarchy. This is despite the efforts of the State to provide for community management of local resources, in accordance with tribal traditions and customs.



- b) The second type of people-forest relationship is where agriculture is predominant but forests exist in the vicinity of people's habitat and therefore play an important role in their lives. Here, the forests provide sustenance, employment and even income for households. Forests provide for fuel wood, wood for home construction and implements, and a range of Non Wood Forest Produce.
- c) The third type of people-forest interface occurs in the non-forested belts, mainly in the plains. Even here people use forest produce extensively, but the dependence is much less.

It is apparent that for many people, forests are not just a supplementary source of livelihood

but are central to their lives. Regions with sparse forest cover witness much more migration than the forested belts. This is because forests provide a safety net and ensure at least a minimal income. The sustenance that forests provide is an effective insurance in times of need. People in the forest areas therefore neither look for off-season work nor do they migrate in search of employment and income.

- Villages with access to forests appear to have a more sustainable way of life. While the overall income of the households in these areas may not be high, their basic needs are taken care of and there is a comfortable regularity in incomes, which ensures subsistence.
- The direct cash needs for people who rely on the forests are relatively lower, hence dependence on the market is reduced. In villages dominated by agriculture, the market plays a greater role.
- This relationship of dependence on forests as a livelihood provider makes sure that the

⁸ Also called Non Timber Forest Produce (NTFP).

people regard the forest as their own and therefore want to protect it. However since only limited access is permitted and that too under strict supervision of the forest department, the livelihoods of many people are adversely affected.

Mining and industry

Mining is an important economic activity in Chhattisgarh. Mining activity generates employment but the perception is that it is limited and stagnant. Organised sector mining does generate ancillary benefits for the economy of the districts in which it is carried out. The major mines are in Korba and Korea districts, although some quarrying and mining is carried out in other districts as well.

While providing limited opportunities for wage employment, mining has given opportunities for migrant labour, both skilled and professional. Whether the labour employed in mines is entirely local or not is not well known, although indications are that there is substantial migrant labour from outside the State. Mining and related activities do have some downstream local impact on services.

In some areas, mining is reported to have had a detrimental impact on land productivity and the availability of water. In Korba, the reports say that coal has been extensively extracted and this has affected the productivity of the land. The Bastar District Report reports that the river water is being polluted due to mining activity.

The impact of industries on local employment is not perceived to be significant as the number of industries is limited. Although industrial activity has not created many jobs, there have been some indirect benefits. Some Village Reports have referred to unfulfilled promises made by entrepreneurs to provide jobs in return for their land.

Labour and services (non-farm sector)

Several sectors provide opportunities for wage labour and employment. The most important of these are agriculture, construction, and Government works. There are also opportunities for work in small shops, *dhabas* and transport services. Service and manufacturing industries in urban areas and brick kilns in rural areas absorb labour for small periods of time. In most of these areas the entry-level skills required are low and there are no overt barriers of caste or class.

The growth of services often stems from a local need or a specific feature. In places of tourist interest, tourism related services spring up. Along main roads, highways, travel junctions and transport service nodes, transport and travel related services spring up, and around manufacturing clusters, *dhabas*, small shops, small engineering and sundry service and sale units emerge. Traditional services such as carpenters, masons and blacksmiths continue to exist, although in a much more limited

Table 2.14 **Major Industries**

Steel and Pig Iron	03
Cement	20
Aluminium	1
Ferro-alloys	13
Sponge Iron	23
Paper	03
Steel Based Industries like Re-rolling Mill and Steel Casting Mills	150
Agriculture based Industries	700
Mining	1

Source: Directorate of Industries, Government of Chhattisgarh

manner. Most of such sectors survive by either changing their product profile to match markets or by up scaling themselves.

There is a wide diversity in the services provided and this makes the service sector a dynamic one. Wherever a requirement is felt, enterprising people step in to provide the service. For example, in some villages of Surguja district, people go from house to house buying iron products for cash and then sell them in the recycled scrap metal market. In Mahasamund, veterinary care is provided for a fee, when the service is required. In Durg, cultural troupes perform on religious and social occasions, in festivals and fairs for a fee. Some traditional services face a problem, but most display a remarkable degree of adaptability and manage to survive in new forms. In addition, a range of new modern services provides opportunities for employment.

Transport, repair work, small engineering, *dhabas*, tailoring, selling shoes and other plastic products, recycling metal, plastic and wood and cloth are other activities that are quite common. An interesting feature of the traditional service workers like barbers, *dhobis*, and leather workers versus modern service workers, is that the traditional ones are more rigid as far as both entry and exit are concerned. These services tend to be far more community specific but modern services afford a high degree of mobility.

Another trend, which is now apparent, is the growth of private services in the social sectors, which has been dominated by the Government so far. In the last few years, the huge gap between the demand for health and education and their provision by the State has meant that the private sector has stepped in. The space for such services is now emerging

especially because both the large scale organised private sector and the public service providers have not responded to the need for local, contextual, price sensitive options in health and education. Small-scale private entrepreneurs are responding to the need for meeting gaps in the services provided by the State and the organised private sector.

The demand for more appropriately positioned and priced services has provided a range of opportunities for enterprising people. This sector has grown without any institutional benefit, promotion or regulation. The absence of standards and quality monitoring does therefore pose a problem.

Manufacturing

Manufacturing has also shown some signs of growth, albeit a more gradual one. Small, non-industrial rural manufacturing, both home-based as well as those with own business premises, from traditional manufacturing activities to modern manufacturing, are all growing. There is a vibrant mix of traditional and modern products being produced in the State.

Every district has its own manufacturing units. In the plains of Chhattisgarh, where agriculture is more dominant, there is a greater diversity with a large number of modern units. In the more remote villages and in the forested belts there is a preponderance of traditional manufacturing, and service based sales networks. The forest communities in Korea are involved in the manufacture of articles from wood, bamboo and mud, while in Mahasamund tiles and brick making is popular.

Some traditional manufacturing is carried out for products that are largely consumed at home, or within the village. In such cases, physical isolation has actually helped these

activities to survive since these markets are effectively closed to penetration by industrial goods and services. On the other hand, if these manufacturers are linked to more vibrant and distant markets or brought into an organised chain of marketing, they can respond positively. Technical and design inputs will help bring about the emergence of artisan-entrepreneurs.

These units are relatively advantaged. Modern and large-scale industries require supportive and complex institutional frameworks of supply, marketing and credit. The effort here should be to build on this economy of inputs and structures needed for cottage industry, develop its skill and functionality and provide support in the form of credit, upgraded technology and market access. The Village and District Reports point to the need to create appropriate legal, investment, technical and credit mechanisms to facilitate growth.

Traditional occupations need to change their processes and products to keep pace with changing preferences and demands. Most crafts have a functional or utilitarian background and this is what has sustained them. Some are however beginning to adapt and modify their products while improving their processes. In some cases, people have abandoned their traditional vocations because they cannot make a livelihood from them. This is indeed a cause of concern.

Improved technology and tools can make a major difference to manufacturing activity, especially in the cottage and small sectors. There has been little change in manufacturing techniques and technologies, and this, stands in the way of reducing cost, increasing efficiency and capacity, which are pre-requisites to surviving competition from large-scale industry. The competition is acute and the traditional products

that are still holding out are those with stable local markets often, because of their perceived utility. These sectors need infusions of low cost yet appropriate technology, credit facilities and marketing support.

Non-farm manufacturing and services do well when there is agricultural prosperity and a greater demand for goods and services. In Chhattisgarh, agriculture provides an insufficient surplus, and this is a constraining factor. At the same time, there are some developments that have impacted favourably on the growth prospects of non-farm activities. The reports mention the investments made by the State in infrastructure, in roads and bridges, in introducing new technologies in agriculture, irrigation and power. The reports highlight the fact that better served villages are more prosperous with more employment opportunities and there is a greater demand for goods and services in such villages. The reports have also emphasized that more needs to be done.

District Reports have identified the scope for promoting manufacturing facilities in their districts. These are based both on the potential and demand expressed in the Village Reports and the availability of local raw materials and skills. Primary produce from agriculture and forests goes out of villages and districts, with very little value addition. Even the first step in the value addition chain, which can take place locally without very much investment of capital or technology, does not take place. Production or processing units based on locally produced raw materials also appear to have potential.

People's Perception

People's perception about their livelihood as documented in the Village Reports provides

information about the sources of livelihoods and the issues and problems that affect livelihoods. The Village Reports also record the numerous suggestions made by the people. The qualitative information, recorded in part II and part III of the Village Reports, and its subsequent analysis in the District Reports provide valuable inputs for policy initiatives that may be undertaken to enhance the status of livelihoods in rural Chhattisgarh. This section attempts to understand the perception of the communities regarding livelihoods and related issues.

Income and employment

Village economies and sustainable livelihoods

The village and its agriculture are treated synonymously in the Village Reports. All the Village Reports, in the 16 districts, state that a good crop is what the villagers hope for. A good crop increases the self-reliance of the community as it means availability of more food. More production means food security for small and marginal farmers, for a longer period during the year. These farmers complete the sowing on their own land and work as agricultural labour in the fields of the big and medium farmers, ensuring better income and access to food grains. Wage earners are also able to find employment easily. They are often paid in kind and the family attempts to store as much grain as possible. The need to migrate outside the village in search of employment is then considerably reduced. The stored food grain helps these farmers to secure seed for the next year. The big and medium scale farmers on their part aim to generate surplus.

Many families live on the margins of subsistence. Their condition and capacity varies from season to season, and very often from event to event. A drought, an illness, a bad crop or a pest attack can imperil a family and its livelihood. A good crop can provide relative assurance and safety. Households adopt a variety of strategies to support themselves and to insure against adversity and scarcity.

One strategy is to spread the risk by multiplying livelihood options. Family members undertake more than one activity and more than one member takes up work elsewhere. People turn to wage labour in agriculture, in non-farm sectors like construction. This is an option that offers the least space for negotiation, with regard to terms of employment, since labour is plentiful and surplus. It also demands a certain level of physical fitness, health and skill, which may not always be present. Poor households, when confronted with a crisis, tend to take recourse to contract labour (sometimes these arrangements border on a semi-bonded status) to tide over tough times. The prospect of putting the future at stake is deemed a small sacrifice. Many households resort to inducting their children into home-based tasks or even into wage labour.

Homestead and village resources are support mechanisms for every household. Most households have a small *baadee* or homestead next to their habitat, where they grow fruit and/or other trees and plant crops like maize, *kodo* and vegetables. Similarly, village resources, mainly the common resources such as fruit trees, jackfruit and bamboo clumps, are used by villagers within pre-defined usage rules and customary practices. The membership of people in a commune⁹ – a social/ caste/

⁹ These identities are based on habitat and social groups.

tribal/ economic identity — provides crucial assistance to households, especially in a crisis. The common property resources of the village are distributed amongst households on the basis of age-old practices, which are biased in favour of poor families.

Small and large animals are another source of livelihood support. Fisheries are a primary source of livelihood for some people, while for others access to small rivers or ponds and occasional fishing helps in their own consumption and may even provide surplus for sale.

A critical resource mentioned in every Village Report is the role played by Government relief programmes, providing much needed wage labour in times of crisis such as droughts.

However not all households in the village are poor. There are some households that generate surplus. These are:

- a) households with good landholding and irrigation facilities, which enables them to grow two crops.
- b) households with access to power - political, administrative and social.
- c) households with linkages to the external economy.
- d) households that have broken social and economic identities and moved into livelihoods, where traditional identities are less important.

Surplus households sustain the village economy and most local entrepreneurs belong to these families. These families have greater risk taking capacity, access to information and the ability to experiment and adopt new

techniques. It is these households that benefit most when a shift occurs from the local market to larger markets. They also trigger diversification in livelihoods, especially in the service and manufacturing sectors, either by investing in it themselves or by generating demand through their surplus.

Local surplus households are distinct from households and business entities that represent external economic forces and sometimes foray into villages. Such business entities are reported to extract much of the local surplus and give poor returns to farmers and small manufacturers for their goods, as well as to NTFP collectors.

Income and employment — Yesterday and today

There is considerable discussion regarding the condition of livelihoods in the *Jan Rapats*. The situation today is continuously compared with the past. The general consensus is that while the present situation is not satisfactory, there has been an improvement compared to the past. The sources of livelihoods that used to sustain families earlier are no longer sufficient. Thus, villagers are forced to look for alternate livelihood opportunities. These new livelihood choices have helped reduce the dependence on the primary sector.

The Reports state that the level of self-sufficiency villages and households is much less at present since the State and the market have entered their homes. The market has opened up the economy, which has not necessarily been beneficial. The economy has become much more monetised and a large number of products find their way into the villages. As the terms of trade benefit industrial products vis-à-vis primary produce, the villagers feel that they are the losers in this exchange. The spread of the monetised economy has also dented the

Table 2.15 **Current status of livelihood**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for
perception analysis)¹⁰

Region	Very Good	Good	Average	Inadequate	Very Inadequate
Northern region	1.3	3.9	43.2	30.8	21
Central plains	0	5	65	23	7
Southern region	2	36	44	14	2
State	1.1	15	50.7	22.6	9.9

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III



*Jajmani*¹¹ system, depriving many producers of established demand and servicing nodes.

Box 2.2

Employment and work — conceptual differences

The definitions of employment and unemployment or working and not working, which have been used in this Report do not correspond to the definitions and estimates used in the national surveys and employment and unemployment estimates by the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO). In these surveys, unemployment is assessed by the number of days a person has not got work in a preceding time interval, of a month or a week, or as of that day.

In Chhattisgarh, no person, rich or poor, farmer or manufacturer can survive without working. All the people work, either on something that brings in benefits for the family to consume (tilling their own land, collecting forest produce, moulding clay, weaving cloth, repairing a roof, making tiles, painting a wall, etc) or they work on something that is of immediate and direct use to them. Thus a person may be engaged in a productive activity, which does not directly bring in something from outside, in cash or even in kind. Many such activities are non-waged and while people are engaged in work, they are not adequately employed. The NSSO definition does not list them as being unemployed.

According to the *Jan Rapats*, the earlier sources of livelihood are no longer adequate, due to the increased population and a reduction in the availability of resources. Over-use of resources, restrictions on access and fragmentation of land holdings have also contributed to the present state of affairs. There is also competing demand from other claimants to land, water and forest wealth, like the State and the market.

Most villages have discussed the current status of livelihoods.¹² About half of the Village Reports (50.7 percent) give an average rating for the status of livelihood in their villages. Another 22.6 percent of the Village Reports rate the status of livelihood in their villages as inadequate because they fail to find assured livelihood throughout the year. About 10 percent of the Village Reports term the availability of livelihoods as wholly inadequate as they are constantly looking for work.

Employment and under-employment

In the *Jan Rapats*, employment has been linked with income and with the number of days of work. The reports have confirmed that there are

¹⁰ A total of 2669 village *Jan Rapats* were selected from 146 blocks in 16 districts for the perception analysis.

¹¹ In the *Jajmani* system, members of oppressed service castes work for the more powerful and dominant landowning castes of the village. They receive customary seasonal payments of grain, clothing, and money. This system has been operating for generations.

¹² The issue was discussed by 2543 out of the 2869 Village Report (88.6 percent of the sample).

very few or in fact no completely unemployed people. Everyone desirous of work, irrespective of skill level, does get some work, in some measure or the other. The enormous capacity and potential of land and forests for gainful labour is what sustains the demand and need for employment.

Most people work even when they are not employed for a wage. Women work hard to maintain their homes, tend animals and children and collect dung, fuel-wood and forest produce. Men repair homes, make implements, tend animals and offer free labour for the development of social infrastructure and social capital. All of this is extremely important work and very productive, but may not fit in with formal definitions of employment.

There are many people who do not have opportunities for wage related employment



for large parts of the year. With most of the State's agriculture under single crop system, the agricultural season lasts only for four or five months. People near forested areas are able to take up collection of forest produce and find employment for a longer period. People with adequate agricultural land or irrigation facilities or those with employment options through the year are able to sustain themselves well. Others take recourse to casual labour, migration and daily work. People with non-agriculture related professions tend to have a more stable livelihood.

Unemployment is a major problem. The labourer wants full work through the year, the farmers want to grow more crops and get more returns per acre, and want work in the agricultural off-season. The educated want remunerative and acceptable jobs while the manufacturers want increased demand for their goods or services.

Several districts highlight the increasing problem of educated unemployed. Young people in the villages, (especially the educated young), are unable to find employment commensurate with their expectations and this is a cause of discord.

Sources of livelihood

Agriculture

An analysis of the Village and District Reports reveals that agriculture is the most important source of livelihood for the villages in the plains of Chhattisgarh. Even in the southern and northern regions, agriculture is very important, although the forested areas in these regions do provide an alternative source of livelihood to the people. In the plains the situation is different. A single crop in the year is often not enough to ensure food security, and provides

little in cash or kind for the households. After agriculture, the main source of livelihood is daily wage labour, mostly outside the village.

Typically more than one member of the family sells his/her labour, to ensure survival as well as cash and food year round. In those villages,

From the people

Agriculture, labour, mining, collection and sale of forest produce, stone and *murram* quarrying, fisheries on leased lakes, animal husbandry and horticulture are our main occupations. Home industries and self-employment are also gaining popularit.

District Report, Surguja

Agriculture is the primary source of livelihood in the district. Besides this, people work in non-farm activities like grocery shops and *paan dukaans*, horticulture and other service sector jobs. Forest-based livelihoods especially in tribal areas include collection and sale of *tendu*, *lac*, *harra*, *bahera*, *chironji* and *mahua*. Home industries and traditional occupations like weaving, handicrafts and rural crafts are other occupations. Animal husbandry, fisheries and poultry help to supplement livelihoods since there is single cropping in the district. The Government and the private sector also provide some employment.

District Report, Rajnandgaon

In the Scheduled Tribe areas, the main sources of livelihood are agriculture, wage labour, collection and sale of NTFPs and animal husbandry. In the other areas agriculture is the main source of livelihood. Labour and construction work, *kosa* weaving, fisheries and poultry, stone quarrying are other sources of livelihood. Pottery and work with mud

is also prevalent. There is some horticulture but this is mainly for self-consumption.

District Report, Bilaspur



Animal husbandry, fisheries, poultry and contracting services are common in Janjgir. People also run small service units like hotels and grocery shops. Traditional and caste based livelihoods like barbers, blacksmiths, washer men and cobblers are common.

District Report, Janjgir-Champa

The main occupation is agriculture and agriculture related labour. Traditional occupations like animal husbandry, black smithy, carpentry, leather workers, barbers, washer men also exist. People supplement their income by the collection of forest produce, labour and animal husbandry.

District Report, Dhamtari

Agriculture is the main occupation of the district. Those villages situated by the river grow vegetables and fruits in the summer.

District Report, Mahasamund

The sources of livelihood include farming and cultivation, wage labour, collection of forest produce, trading, animal husbandry, bamboo work and pottery.

District Report, Raigarh

Table 2.16 **Dependence on various sources of livelihood**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Region	Labour	Agriculture	Traditional Farming	Forest Produce	Cottage Industry	Fisheries	Cattle Rearing
Northern region	52	36	57	61	14	10	21
Central plains	67	60	41	39	12	24	24
Southern region	49	42	93	80	12	14	27
State	56	46	64	60	12.7	16	24

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

which are close to the big or industrial towns, there is a third alternative. Here people find employment in some industrial work either as daily wage earners or as semi skilled workers. The markets of these towns also provide an opportunity to engage in small trading.

The Village Reports say that people depend largely on traditional farming (64 percent of Village Reports), while 46 percent of the villages follow modern agriculture. Forest produce (60 percent of reports) and wage labour (56 percent of reports) are the next important sources of livelihood. Cattle rearing and fisheries are important in 24 percent and 16 percent of the villages respectively. About 13 percent of the Village Reports list cottage industries and crafts as a source of livelihood. The dependence on forests is extremely high, especially in the northern and southern regions.

Single crop agriculture is characterised by a total dependence on rain and traditional cultivation practices. This results in a dual burden. The total quantity of food grain produced is lower, and the demand for labour in the agricultural sector is also lower. The poor and the landless are affected adversely and find it hard to survive. The impact on food security and nutrition accentuates the problem. The *Jan Rapats* bring out the linkages between nutrition, health and livelihoods. Natural calamities and the lack of substantive nutrition take their heaviest toll on the poorest. The battle for survival poses a major challenge for large sections of the people.

Irrigation can change the very nature of agriculture. In irrigated areas, double cropping is the norm and people grow other crops, including wheat in the second season. The double-cropped area covers only about 30 percent of the cropped area in the State, and in these areas work is available for six to eight months

in the year. Apart from the lack of irrigation, there are other reasons for the continued use of local varieties. When local seeds are used there is local knowledge about their use, and the seeds and inputs required are available with the household or within the village. On the other hand, cash or credit is needed to purchase HYV seeds, chemical fertilisers and pesticides, which are not easily or always available. The problem of adequate and timely supply of HYV seeds through agricultural societies results in farmers preferring to rely on traditional inputs. Other factors like credit, loans, information and alien technical knowledge come into play and often limit the options available for farmers.

In the central plains of Chhattisgarh, where more than one crop is often grown, the major *rabi* crops are wheat, *til* (sesame) and linseed. Most households also grow vegetables. These find a market in large *haats* and in urban areas. The village *Jan Rapats* highlight the potential for many other crops, including cash crops and horticulture, provided markets and transport are available.

Agricultural technology and practice

Agriculture is still practiced in a largely traditional mode. A significant proportion of the Village Reports rate traditional knowledge as very useful or useful (56.2 percent; this refers to 8.9 percent plus 47.3 percent i.e. those who rate it as being very useful and useful), 33.3 percent rate it as partially useful and only 11.3 percent state that it is useless.

Agricultural practices are changing gradually but surely, adapting to new needs. These changes are more apparent in the central plains area. Much less change has taken place in the tribal districts or in the hilly and forested tracts of the north and the south of the State. In some places, shifting cultivation continues to be practised.

Table 2.17 **Perception regarding usefulness of traditional knowledge**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Region	Very Useful	Useful	Somewhat useful	Useless
Northern region	10.7	48.5	33.8	6.9
Central plains	5.7	42.3	49.3	5.3
Southern region	10.5	51.2	16.9	21.5
State	8.9	47.3	33.3	11.3

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

It is not surprising therefore that the *Jan Rapats* show an increasing awareness of and willingness to use high yielding varieties of rice (especially IR-36, IR-64, *Mahamaya* and *Swarna* amongst others) along with a continued dependency on the local varieties (especially *Dubhraaj*, *Saphri*, *Jawaphool* and *Vishnubhog* amongst others), in the face of drought and other calamities.

The Reports suggest that the choice of technology in agriculture, specifically the decision to adopt modern techniques or to continue with traditional practices, is influenced by the existence of irrigation facilities, the availability of resources to purchase seeds

and fertilisers and the knowledge of improved technologies. In most cases, cultivators want to keep at least some land under local varieties and use time tested and familiar cropping practices. Even though this lowers productivity, it also lowers input costs and risk. Typically, it is the larger farmer and not the small or marginal cultivator who first takes to new technology.

Varieties of paddy and their suitability to different qualities of land

Most of the farmers in the northern and southern regions of the State grow local varieties of paddy and cereals. Agriculture in this area is largely rain-fed. Land is categorised according to yield.

From the people

We have land, but we do not know how to utilise the land appropriately. The terrain is undulating and this prevents us from harvesting a good crop. Hence we do not get a good income from the land.



Village Report, Kesaiguda, Bhopalpatnam block, Dantewada

The soil lacks productivity because there is lack of cattle, which leads to a shortage of manure. The farmers are unable to fertilise their land and make it more productive.

Village Report, Jabla, Jashpurnagar block, Jashpur

For example in Bastar and Dantewada the land is categorised into four categories, starting from the lowest grade to the best grade. The four grades of land are: *Marhan*, *Tikra*, *Gabhar* and *Mall*. *Mall* is the best quality land and gives the highest output in a good monsoon. *Gabhar* is placed one grade lower, followed by *Tikra* and *Marhan*. There are different varieties of paddy that are grown on these different categories of land, each variety suited to the specific quality of land and the availability of water. Paddy grown on *Marhan* and *Tikra* land is hardy, needs less water and has the capacity to withstand adverse conditions. These varieties yield some produce even in a poor monsoon. Paddy planted

From the people

Local varieties of paddy such as *safri*, *gurmatia*, *doobhraj*, *sultu*, *paltu*, *jawaphool*, *haslo*, *luchai*, *kankadia* are common. In recent times new varieties like *swarna*, *mahamaya*, IR36, IR 64, *Purnima*, PNR381, HMT *Sona*, *Indrani* and MTU 1001 are also being grown.



District Report, Korba

People prefer to use organic fertilisers and local seeds.

District Report, Dantewada

It is the local varieties of paddy, which survive the drought and not the HYV seeds. Local varieties include *murmuriya*, *churi*, *safri*, *badshah bhog*, *kutki*, *dokra megha*, *marhan dhaan*. The *kharif* crops include rice, pulses like *urad*, *toor*, *jawar*, maize and sugarcane. Among HYV seeds, BBT, IR36 and IR64 are common. *Rabi* crops include '*darad*', oilseeds like *til*, *alsi*, *sarso*, pulses like *moong* and *chana* (*nag chana*). People also grow vegetables for self-consumption and sometimes for sale in the markets. Wherever rice, wheat and maize is grown, the people keep enough for seed and self consumption and if there is a surplus it is sold in the local *haats*.

District Report, Bastar

on Gabhar and Mall land requires comparatively more water and is more vulnerable. It can survive only if there is adequate water.

Animal husbandry

A large part of the economy of Chhattisgarh continues to use the barter system and sellers in the local *haats* and *bazaars* still accept goods in return for goods 'sold' to consumers. Animals are regarded as assets similar to security deposits held in a bank. These assets can be liquidated in times of need or in a period of unforeseen expenditure. Apart from serving as asset holdings, animals are the backbone of the agricultural economy.

From the people

Animals are an economic asset and embody saving and investment. When there is an immediate requirement of cash, the villagers sell their animals. Local animal breeds are sturdy and are best adapted for survival, even though productivity may not always match that of other breeds. The supply of fodder is becoming increasingly more difficult and therefore the cattle population and their health is getting affected. The use of animals in agriculture is also decreasing. Tractors are replacing them to a large extent.



District Report, Dantewada

Animal husbandry has not been developed as a profitable livelihood option. Animals like the bullock and buffalo are domesticated to suit the requirements in the fields and households, rather than for marketing purposes. A few households have attempted to make animal husbandry a primary activity. They have taken credit and bought buffaloes. However, the quality of country-bred animals is poor. This coupled with the absence of pasture lands for grazing deters other people from taking up animal husbandry. Some families in the village earn incomes by grazing animals belonging to others in the village and they are paid in cash or in kind.

District Report, Korea

People depend on animal husbandry and fisheries to supplement their income from agriculture and forestry.

District Report, Surguja

Animal husbandry is an important support activity. People keep cows and buffaloes for milk, poultry for eggs and goats, pigs and sheep for meat.

District Report, Durg

Wages and migration

Wage labour is an important source of livelihood. People in rural areas try to earn wages within the village and in nearby areas or towns. If they

do not find work in or around the village they migrate to larger cities either within the State or to neighbouring states like Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

Table 2.18 **Adequate availability of employment within the village**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Region	Available	Not available
Northern region	19	81
Central plains	7	93
Southern region	29	71.5
State	18.3	81.8

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

The analysis of the Village Reports shows that only 18.3 percent of the villagers say that they find employment, all year round, within the village. As many as 81.8 percent of the Reports say that there are only limited employment opportunities within the village, throughout the year. The situation is particularly critical

in the central plains region, where 93 percent of the Village Reports say that employment opportunities are inadequate. The situation is relatively better in the north and the south, due to the proximity of forests.

State of livelihood resources

There is a feeling that the available resources have not been exploited fully, and that optimal utilisation of these resources is necessary for livelihoods to become secure and sustainable. Besides, the resource use is not equitable with some households being able to utilise the common resources better. They are in a better position to control not only access to these resources but also access to credit and markets.

The *Jan Rapats* take cognisance of the gaps and constraints in the use of existing resources. They highlight this as an important area of intervention through people's initiatives and assistance from the State Government.

From the people

People want the development of human resources through education and training to enable them to use the existing physical and natural resources.

District Report, Korba

Human resource is one of the main strengths of the people but because they do not have education, adequate skills or technical knowledge they are unable to utilise their potential. They want vocational training.

District Report, Raigarh

Lack of education is a major problem for the youth of Korea. The level of education is not up to the mark. This is seen as an obstacle to getting Government employment. Lack of specialised skills among the workers prevents them from being employed in small scale and

manufacturing industries. This is of special relevance since these industries and mines are an integral part of the economy of the district.



District Report, Korea

There are times when people are particularly prone to illness and disease. For example, malaria is prevalent between July and September. This is the peak season for agriculture. If an illness is contracted during this period, cultivators and agricultural labour are unable to work. This affects incomes and livelihoods.

District Report, Korea

Two important hindering factors in livelihoods are the seasonality of employment and sudden illness.

District Report, Surguja



The perception of the people as gleaned from the Village Reports is that in general the status of the resources, which are critical in determining livelihoods, is adequate. While 60 percent of the Village Reports state that the status of the resources is adequate, since they are able to sustain them, more than 25 percent of the Reports state that the status of resources is inadequate or very inadequate. This reflects some amount of dissatisfaction and the need for certain critical inputs like water, electricity, seeds, fertilisers and even financial support to ensure better livelihood. Only 13 percent of the Village Reports say that the state of the resources is good and only a little over one percent classify the status of livelihoods as being very good.

Human resources

People recognise the gap in their level of education and skill development. They feel that the education provided in schools is not useful in enhancing their skills. Besides they also do not have the required skills for many of the emerging areas for work nor do they have adequate information regarding where these skills can be obtained.

Poor health and nutrition impact adversely on capacities and livelihoods of people. Inadequate and erratic nutrition patterns make people unhealthy and susceptible to illness. This reduces the number of workdays and burdens families with health related expenses. The death of an earning or productive member of the family brings its own economic burden, often leading to a crisis.

Infrastructure

The lack of proper and year round connectivity has been mentioned by all remote villages as an impediment to improved livelihoods. This is because distance reduces their reach to labour deficit places, and it increases the time taken and the costs incurred for locally manufactured goods to reach more remunerative markets. The District Reports of Kabirdham, Korea, Surguja, and Dhamtari make this point very lucidly.

Other infrastructure inadequacies that have been specifically mentioned in the District

Table 2.19 **Status of resources of livelihood**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Region	Very Good	Good	Adequate	Inadequate	Very poor
Northern region	1	8	70	21	1
Central plains	0	11	58	29	2
Southern region	2.2	20.1	52	24	0
State	1.1	13	60	24.7	1

Source: Village Jan Rapats, Part III

Reports are the absence of power, and the lack of storage or ware housing facilities in the villages for grain and vegetables. Limited markets and the lack of information are additional factors that prevent farmers from getting better returns.

Technology

The Village and District Reports assess the existing traditional technology – and discuss its advantages, disadvantages and the need for better technology as an input in agriculture and marketing. The Reports point to the failure of technology to develop resources. Traditional technology continues to be prevalent in agriculture, forest gathering and primary processing and in rural non-farm manufacturing. Traditional technology has certain distinct advantages, especially in agriculture and forest based activities. The main advantage is that it is affordable and the process of transferring this technology is rooted within the social structure.

However, there is a demand for new technology, so that it can be used to improve productivity. This demand is not articulated as a need to replace traditional technology but rather as a need to access knowledge about new technologies, which can lead to increased productivity and cost reduction. Once they have this information, the people can make an informed choice.

The knowledge about forests that exists with the people is considered invaluable and people feel that little can be added to this knowledge, except in the processing of forest produce. Modern technology can add value to local knowledge and help people to understand and learn the mechanics of setting up, running and managing processing units.

Another area where modern technology is necessary is the non-farm manufacturing sector. While local markets have sustained many small

From the people

People from villages located near the main roads say that communication and transport facilities have been beneficial to agriculture and related industries.

District Report, Surguja

Marketing is difficult because there are no proper transport facilities

District Report, Janjgir- Champa

Sale of traditionally crafted articles is difficult because modern articles available in the market are more attractive than our products. In interior areas, most people do not have sufficient information with regard to employment opportunities or schemes.

District Report, Korea

The lack of suitable markets and the presence of middlemen are two problems that we face.

District Report, Surguja

There are no markets for agriculture and forest produce. The people in the local markets have less income, and low purchasing power. This affects business activities. The presence of a large number of middlemen also adversely affects the poor.

District Report, Kabirdham

The lack of information and knowledge amongst the poor and the people in general is a drawback for livelihoods.

District Report, Jashpur

In 40 percent of the villages in Bastar, people say that they lack information and awareness and this affects their bargaining power and they do not get good prices.

District Report, Bastar



local producers, there is some apprehension and the feeling that unless new technology can help, small manufacturers will lose out.

Generational change in technology is not the only solution; integrated and strategic changes are needed. The criteria for the selection and designing of these must draw from what is faster, efficient, and retains control with people. It is important that technology should not dis-empower small farmers, forest gatherers and small producers. An integrated technology regime is required, that combines the best of the traditional and the modern, and does so selectively in separate sectors and processes.

Locked resources and low value addition

The vast forest and mining wealth of the State is under the control of the State Government and

people have limited access to these resources. Further, the forest resources themselves are declining – both in terms of area and quality of forests.

The level and scale of local value addition to primary produce from agriculture and forests is low. Most produce goes out either as grain or forest produce and value addition takes place elsewhere. Adding value to agriculture and forest produce, especially in the case of the latter, where there appears to be considerable potential, will require a sustained promotional effort at the sub-sector level. The adoption of such an approach requires strategic planning and promotion, based on a selection of activities and the strengthening of technology and credit facilities.

From the people

Resources in the village are not adequate to sustain the people all year round. Either the resources or the skills need to be developed to overcome this situation. Modern technology in all livelihoods is required.

District Report, Raigarh

People feel that traditional knowledge is useful for their livelihoods. Agriculture still uses traditional methods. Implements for handicrafts and agriculture are still made by those who have traditionally practised carpentry and many articles are made with mud, bamboo and iron.

District Report, Korea

People use traditional knowledge, but they also feel that it is necessary to integrate this with current technology. In village Sohga, in Ambikapur block, people relied on traditional knowledge earlier. Now they use modern scientific techniques and earn much better incomes. People do not consider traditional knowledge

adequate and they feel that modern techniques are needed. There can be a mix of the two with adequate training whenever new techniques are introduced. People also say that the herbs found in the forests should be further investigated so that they can be used optimally.



District Report, Surguja

Traditional knowledge is an important resource for livelihood. Herbs from the forests are used for medicinal purposes. Other traditional skills like carpentry, black-smithy, pottery, leather work, flaying and processing are also prevalent. These need to be improved using modern technology.

District Report, Rajnandgaon

Agriculture and other traditional occupations like carpentry, blacksmithy and tailoring are practised. These are based on traditional knowledge and skills. New technology needs to be adopted to improve productivity.

District Report, Kabirdham

Survival Strategies and Threats to Livelihood

There are several strategies that households adopt in order to survive within their limited resources and livelihood options. Though the Village Reports do not directly list these as strategies they are apparent from the reports.

Migration – distant and local

Migration permits households to escape from the problems caused by geographic and economic constraints and take advantage of the options and surpluses of other economies, both close to and distant from their habitats. Migration is resorted to when

there are no options available locally.

Migration is related to the local livelihood mix. Even where agriculture gives a reasonable return to households, the lack of good supplementary sources of income leaves people free for large periods of time in the year and they migrate in search of employment. On the other hand, in regions where agriculture does not give adequate returns but there are other sources of livelihoods such as forests, migration is much less.

Migration is influenced by cultural practices and the traditions prevalent in those regions. Many communities do not migrate at all while others have a tradition of migration.¹³ Much of

From the people

About 30 percent of the villagers migrate to urban centres as unskilled labour. They return during the agricultural season.

District Report, Mahasamund

If resources are developed within the village, people will not have to move out at all.

District Report, Uttar Bastar Kanker

Migration offers better wages and more work.

District Report, Korba

Migration shows a distressing situation. People migrate because they have no other option. They are forced to leave the village. People want employment to be available in the villages, all year round. The Government should make appropriate interventions so that the physical, mental and psychological effects of migration are avoided. People are willing to give full support to such schemes.

District Report, Raigarh

Migration occurs due to the lack of employment opportunities within the village. People are forced to migrate even though efforts are being made by the Government

to provide employment in the village. This is because the payment for Government schemes is usually delayed. People are forced to leave in order to survive. People feel that urban areas provide more opportunities and better wages. Even those in the village who have comparatively better income levels prefer to go to bigger cities for these reasons.



District Report, Surguja

More than half (56 percent) of the villages in Rajnandgaon report migration. The main reason is the lack of employment all round the year in the villages. Alternative sources of employment are needed to sustain families. Usually small and marginal farmers opt for migration due to low productivity and limited land.

District Report, Rajnandgaon

When agricultural work finishes, people from five blocks migrate in search of employment, usually between December and June. People who make bricks also migrate. If they have land they will be able to make bricks in the village itself.

District Report, Bilaspur

¹³ For example, the *Gonds*, *Uraons/ Oraons*, *Mundaris*, *Rathiyas* (amongst the tribal communities) and *Dalits* migrate; the *Kamar*, *Baiga* and *Madhiya* people usu ally do not migrate.

the migration is supported by well organised migration management systems run by labour traders, who link with labour deficit areas, arrange wages, contractual agreements and transportation of labour. Though very little data is available in the *Jan Rapats* on these systems, it is quite obvious that these systems are fairly well developed and organised. From the information derived from field interviews during the *Jan Rapat* exercise it is also evident that most of these systems are exploitative, with a fairly high share of wages going to migration managers. Besides the working and living conditions are often sub-standard.

The Government has made some attempts to curtail migration, but the reports state that the employment programmes are not adequate enough to make any specific impact on migration.

Only 4.2 percent of the Village Reports¹⁴ that discussed the issue of opportunities of livelihood within the village have said that there are very good livelihood prospects in the village. Another 7.5 percent of the villages have said that there are good prospects of

livelihood within the village. Thus 11.7 percent (4.2 percent plus 7.5 percent) of the Village Reports are reasonably optimistic regarding the prospects of livelihood within the village. More than half of the Village Reports (55.7 percent; 38.7 percent plus 17 percent) report that the prospects are very limited or non-existent. A little over 27 percent of the Village Reports rate the prospects as average.

Diversity and multiplicity

Households resort to diversity in livelihood options and multiplicity in choices within a certain livelihood option to spread risk and ensure sustainability.¹⁵ Diversity of livelihoods allows families to spread risk and to maximise returns on labour. This brings diversity into the local employment profile, thereby providing scope for expansion and growth of employment. Often farmers follow the practice of a multiplicity of options within the same livelihood source — namely, choices and mixes of different crops or different type of seeds for the same crop, different kinds of labour, etc. The strategy however leads to an increasingly peripatetic and nomadic workforce. This makes labour largely un-organised and it loses any specificity of location and trade. Due to the temporary nature of such jobs, the bargaining power of labour remains low.

Threats to livelihood

A large number¹⁶ of the villages have discussed the threats to livelihood that they face. The threats that have been named are drought, lack of employment opportunities, poor information, disease, decline in forest produce (leading to loss of income from forest produce or lower prices), increasing population, insufficiency of resources, addiction, attacks by wild animals,

Table 2.20 **Opportunity for livelihoods within the village**

(percentage of Village Reports selected for the perception analysis)

Region	Very good	Good	Average	Very limited	No opportunity
Northern region	3	6	27	45	5
Central plains	5	7	32	33	23
Southern region	4.5	9.5	23	38	23
State	4.2	7.5	27.3	38.7	17

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

¹⁴ Of the 2869 villages selected for the perception analysis, 1994 villages discussed the issue of opportunities for livelihoods within the village.

¹⁵ According to the Dantewada *Jan Rapat*, agriculture accounts for 30 percent of income while 40 percent of income comes from forests, 15 percent from animal husbandry and 15 percent from wage labour. Table 7 in the Appendix shows the diverse profile of employment for households, in Surguja, for one year.

¹⁶ This issue was discussed by 2213 villages of the 2869 villages selected for the perception analysis.

Table 2.21 **Threats to livelihood**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Region	Drought	Damage by wild animals	Flood	Diseases	Poor information	Poor production	Money Lender	Addiction	Insects	Lack of finance	Increase in population	Lack of promotion of Small and cottage industry	Lack of employment opportunity	Decrease in forest produce and lower prices of forest produce	Illiteracy
Northern Region	62	20	2	16	28	15	12	10	13	14	3	19.3	21	30	7
Central Plains	65	15	21	23	25	26	18	27	17	20	7	23	33	17	20
Southern Region	37	11	4	4	19	2	10	8	10	4	7	10.5	28	22	9
State	55	15	9	14.3	24	14.3	13.3	15	13.3	12.7	5.7	17.6	27.3	23	12

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

insects and pests. The lack of finance, poor production and illiteracy are other threats that have been listed.

More than half (55 percent) of the Village Reports identify drought as a threat. About 27 percent of the Village Reports cite the lack of employment opportunities in rural areas as a threat to livelihood. Decrease in forest produce together with lower prices of non-timber forest produce are a major concern in 23 percent of the Village Reports. About 12 percent of the Village Reports list illiteracy as a threat to their livelihood.

Women and Livelihoods

Women make up a significant proportion of the agricultural work force. Many agricultural operations are based exclusively or largely on the physical labour of women. These include sowing and replanting. Women are also responsible for seed selection and storage and have specialised knowledge about indigenous crop varieties. They are not only a source of labour, but also repositories of knowledge for society.

Women's work is not confined to paddy transplanting and agriculture. In the gathering and processing of forest produce, collecting firewood and fetching water, the burden falls on the women. They tend their domesticated animals, and maintain the *baadees*¹⁷ where vegetables are grown. They run their homes, help the men in repairing roofs and walls, keep the floor and house clean and are responsible for the decorative and aesthetic aspects of their homes.

Despite this, the role of women does not find adequate expression in the *Jan Rapats*. By and large they are perceived in a supporting or supplementary role. They find mention in activities like collecting forest produce, sundry labour in agriculture and making snacks like *papads* and pickles, often in the context of Government programmes that have brought many of these activities to women's groups. Their contribution as primary forest produce collectors and as major workers in agriculture, as well as to the economy of the State, has not been recorded.

¹⁷ In Chhattisgarh, most households have small homesteads or *baadees*, where vegetables and food grains are grown. These are looked after largely by women.

From the people

Women are crucial to the replanting of paddy, weeding, reaping and harvesting of crops. When they are not working on their own fields, women sell their labour and work on the fields of others, or even in neighbouring villages. During the monsoon, they collect wild mushrooms to sell in urban areas. Women also collect vegetables and fruits from the forest, dry and sell them. They collect leaves to make leaf plates and do most of the *tendu patta* collection.

District Report, Korea

In agriculture, animal husbandry and pottery, the entire family is involved—men, women and children. However the credit goes only to the men. Many tasks done by women are not visible, such as pickle making. This work is intrinsic to consumption and to livelihood. If women do not do this, then households would have to purchase pickle from outside, which would require additional resources.

District Report, Raigarh

Women participate in agricultural activities as well as fetch drinking water and fuel wood. In villages located near forests, women collect *tendu patta*, *mahua*, medicinal herbs and plants. They grow vegetables along the field bunds and riverbanks and sell them in the market.

District Report, Kabirdham



Men and women work according to their capabilities. Cooking, cleaning, fetching water, making wheat flour and de-husking of paddy, etc are done by women. Ploughing, cutting wood, carpentry and masonry are done by men. Participation of women in tasks like ploughing and other activities during certain days of the month and during pregnancy is forbidden. Arrangements for girls' education are not as good as that for boys, and women have no claim over paternal wealth. The birth of a male child is a much more joyous occasion than the birth of a female child.

Village Report, Jamha, Bilaspur

This is a pointer to prevailing social conditions, in which women remain invisible, even in Chhattisgarh, which has a substantial tribal population, a high sex ratio, high girl child enrolment in schools and the near absence of practices such as *purdah*¹⁸, dowry¹⁹ and obvious discrimination against the girl child²⁰.

The Reports indicate that women get lower wages, even for the same work, than men. The differential ranges from 25 percent to as

much as 40 percent. However the *Jan Rapats* are by and large silent on issues of inequality of wages, property rights, role in decision-making, ownership of produce, and only mention of the role of women in livelihoods²¹.

Despite the fact that tribal societies are essentially tolerant and equitable, the struggle for women to be visible, heard and acknowledged is as pertinent in Chhattisgarh as in any other part of India.

¹⁸ *Purdah* refers to the practice of keeping women behind the veil or indoors, often confined to the home, away from the outside world.

¹⁹ Dowry refers to the custom of the parents of the girl giving gifts in cash and/or kind to the bridegroom and /or his family at the time of marriage. It is often negotiated in advance and must be paid before the marriage is solemnised. While it is illegal to demand dowry, the practice continues in many parts of both urban and rural India.

²⁰ The absence or incomplete documentation of women's role in most reports may be partly due to the limitations of the training undertaken for this exercise, and partly due to the fact that women as a separate recognised category, different from men, is an idea that is not very well articulated in Chhattisgarh's societal attitudes, as families continue to be seen as single units.

²¹ There is a perceptible male bias in reporting, inspite of ensuring that at least one sangwaari out of two, is a woman.

Box 2.3

Women and paddy cultivation in Chhattisgarh

Women do agricultural work, tend to the animals and collect forest produce, apart from their household chores. Due to the migration of men in search of more sustainable sources of livelihood, the demand for labour in agriculture is met by the increasing participation of women and children.

In the agricultural calendar, there is a clear division of labour, on the basis of gender, which defines the role played by women in the rice fields. While the preparation of the land (ploughing and tilling) and seedbeds, as well as broadcasting are done mostly by men, the subsequent task of weeding and transplanting are done largely by women. Fertiliser application after transplanting is done by men. All other tasks that follow like harvesting, threshing, and other post-harvesting operations are done mainly by women. Of these, weeding is the most laborious and monotonous.

These roles differ slightly across economic and social divisions. Women of the upper economic class do not work in the fields. Women from the poorer classes, work on their own fields and as hired labour on other people's fields.

Women also play a significant role in the selection and conservation of various rice varieties. They do this by exchanging seeds with neighbours and relatives, conserving varieties for specific festivals like *Navakhani* and by collecting wild rice, a practice that is more common among tribal women.

Rainfed Rice – A sourcebook of best practices and strategies in Eastern India, V.P. Singh and R.K. Singh, International Rice Research Institute, 2000.

Institutions and Livelihood Choices

Credit

In an essentially low surplus economy, the money required for business, daily expenses, festive occasions and emergencies, is inevitably in excess of what is available. People resort to informal credit to start a business or further a livelihood option while sometimes it is just to meet their expenses. Credit from non-formal sources carries the high risk of falling into a debt trap. In agriculture, farmers need credit at almost every stage of the crop. Small and marginal farmers are unable to access formal credit easily. Most farmers are already in a debt trap and often end up taking more credit from private sources, which only compounds their debt.

The absence of an alternative has been keenly felt. Credit from scheduled commercial banks,

through Government programmes is restricted and not easy to access. The mechanism of self-help groups is yet to make any substantial impact. Even when formal sector credit is available, people, especially the poor, are unable to understand the procedures or the repayment structures and thus are unable to access it.

Haats or village markets

The local *haat bazaars* or local markets are the lifelines of rural Chhattisgarh. A number of *haats*²² are held in different villages of every district, on different days of the week in a rotational pattern.

Haats are useful for small, local entrepreneurs. Entry into these markets is easy. *Haats* are more suitable for the participation of women. In the smaller markets, women sellers and buyers find it easy to transact and negotiate a good

²² See Table 6 in the Appendix for details of a typical *haat* schedule.

price for their produce. This is not necessarily true of larger markets where more complex and exclusive systems govern transactions.

The market provides a forum for cultural and social information exchange. The smaller *haats* are a kaleidoscope of local life and provide an insight into the local society and economy. *Haats* are where news about the family and village are exchanged and sometimes-even marriages are arranged at these markets. Market day is also a day for entertainment. Cultural groups organise performances of dance, drama and story telling, usually related to local folklore and traditions. *Haats* are also an excellent place to judge the influence and penetration of the external economy into rural Chhattisgarh. It is here that mill cloth, modern tools and implements and industrial products are first test marketed before they find their way to the more formal markets.

Government departments

People want the Government to intervene positively in their lives. Despite the fact that there is a large Government presence, the Reports do not highlight the positive impact of the Government on the lives of the people. Apart from providing information, implementing Government programmes and facilitating fair play, people currently do not see the State contributing very much. But they do want the State to facilitate development in the future. People also want to play a role in the functioning of the various Government departments so that they can ensure delivery.

Although the Government has taken some initiatives in promoting and encouraging better agricultural practices, the impact is very limited. This is one area where substantial work needs to be done to ensure that locally relevant extension activities are undertaken.

Suggestions for Intervention

A number of recommendations emerge from the *Jan Rapats*, reflecting specific suggestions, which have been put forward for specific problems. Only the broad points have been articulated, to build an enabling environment for sustainable livelihood options. These recommendations provide a unique opportunity for the State to partner with the villages and become a true collaborator in their progress.

Strategies for growth

It is clear that growth cannot be achieved and sustained in Chhattisgarh without investing in agriculture and allied activities. The current state of agriculture is such that focussed and planned investments in agriculture can make a significant difference, given the low productivity levels and the limited use of technology in Chhattisgarh. The strategies should be such that there is equitable and sustainable growth. The strategies must also ensure that the environmental and ecological costs are kept to a minimum.

The Village Reports reiterate the importance of these critical areas. Two out of five Village Reports (43 percent) state that irrigation can change the available livelihood opportunities. Roughly a third (35.7 percent) of the Reports mention that promotion of agriculture is important for better livelihood opportunities. More than half of the Reports (60.3 percent) say that better prices for forest produce are essential for the enhancement of livelihood opportunities. About 28.3 percent of the Village Reports say that self-employment opportunities are required in the rural areas.

Table 2.22 **Suggestions for better livelihood opportunities**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Region	Irrigation	Electricity	Training	Employment	Availability of seed and fertilisers	Cattle rearing	Opportunity for Self-employment	Good price for forest produce	Promotion of Agriculture	Availability of agricultural equipment	Cottage Industry	Fisheries Development	Developmental activities	Relief Work
Northern region	61	15	29	21	33	20	43	61	31	16	16	4	30	29
Central plains	46	18	26	29	29	9	31	41	50	18	36	13	4	4
Southern region	23	4	9	35	5	13	11	79	26	0	21	4	10	5
State	43	12	21	28.3	22	14	28.3	60.3	35.7	11.3	24	7	14.7	12.7

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

Agriculture development and irrigation

- While pursuing an agricultural policy it must be kept in mind that an increase in production may not ensure greater returns if it is done on a large scale since there is surplus of many crops at the national level. Hence the promotion must identify and promote crops or varieties within specific crops that have a market, or can develop a market, due to their special characteristics. The selection of crops to be promoted must be based on local market demand, their intrinsic strengths and unique selling attributes (for example the brand value of *Basmati* rice of Punjab and western UP, and of *Durram* wheat of MP). The local varieties of rice in Chhattisgarh have unique qualities of flavour, taste and nutrition and a concerted marketing initiative can enlarge their markets. The objective of a diversified crop regime need not necessarily be crop replacement, but can be diversification. The difference between maintaining local crop diversity that enhances food and nutritional security and 'diversifying' into commercial crops for the market, over which local farmers have little control, needs to be understood. For commercial crops, careful selection of crops and varieties and their linkage with local and national markets is critical.
- Farmers need to grow more than one crop to get better returns from the land. This requires irrigation. Local agricultural practices including land development, lack of field channels, inadequate land preparation in the fallow periods in some areas, hinder higher productivity. This hampers efficient utilisation of irrigation during the *rabi* season or for the later summer crops.
- The agriculture extension machinery of the State needs re-tooling and needs to build upon the strengths of existing traditions and practices. The *Jan Rapats* mention that the agriculture extension staff has not played a significant role in the development of agriculture, and their current skills are paddy focussed, based entirely on irrigated agriculture with hardly any focus on rain-fed agriculture.

- Farm inputs from co-operatives, such as seeds and fertilisers, usually reach farmers late and are often inadequate. It is necessary to ensure adequate and timely supply of farm inputs for all villages. Local value addition in agriculture and forest produce can increase the buoyancy of the village economies substantially.
- While dry land farming dominates the State, there is very little R&D work and even less extension support that can assist farmers in practising dry land farming, to improve earnings from their land holdings. More attention needs to be given to dry-land farming. Irrigation is the most urgent need for the State. The provision for irrigation must come from a mix of options. These include the strengthening of existing irrigation schemes and increasing their efficiency; as well as the setting up of new minor irrigation projects, based on local water bodies run by the People's Committees, a move forward from the current Participatory Irrigation Management Committees. Irrigation schemes be designed with the involvement of knowledgeable local people and managed on principles of equity by *Gram Sabhas*/PRIs. Some irrigation schemes have proved to be insensitive to local ecological conditions and have destroyed excellent traditional systems and replaced them with inefficient and unsustainable systems.
- Another suggestion is the development of local water harvesting and water usage mechanisms, by a combination of assistance from the State and management control through the *Panchayats*. Small structures can help increase both the water for irrigation and help in recharging water bodies by activities such as check dams, lift irrigation, and water conservation practices.
- An increase in the irrigated area, by exploiting the vast (and under utilised) ground water potential in the State is required. This can be done through bore wells and tube wells, especially in the hill areas. However, caution needs to be exercised against allowing unregulated drawing out of ground water which may lead to the type of situation existing in most other states (the experience of Punjab, Haryana and Gujarat need special mention) where there has been a fall in the water table due to unregulated ground water exploitation. A framework is needed for sustainable water utilisation combined with recharging mechanisms.
- An increase in the coverage of schemes like the promotion of *dabrees* and the *Khet Ganga* Scheme is another suggestion.
- *Panchayats* must play a more active role in evolving mechanisms to address conflicting livelihood and *nistaari* demands from community and village water bodies, such as for fisheries, *singara* (water chestnut) cultivation, water for irrigation, water for domestic use, and water for animals. A policy framework for ensuring equitable access and entitlements to water for different user groups (including women's groups) needs to be developed.
- Land development in fallow and wastelands is another area that requires attention. Farmers need training and exposure on ways to make their lands more productive.
- There is very little labour work available during the non-agriculture season. Provision of alternate sources of employment is required in substantial measure during the off season.

- The *Jan Rapats* point to a large resource of knowledge, skills and practices that exist among the people that must be drawn upon. Efforts to recognise and acknowledge the rich indigenous knowledge and traditions in agriculture need to be taken, and cross learning should be encouraged.

Animal husbandry

This is one area where the people want concrete collaboration with the Government. The problems of fodder and low productivity breed of animals have been mentioned in many reports.

- There is a requirement for better breeds of animals, especially in the plains.
- Relevant institutions need to look into the issue of encroachment of common lands,

improving the quality of grazing lands, provision of better credit mechanisms to increase the stock of animals, and assistance by way of marketing of milk.

- Credited incentives for activities like piggyery, poultry and fisheries are necessary.

Promotion of growth sub-sectors and clusters

To promote livelihood options, focused attention is required in certain sub-sectors and within sub-sectors in dynamic clusters. While the *Jan Rapats* have not been able to identify these clusters, some sub-sectors that may be considered are:

- Forest produce: An increase in local value addition in the hands of local producer groups of women and men. It is important to value and acknowledge indigenous knowledge, particularly that which resides with women and to develop this as a source of income for the women. This may be facilitated by the development of a range of products in the cosmetic industry.
- Repairs and small engineering: Assistance is required in vocational training and credit facilities. Small units flourish all across the State, especially in semi-urban sites, road intersections, and highways as well as in industrial and high productivity areas but there is a need for quality training, skill up-gradation, and the enforcement of environmental standards.
- High value handicrafts: A new-generation design initiative is required for hand crafted products produced in Chhattisgarh. In addition to design inputs and the development of new product lines, marketing efforts are also required.

From the people

Better quality animal breeds should be provided and the local animal breeds should be improved. Grazing and pasture lands should be improved and developed.



District Report, Korea

Better quality animal breeds and medical facilities are required.

District Report, Surguja

Information and knowledge on techniques of animal husbandry are needed.

District Report, Dantewada

Training, setting up chilling plants for excess milk and marketing facilities are required. Enough space should be provided for the maintenance of the animals and there should be sufficient grazing grounds for them.

District Report, Bastar

- Herbal and medicinal plants: There is an increasing demand for opportunities to promote herbal and medicinal plants. The Reports mention that people are eager to participate in ventures where farming of herbal and medicinal plants can be taken up

From the people

Processing units for the available forest produce should be established.



District Report, Korea

Forest related economic activities should be developed collectively with the people. This will create employment activities in the village itself. Appropriate prices for forest and agricultural produce should be ensured in the village itself. More herbal and fragrant plant varieties should be promoted. Currently the production of *lac* gives Rs 10 crores to the district but this can be increased. *Tendu patta* co-operatives are also profitable. Other forest produce activities should also be strengthened. *Sheesal*, used to make ropes should be promoted. Self-help groups can be used to promote these activities.

District Report, Rajnandgaon

Sales and marketing facilities for forest produce should be improved and established. Co-operative societies should be set up for the sale of forest produce. Raw materials should be made available at minimum cost. An interest has been expressed for the cultivation of herbal and medicinal plants. Training for growing these plants and marketing support is needed.

District Report, Kabirdham

In order to get better prices for NTFP, the people want middlemen to be done away with. The people want afforestation through trees like *sal* and *saagwan*. Aromatic and medicinal plants are also mentioned as possible alternatives. The people say that they will play a role in the protection on forests.

District Report, Kanker

on a community basis, with the Government acting as a facilitator, providing a link between the producers and consumers. The people feel that these plantations will help to conserve and promote indigenous health practices.

Other areas for intervention

- The credit needs of people are not adequately met by the formal sector. Most farmers are in some degree of debt and several are seriously indebted. Timely and adequate credit facilities are required.
- Organic farming is an alternative that the Government should promote. Organic farming provides an opportunity to build upon local traditions and knowledge as well as to enhance food and nutritional security. The priority however should be to ensure adequate production and access to food in households before venturing into other markets.
- Rural infrastructure also needs reinforcement. Basic rural access roads, local storage and warehousing facilities need to improve, especially if farmers are to have the choice to grow crops that do not have immediate local demand and can be stored.

Conclusions

The livelihoods segment of the *Jan Rapats* exhibit an extremely dynamic, interactive and informative discussion. The understanding of people and their enthusiasm to share the details of their existence is apparent from every Report. It is clear that people work through out their lives and they share an intimate attachment to work. Only a very small part of this work has an economic and employment dimension,

which has been described and differentiated as livelihoods in this Report.

People define, delve and dwell on the various economic and non-economic dimensions of livelihoods with an independence based firmly on their capacities, capabilities and skills, traditionally inherited, indigenously developed or learnt as apprentices. Interventions that are planned should therefore be holistic and cannot restrict themselves merely to the economics of livelihoods.

The State and its institutions will have to play a vital role in expanding the macro linkages and networks associated with livelihoods. These linkages have so far been poorly established and used, and have not allowed for a steady and stable growth of potentially viable work sectors.

People are unable to translate their lack of opportunities into a macro environment and context and therefore they look to the State for assistance.

The State, on its part, is unable to understand the dynamics of the micro-economic environment

and the intricacies of the relationships and interdependencies between types of livelihoods and more importantly the station of people in these livelihoods. Thus priorities based on broader principles are translated to micro action, which often distorts these relationships and interdependencies, without adequately compensating or replacing them with more suitable and equitable systems that are naturally successful and efficient.

In the institutional context, the potential in institutions of local self-government (LSG) in all the three tiers – village, *Janpad* and district – is quite substantial. Effective, genuinely empowered and strengthened LSG institutions have the capacity to sort out many issues, especially conflicts between different interest groups, between the people and State, between the people and the market. This will necessarily include strengthening local self-government systems within the PRI framework, which could lead to a better match between macro policies and the diversity of grassroots priorities and conditions.



Education, Knowledge and Information





Education, Knowledge and Information

In today's context, education is synonymous with formal education, which involves teaching conducted in a school, based on a State-guided curriculum, imparted by teachers formally employed and trained for the job. The *Jan Rapats* broaden this definition to include not only school education, but all learning, knowledge and information that people acquire over the course of their life.

Knowledge encompasses wisdom (*gyaan*), information (*jaankaari*), and education (*vidya* or *shiksha*). In analysing knowledge, therefore, it is important to explore the local systems of knowledge and education. While knowledge can be explored in all aspects of life, including knowledge systems with respect to livelihoods, health, social, political and economic institutions, customs and traditions, education is important in enhancing human development. Formal education builds capabilities that enable people to avail of opportunities both at home and outside. It is a process that develops self-reliance and self-esteem, so that a person can negotiate the world with skill and understanding.

This chapter explores the various dimensions of the process of education in Chhattisgarh. The first section examines what people mean by education, learning and information. Secondary data related to the status of education and literacy is presented in the next section. This is

followed by a discussion of knowledge domains and transmission processes, as they exist in Chhattisgarh. The perception of the people from the *Jan Rapats* and that of the stakeholders – the parents, the children and the teachers – as well as issues relating to alienation and integration that arise in the context of Chhattisgarh are covered in a separate section. Issues in school education including access, infrastructure requirements, teachers and curriculum precede an analysis of the role of the community. The last section presents suggestions for intervention and conclusions.

Box 3.1

Education, knowledge and information

The three-fold categorisation that the *Jan Rapats* have delineated with reference to education reflects the problem of education. Education should not be restricted to its narrow modern meaning. All learning should be subsumed by education, which has become restricted to being thought of as school education alone. School education is unable to create for itself a larger space, and in effect often eases out all other forms of transmission of knowledge and knowledge itself. Within school education, the quality of education is an important aspect that needs regular scrutiny. While we quantify education by parameters such as literacy, enrolment and achievement, there is little that tracks and monitors the quality of education imparted.

From the people

In Bastar's traditional society, education is not merely literacy but is seen in a broader context. In the villages, education does not limit itself to a few subjects, but is related to knowledge, information and skill. In the rural areas, it is more important for girls and boys to learn and excel in traditional occupations, household chores and tasks related to their village and society, than to have formal education.



District Report, Bastar

Education makes an important contribution to the lives of people by contributing to their holistic development and the development of their personality.

District Report, Mahasamund

The *Jan Rapats* differentiate between education, literacy, knowledge and learning. Literacy is associated with reading and writing. Education is associated with school. Literacy or education is not necessary for knowledge. Knowledge can exist in any form, with anyone. Learning obtained in any capacity is useful. The treatment of fever with *neem* leaves, curing a cold with *tulsi* leaves, and using the root of the *ber* tree to cure a stomach-ache, are all examples of knowledge. Even an illiterate person can have this knowledge. How medicine is made out of *neem* leaves, how they are collected, how much should be used, all this is learning. For this, one does not need school education.

District Report, Raigarh

From time immemorial, man has some knowledge that comes to him naturally – seeing, listening and smelling. Elders in a family by their behaviour, attitude and social relations impart knowledge. Over time, the role of a teacher has become important and the education he imparts includes reading, writing, religious guidance, knowledge about direction and time and vocational skills to earn a livelihood. Knowledge is now transmitted through the Government functionaries and formal schools. Knowledge is also available from radio, television and newspapers.

*Jan Rapat, Kuthur village,
Janjgir (Navagadh) block, Janjgir-Champa*

Education, Learning and Information

The *Jan Rapats* provide an opportunity for people to identify, define and articulate their understanding of traditional and modern education.

The Village Reports list the various types of knowledge and the different methods of imbibing this knowledge. They emphasise that education is closely linked with the way a society lives and works and is often imparted in an informal manner by the family and social institutions. The scope and definition of education is therefore not limited to formal schooling alone, except when referring to provisioning, the quality of teaching or teachers.

Education, then, refers to a continuous process that enlightens, strengthens and empowers people. Transmission of education may be in the form of letters, a skill, a way to live life, the capability to extract natural resources from the forests, to make medicine from herbs, to cultivate land, or learning to read and write. People clearly articulate the sentiment that while there may have been an absence of a formal structure like a 'school' in the past, a number of sources of learning did exist that continue to be present today.

The *Jan Rapats* stress that education needs to be viewed more broadly, so as to include thinking processes, intellectual and analytical enhancement as well as the development of skills. The Reports show that people appreciate the need for children to go to school and the importance of literacy. The role of schools is seen as important, but limited. Schools provide the skills of reading and writing from prescribed textbooks, which may not always be relevant in a particular society.

Literacy and Education

It is important to examine the status of education as gleaned from secondary sources of information, so as to understand the background in which the *Jan Rapats* have been written. The analysis of the status of education in Chhattisgarh is limited by the availability of data. The data on education is entirely school-based and evaluates parameters relating to skills such as literacy and students' attainments in school education. Here the status of education is evaluated within this framework alone.

Due to the difficult terrain and the social and economic profile of its people, Chhattisgarh has had low literacy levels and limited access to school education. There are regional differences in the level of and access to education.

Progress in literacy

The last decade has been a period of marked improvement in the literacy rate in Chhattisgarh. From a literacy rate of 42.91 percent in 1991 as against the national average of 54.21 percent, the literacy rate in Chhattisgarh has climbed to 64.7 percent in 2001, and it is at par with the national average of 64.8 percent. Better enrolment, reduced dropout rates, better



access to schools for children and some success in adult literacy programmes have enabled the State of Chhattisgarh to catch up with the national average in just a decade.

Growth of literacy – inter district comparisons

A comparison of the literacy rate in the last decade shows that Kanker, Rajnandgaon, Surguja, Raigarh, Jashpur and Kabirdham have recorded substantial increases in literacy levels with an increase of at least 25 percentage points. Districts like Rajnandgaon, Mahasamund, Raigarh and Durg, which have relatively high literacy rates, started with better initial situations and continue to have higher literacy rates. This supports the view voiced in many *Jan Rapats* that an area or people that has had access to education earlier continues

Box 3.2

Who is literate?

The Census document classifies a person as literate if he/she can read and write. Literacy is assessed by the person's own admission or from the information provided by the person who is questioned during the Census operations.

Literacy as measured by the Census is quite limited and though it is used as an important indicator in education, it is nothing more than the basic ability to read and write. The level of literacy that enables a person to read or write with reasonable skill and comprehension is not measured by this definition.

to have an advantage over areas that are late starters.

Kanker seems to be the only exception. The three districts of Kanker, Bastar and Dantewada (all three were part of district Bastar, prior to 1998) were part of the first phase of the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP). While Kanker in 2001 has recorded a literacy rate higher than the State average of 64.7 percent, both Dantewada and Bastar have significantly

Table 3.1 **Literacy rate in Chhattisgarh and India 1991 and 2001 (%)**

	Chhattisgarh 1991	India 1991	Chhattisgarh 2001	India 2001
Persons	42.91	54.21	64.70	64.8
Male Literacy	58.07	64.13	77.40	75.3
Female Literacy	27.52	39.29	51.90	53.7
Rural	36.72	44.69	60.48	58.7
Urban	71.37	73.08	80.58	79.9

Source: Census of India, 2001

Table 3.2 **Literacy rate: Chhattisgarh and its districts**

District	Literacy Rate (%)						Difference between male and female literacy rates	Increase between 1991 and 2001 (in percentage points)
	1991			2001				
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females		
Chhattisgarh	42.91	58.07	27.52	64.7	77.4	51.9	25.5	21.79
Kanker	37.71	51.37	24.13	72.9	82.7	63.3	19.4	35.19
Rajnandgaon	48.77	66.01	31.91	77.2	87.2	67.6	19.6	28.43
Surguja	27.34	39.01	15.21	54.8	67.6	41.6	26	27.46
Raigarh	42.96	59.05	26.93	70.2	82.7	57.6	25.1	27.24
Jashpur	38.33	51.02	25.67	63.8	75.2	52.4	22.8	25.47
Kabirdham	29.78	45.42	14.16	55.2	71	39.5	31.5	25.42
Mahasamund	42.85	60.22	25.85	67	81.1	53.3	27.8	24.15
Korea	38.79	51.78	24.53	63.1	75.7	49.7	26	24.31
Bastar	23.06	32.41	13.7	43.9	56.3	31.6	24.7	20.84
Dhamtari	52.84	69.92	36.02	74.9	86.5	63.4	23.1	22.06
Raipur	48.65	65.47	31.56	68.5	82	54.8	27.2	19.85
Janjgir-Champa	47.36	67.41	27.56	65.9	81.8	50.1	31.7	18.54
Bilaspur	45.46	62.43	27.99	63.5	78.4	48.2	30.2	18.04
Korba	45.3	61.52	28.15	61.7	75.9	47	28.9	16.4
Durg	58.7	74.06	42.78	75.6	86.4	64.6	21.8	16.9
Dantewada	16.46	22.87	10.09	30.2	39.8	20.7	19.1	13.74

Source: Census of India, 2001

lower literacy rates at 30.2 percent and 43.9 percent respectively. However, each of these districts recorded a doubling in their literacy rates in the 1991-2001 period. Kanker district has recorded the highest percentage increase in the State.

The literacy rate for women has improved significantly in the last ten years, moving up from 27.52 percent to 51.9 percent. Kanker, Rajnandgaon, Durg, Dhamtari, Raigarh, Raipur, Jashpur and Mahasamund districts have female literacy rates, which are higher than

the national average. However, in Dantewada district, only one in five women is literate and in Bastar district only one in three women is literate.

Access to primary education

The provision of universal access to primary education has enabled much of this success. The total number of pre-primary and primary schools in the State was 31,086 in 2002-03, with an enrolment of 30,19,092 children. Girls constitute about 47 percent of the total enrolment in schools. The number of teachers in these schools is 73,871 and the average teacher-pupil ratio is 1:45. This average figure does not reflect the extremely high teacher-pupil ratios in some districts. The *Jan Rapats* state that in many villages, one teacher looks after 50 to 70 students and may even teach multiple classes simultaneously. In addition, 2,55,303 children are enrolled in the Education Guarantee Scheme¹ (EGS) schools, which have been set up.

Improvement in enrolment

The enrolment at the entry level (class I) has improved with respect to the girl child. The total enrolment in 2001-02 was 7,23,180 children, of which 3,23,500 or 44.7 percent were girls. In 2002-03 enrolment increased to 8,20,234 of which 3,85,315 or 47 percent were girls. The increase in the enrolment of girls is higher than the enrolment for boys. The increasing awareness of the need to educate girls is reflected in the *Jan Rapats*.

Knowledge Domains and Transmission Processes

An elaboration of the various activities and skills that the people have listed in the *Jan Rapats* helps to understand what is considered to be

knowledge. The preparation of commodities, which are relevant in daily life, is closely linked with the knowledge base of the people.

Household-based work and community life

Household work is mostly performed by women and includes cleaning and hygiene related activities, mud-plastering the walls of the house and decorating the house using local materials. Knowledge related to activities like cooking and food processing, processing milk to make butter or ghee is also resident with women.

The people know where to settle and build their homes. For instance the reports from Newaragaon, Kondagaon, and Bastar say that in the past, people lived in small clusters in the forests to save themselves from tiger and bear attacks. Living in clusters helped to increase security. Similarly, customs of community living, sharing of common resources, preservation and management of common assets such as ponds,

From the people

Some examples of traditional knowledge:

- People can tell the time by looking at the moon and the stars, at night.
- During *Kartik Amavasya*, people prepare special medicines and recite special *mantras*.
- People conclude that if ants are seen carrying their eggs from one location to another, there will be rain.
- During the hottest days in summer, if the yellow butterfly stops flying from east to west, then people say there is the possibility of rain.
- If the *Baj* bird flies to the highest point in the sky and cries, it portends rain.
- When the blackberry (*jamun*) ripens, the rainy season is coming to an end.



Village Boki, Gram Panchayat Boki,
Jashpur Block, Jashpur

¹ Under EGS, schools were opened wherever the parents of 30 or more children applied to the State Government to set up a school.

grazing lands and temples are based on the idea of community living and a recognition of the interdependence between people.

Knowledge of home construction and furniture making is also resident with the people. They have a sense of basic architectural design and know the materials to be used in different activities. The division of houses into separate quarters for activities such as cooking, cleaning, keeping animals and *baadees* (homesteads) are all drawn from the resident expertise of communities. Activities like making tables, chairs, tailoring, soap making are commonly practised within the household.

Health-based knowledge

In the past, traditional practitioners and faith healers such as the *baigas*, *gunias* and *tantriks* were the main providers of health care. While these healing systems included the knowledge and use of herbs for curing diseases, it also encouraged people to believe in the supernatural, mystical and magical powers of *tantriks* and holy persons. Yet, there is a resident knowledge base among the health practitioners who are able to treat scorpion and snake bites among a host of other ailments. In the villages, the local *dais* (midwives) have traditional knowledge of maternity care during pregnancy and childbirth.

The people have simple home remedies for minor illnesses such as colds, coughs, hot flushes or fever due to the *loo* (hot summer winds) in summer, and the treatment of simple cuts and wounds. For instance, the juice extracted from crushed *neem* leaves is considered beneficial for treating fever. In fact, *neem* leaves are used to cure a variety of diseases. *Tulsi* leaves are also considered to possess several medicinal properties, as

are garlic, lemon and onion. There is an entire system devoted to massage and the treatment of aches and pains in different parts of the body. However not all of these practices are beneficial and while all reports describe the kind of knowledge that exists, few reports reflect any debate on this aspect.

Livelihood-based knowledge

Animal husbandry

Resident knowledge enables people to recognise diseases in animals and cure them. Knowledge about grazing, feeding and milking animals is passed down from one generation to the next. Much of this knowledge resides with women.

Agriculture

Agriculture draws heavily from the traditional knowledge base. The multitude of agricultural processes and techniques that are practised in the region is the inherited knowledge base of the people. Sowing, estimating the amount of fertiliser required, the right time for ploughing all require knowledge and judgement. Knowledge regarding the suitability of different soil types to different crops is resident with the farmers. For instance, the farmers know that black soil holds water well while red soil has good drainage capacity. Even today, people are able to assess the ground water potential of the land with their traditional knowledge base. Some people have inherited skills for making traditional agricultural implements. The *ghagh bhadris* are highly respected by the villagers folk for their ability to predict the weather, especially rain prediction. Artisan based bamboo work, plate making (*dona pattal*), carpentry, leatherwork, pottery, alcohol brewing are other skills that derive from an inherited knowledge base.

Economic transactions

Economic exchange is conducted in a system similar to the metric system. In forest villages, economic transactions are still conducted with *kori*² (shells) instead of money. Food grain is measured in *khandis*³. People have a wide knowledge of forest based products and how to derive a living from these resources while ensuring the sustainability of the forest ecosystem. The role and strength of local knowledge is invaluable and far more relevant in the local context than modern education with regard to natural resources, home based medicines and ecologically sustainable practices. This highlights the need for awarding adequate recognition and respect to traditional information and knowledge systems as well as for dovetailing modern education systems to complement traditional learning. The emphasis on diverse knowledge systems as distinct from the technocratic mainstream paradigm, which is being propagated today, comes out powerfully in the *Jan Rapats*. The *Jan Rapats* emphasise not just the preservation of these knowledge systems but also their further evolution, so that they can be synergised with the changing environment.

Knowledge holders and access to knowledge

Traditional knowledge holders have access to knowledge due to certain positions like:

- Hierarchy in the social matrix of village society
- Social roles performed by people, as sanctioned by society
- Social institutions that guide them, for

instance, expertise in certain occupations related to a distinct caste group

- Specific knowledge, depending on the community or tribe that they belong to.

Knowledge holders are hierarchically placed in the societal ladder. The head of the village, the rich (who also often have access to education, external systems and a wider perspective) and the elders in the family are not only knowledge holders but are also the main sources of knowledge. The hierarchy of knowledge holders is linked to the knowledge that they can impart. Knowledge that is related to physical skills and with day-to-day existence is rated somewhat lower than knowledge that is more cerebral. Not surprisingly, the knowledge that people hold determines the tasks they perform. For instance the village *dai* (midwife) has knowledge of maternal care, childbirth and reproductive health.

Due to the patriarchal structure of society, women usually possess knowledge related to their assigned gender roles - the care of animals, childcare, housing and hygiene, nursing and tending the sick, cooking and the use of forest produce. Men on the other hand have knowledge relating to land, land types, seeds, soil types, seed adaptability, measuring land areas, and traditional irrigation methods.

Society assigns these roles not only on the basis of gender but also on the basis of caste or community. The knowledge of making products from bamboo, for instance, rests primarily with the *basods*, many of who are trying to switch to other occupations on account of shrinking markets and declining

² One *kori* is equal to Rs.20.

³ One *khandi* is equal to 40 kilograms.

Box 3.3

Traditional healing methods

Across the central and northern districts of the State, a locally made paste is applied on bone injuries/ fractures and is believed to assist recovery. Allopathic doctors (including those in Government hospitals) often advise and encourage patients to undertake this course of treatment.

In Bastar and in some other areas, there is a local cure for malaria drawn from local traditional medicine (Cinchona) that is very effective.

supply of bamboo. Certain tribes are known to have knowledge on certain issues and they are assigned that status across village societies, for example the *baiga* medicine men from the *baiga* tribe.

Today, many communities who practise traditional handicrafts and skill-based work are relatively deprived. This is because these systems of knowledge have not improved over time, and continue to be practised much as they were in the past. There has been virtually no advancement in the skill levels and work techniques of the people. The dependence of these communities on traditional occupations, which have not kept pace with present demands and trends, has meant that they continue to be disadvantaged.

The declining use of traditional medicine by people has resulted in several traditional practitioners losing their livelihoods. The *baigas* and *gunias* of Chhattisgarh are the main knowledge holders in the field of medicinal plants and are aware of proper processing and fermentation techniques as well as medication procedures. Due to lack of access to information on competing knowledge systems, they have been unable to develop their knowledge, or to analyse and document it systematically. However, their knowledge about different uses of plants is a resident resource and even allopathic practitioners rely on them

for information on the uses of plant extracts and herbs that are found in the forests of Chhattisgarh.

Most traditional medical knowledge systems have strong barriers; knowledge is usually transmitted to a chosen few, and sometimes may even die with the holder. The *Jan Rapats* underscore the value of this ancient knowledge base even as new knowledge is imbibed from outside. They stress that it is important that the *baigas* and *gunias* be given due recognition as knowledge holders and their approach and methods be understood.

Relevance of traditional knowledge systems

The *Jan Rapats* emphasise the relevance of traditional knowledge systems and the need to incorporate and draw from these diverse knowledge systems. The following table shows the majority perception on the usefulness of traditional knowledge. If these responses are linked to the people's own perception of the status of education in the different districts, a distinct pattern emerges.

Traditional knowledge systems are considered to be much more useful in districts which have lower education levels than in districts which have a better education level. In most districts traditional knowledge is assessed as useful. The main reason for the emphasis on traditional knowledge systems is the close link that it has with livelihoods, which are largely rural based.

Integrating the traditional with the modern

People's knowledge is based on centuries of experience relating to the sustainable use of local resources, common property management and the cultural and economic ethos of society. Traditional knowledge has

From the people

According to Babulal, who is a labourer, the current generation does not want to be involved in agriculture as a result of education. "Every educated person wants a Government job. Due to unemployment, the educated section is moving towards self-employment. They do not take any interest in agriculture. If this attitude continues in the coming days who will till the land?" he asks. "This will be a big problem. What needs to be done is that along with school education subjects related to agriculture should also be taught so that children develop an interest in agriculture," he says.

Bhanwar Chandrakar, who is a farmer, says that with TV, radio and telephones, which are available today, the general knowledge of the children is

increasing but these also have a bad effect on them. He says, "What is required is that the Government should include subjects that develop a sense of patriotism, respect for elders and social development. Today's students have become useless after getting educated. They have bad habits such as alcoholism, smoking and gambling. They do not want to work but want all the comforts. Not keeping themselves clean, showing no respect to elders, not participating in domestic matters are issues of concern and are a result of English education."

*Anda village, Durg block
Durg*



From the people

Knowledge: Our village is located inside a forest. Our ancestors did not send their children to school because the school was very far. Not many people received education and they remained illiterate. Earlier there were many forests and we did not move around much. There were no means of transport, there were no radios or newspapers and hence we did not know much about the outside world. Now radios and newspapers are the main medium of news.

Information: Earlier due to our limited knowledge, agricultural production was also low. It was just enough for survival. Slowly we tried to increase the production by practising new techniques. Due to increasing population and prices, it is difficult to survive. Our elders say that earlier there were many medicinal plants and herbs in the forests, which were used to treat people and animals. Now due to new kinds of illnesses and the absence of medicinal plants, treatment is not possible and we have to go to the doctor for treatment.

Education: In the past, parents did not send their children to school since schools did not exist in every village. Distances were more, the forests were dense and we had to cross rivers and streams to reach other villages which had a school. Not many people were educated. Now the situation has changed and all the children go to school. With our children, we also learn and we find the village in a better state than before.

Village Karchhi, Block Nagari, Dhamtari

People who live in a village need to learn agricultural work, animal husbandry, repair work, traditional skills and household tasks apart from the education that they receive in school. They learn these activities from their parents, elders, community, neighbours, and friends. Today people need vocational education, health education and sex education.

Gullu village, Aarang block, Raipur



strong elements of sustainability and is largely environment friendly. These elements need to be acknowledged and integrated with the school curriculum. School education must help locate, identify and articulate practices and knowledge that are useful and then leave

it to the people to choose to adopt, reject or replace the same.

Simultaneously, systems that are unscientific, irrational or based on superstition and misconception must be identified, and the people should be convinced that these are harmful and should therefore be denounced. While recognising that traditional knowledge should be preserved, it is important that traditional systems be evaluated correctly. The selection of what is good and what is harmful should be based on full information.

From the people

What one learns other than literacy is education. Knowledge does not require one to go to school or obtain an education in school. People have traditional knowledge. This is learned from the elders in the family, generation after generation. Earlier the gurus would give or teach us a mantra on *Kartik Purnima* or *Amavasya*. Today, all members of the family including children participate in income-generation activities. Children learn farming activities, grazing activities, woodwork and construction work from their families and neighbours, apart from what they learn in school.



Portenga village, Jashpurnagar block, Jashpur

In ancient times, there were few opportunities for education. It was the wealthy who could get an education. One had to travel far to get an education. Today, the situation of education has improved and is better than before.

Mantoliya village, Bharatpur block, Korea

Due to the absence of any educational facilities in the village, people were deprived of an education. Some people went out to study. These people were considered important when they returned with an education.

Devpahari village, Korba block, Korba

In our village Gidhmudi, people were illiterate and uneducated. There was no provision to teach reading and writing. The people were living a '*janglee jivan*'⁴. Earlier we used to be scared of educated people. Now as the interactions have increased, we are less shy and our educational status has changed.

Gidhmudi village, Podi Uprada block, Korba

Verbal transmission of knowledge

Knowledge that is transmitted verbally is threatened by the idea that the written word is more 'authentic' or scientific and constitutes a greater or superior knowledge source than oral learning. Verbal transmission of knowledge from one generation to the next faces the challenge of loss of knowledge, not because of the transmission method alone, but because of external influences on each successive generation as well. With market forces, competing occupations, and the threat of survival, each generation sifts and chooses to accept only certain parts of the knowledge that is imparted, in a bid to cope with the changing times. What a generation chooses to accept or reject is determined by the influences on that generation. These influences arise from parallel or other more systemic knowledge systems, such as modern education, which erodes old ideas and beliefs and may even create a lack of respect or appreciation for them.

A strong oral tradition exists in areas of applied knowledge such as traditional medicine, the use of herbs and plants, songs for particular occasions, religious and cultural ceremonies as well as in cultural forms like dance, drama and

⁴ The people refer to themselves as leading a '*janglee jivan*' (a life of the *jungle*). Such a statement shows that at least some people see their way of life in the past as being '*janglee*' or uncivilised, and reflects the influence of the mainstream thought processes on the people.

story telling. In all these forms, especially in the case of traditional medicine and the use of herbs and plants, the strong tradition of verbal transmission has meant the loss of knowledge, and there is very little that has been documented and recorded. It remains a challenge to try and preserve this invaluable knowledge. It is also important to ensure that it does not lose its range and depth and that it does not remain confined to a few households or people.

People's Perceptions regarding Education, Knowledge and Information

The Village *Jan Rapats* compare the status of education in the past with the current situation. Comparisons are based on provisioning, status, condition and access to schools. In the case of knowledge and information, comparisons are made in terms of the relevance of education in the past.⁵

Changing relevance of knowledge and information

There are different perceptions about knowledge and information. In the past, knowledge and information was much more closely linked to the natural environment, to the immediate social environment and to the needs of local economy. Today, information and knowledge constitute aspects related to the 'country' and 'the world' and to different streams of technological information.

The popular context of education

In the past, the realm of each individual's knowledge was related to his or her local environment. Due to poor roads and transportation networks, under-developed telecommunications and the virtual absence of media, new ideas and knowledge could not reach the villages. Today, the knowledge domain of an individual in the village has widened beyond the scope of the village to the

From the people

In ancient times, people were not so educated. At that time, people would see the sun and tell the time. They would break leaves from a tree and only when new leaves came, would they know that it was time for rain. While people were not literate, they had traditional knowledge.

Jabla village, Jashpurnagar block, Jashpur

Knowledge and information about the country and the world is gained through newspapers, radio and TV. The opening of a school in the village has increased the level of education in the village. We are now getting education.

Kandora village, Bhanora block, Jashpur

Today, even the elders are becoming aware of education being imparted through schools. People send their children to study. They are

slowly beginning to understand the importance of education. They even send their children outside to study. While the elders are not themselves educated, they are encouraging their children to study.



Chuladar village, Sonhat block, Korea

Today people's knowledge is extensive. Along with information about the village, they also have information about events that have occurred at the State, national and international level. In many villages, listening to the radio, watching television and reading newspapers and magazines have helped to extend the sphere of knowledge of people. Today, most people in the village are educated.

District Report, Rajnandgaon

⁵ The idea of yesterday and today varies between villages and may refer to the immediate past or even a long time ago. It captures the time dimension over which change has occurred.

national and even the international level. With the improvement in infrastructure, attitudes have changed and many more children have started going to school. With the coming of radio, television and computers, there is strong demand for education today.

School education

The beginning of school education is not very clearly reflected in the *Jan Rapats*, but most reports trace it back to five or six decades. They mention that the introduction of school education has led to significant changes in the villages. Most villages feel that in the last few years, the spread of school education has increased and basic pedagogy and access have changed, providing greater equity and ease of access.

The Reports mention that, earlier education was restricted to the rich, the ruling and the priestly classes, while today education is available to all classes and provides an opportunity for people to develop themselves. The need to prioritise access to education for those groups and people who were denied access to education in the past has been reinforced in all the District Reports. For instance, the Bilaspur District Report clearly states that the underprivileged sections of society continue to be educationally

disadvantaged even today. The Raigarh District Report also specifically mentions that the villages where educational institutions were set up quite early continue to have high levels of literacy. However, forest villages, villages with high migration, remote villages, and villages with predominantly disadvantaged communities continue to have low levels of literacy.

Many of the *Jan Rapats* refer, in particular, to the provisioning and quality of teaching at the district level. Schooling, access to schools, poor infrastructure, quality of teaching and shortcomings in the curriculum are some of the issues that are discussed in the reports. In the light of the fundamental right to education, the *Jan Rapats* clearly demand the right to be educated, for various reasons including growth in employment and social status. There is adequate knowledge and awareness of the State’s role in the provisioning of education for the people.

The usefulness of the modern education system and the values it promotes is another issue that is discussed extensively during the *Jan Rapat* exercises.

Most reports feel that school education has alienated the youth from agriculture and created an aversion for land-based work. While about 57.7 percent of the Village Reports state that modern education is useful or moderately useful in daily life, a significant percentage (45 percent) of the Village Reports state that modern education is not useful in daily life. Yet, people want their children to be educated because they feel that education will assist them in the future. Only 29 percent of the Reports expect education to lead to employment.

Table 3.3 **Modern education in daily life**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis⁶)

Region	Useful	Moderately useful	Not useful
Northern region	25	32	43
Central plains	17	41	41.9
Southern region	19	40	50.1
State	20	37.7	45

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

⁶ These figures (and those in the other tables in this chapter) refer to the perception analysis conducted with data relating to the 2869 villages, which were identified as a representative sample.

Table 3.4 **Expectations from modern education**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Region	Employment	Assistance in Development	Increase in Literacy	Focus on Women Education	Helps in Getting Resources	Ability of self - employment	Computer Education
Northern region	32	51	23	9	16	4	5
Central plains	45	34	51	14	23	25	7
Southern region	11	41	44	5	5.5	9	2
State	29	42	39	9	14.8	12.7	4.7

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

The demand for service-based occupations has increased. There is considerable disquiet amongst many villagers over this aspect. An important suggestion that emerges from the discussions is that the school curriculum should include aspects related to agriculture and land based activities. This will have two advantages, giving agriculture the same status as the other subjects of the curriculum and giving children learnings that they can use in their everyday lives.

School based education is unable to strengthen and promote an appreciation of the local culture, livelihoods and customs and many individuals find themselves alienated from their own culture.

Differences in perception

An analysis of the *Jan Rapats* shows that people's perception of education (including knowledge and awareness) differs according to the income group that they belong to. The extract from the Akhara *Jan Rapat* illustrates this point succinctly. According to the Akhara report, traditional medicine is considered useful among the economically less well off groups while the richer sections are of the opinion that only illiterate people believe in these knowledge systems. The middle class believes that this knowledge is a desirable feature but for the poor this knowledge base is crucial as it helps them to find solutions to problems within their

environment and makes them self sufficient in treating minor illnesses.

Thus, knowledge systems help to cope with the requirements of everyday life. It can be seen that what constitutes knowledge and utility is very much a function of the social, economic and geographic realities within which people live.

Different knowledge and skill systems are claimed by different groups of people, differentiated by economic criteria. While the better off sections speak of technical knowledge, the not so well to do sections talk of skill based and traditional knowledge. Interestingly, these distinctions are more apparent among men. Women, especially among the economically weaker sections, feel traditional knowledge is very useful for every day life. The *Jan Rapats* do not contain any specific discussions of issues related to education of girls or of any special emphasis on educating the girl child. There is however some discussion on the education of children. Women from the less well off sections in the village speak of education as being necessary to keep pace with the world outside, where everyone is getting educated, reflecting the fear of further marginalisation. Across Village Reports, it is seen that education is considered to be a tool that empowers and the access to education is regarded as a means that can transform the social and economic status of people.

Table 3.5 Different perceptions of people regarding knowledge, information and education

	Economically well off and dominant men's group	Economically well off and dominant women's group	Middle income men's group	Middle income women's group	Poor or marginalised men's group	Poor or marginalised women's group
Knowledge <i>Gyaan</i>	We have certain basic technical knowledge of electrical fittings, and the repair of hand pumps. In agriculture, we know the seeds that will give the best yields. This knowledge is resident with us.	Earlier people were illiterate and they did not have any knowledge base. At that time, if people were ill they would go to traditional health practitioners (<i>neem hakims</i>) for treatment and get themselves cured.	We have knowledge of some home remedies such as curing fever with <i>neem</i> leaves and rashes, and diseases of the mouth with <i>tulsi</i> leaves. We do not have any modern knowledge but continue with our traditional knowledge base. This is so except in agriculture, where we try to follow what is happening in the modern world.	Thieves cannot steal knowledge nor can it be divided. It is through our knowledge that we run our everyday life. Our knowledge enables us to teach our children and we are able to make useful things for the house such as <i>papads</i> . We help in sorting seeds, stitching and knitting. It is through knowledge that people become aware of their responsibilities.	We have knowledge of certain domestic work, agriculture and labour.	We have knowledge of useful things for the house such as roof-tile making, broom making, preparation of home remedies such as <i>neem</i> and <i>tulsi</i> preparations for minor illnesses.
Information <i>Jaankaari</i>	For high yielding seeds, we are aware of the relevant fertilizers. We have the technical knowledge related to agricultural development.	Today people's awareness is slowly increasing. Earlier the farmer would use manual labour on the field, but today he uses tractors for ploughing. Earlier he would use organic fertilizers (<i>gobar khad</i>) but today he uses chemical fertilisers.	Besides agricultural work we are also aware of construction of buildings, making of agricultural implements and furniture.	The kind of awareness that people have today was absent in our elders. Due to this awareness, there are several opportunities that have opened up, and our farmers are able to earn much more in comparison to the past. The resources and facilities have increased; as a result people are able to earn more.	We know how to make tiles for the roof, broom making, mat making etc.	We know about domestically useful activities such as making pickles and <i>vadis</i> , home remedies and the like.

(Contd.)

Education <i>Shiksha</i>	Earlier because there was no school in the village our children remained illiterate. However, today because there is a school we send our children to school. There is a large pupil population and a shortage of rooms in the school today. There is a need for a playground and extra curricular activities in the school.	Our elders could not go to school. However, today every village has a school and thus most people are becoming literate and educated. We too send our children to school for education.	We are small farmers and our children help us with agricultural activities. But after understanding the importance of education we have been sending our children to school. There is a need for more rooms, playgrounds, and extra curricular activities in the school. Our children can help us in developmental activities in the future.	Education is an important step towards the development of society. Through education, the ills in society can be removed. In comparison to the past there has been a lot of development in education. In order to ensure that the common people are educated the Government has conducted literacy campaigns and opened schools in every village. In order to move ahead in life it is extremely important that our children are educated. In the future our children should know something about our country. We have a school in the village where children go to study.	Earlier we seldom realised the importance of education for our children. Due to our low standard of living our children often remained illiterate. Now after a school has opened in the village, we send our children to school. We need more help from the Government to assist us in educating our children. There is also a need for a playground in the school.	Earlier we did not give much importance to education. Today, we are sending our children to school. The children do get books but due to a shortage of space children do not get place to sit in the school, and they end up not going to school. More rooms, a playground and extra curricular activities are needed in the school.
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From the people

An example of how different people delimit knowledge, information and education



Jan Rapat, Akhara village, Gram Panchayat Kharsia

Perceptions of stakeholders regarding education

While recognising that parents, children and teachers play different roles with regard to education, the *Jan Rapats* recognise that education is a collective responsibility of all concerned.

Parents

The role of parents is to ensure that the child's basic requirements of food, clothing and shelter are provided for. They must also create conditions that enable their children to attend school regularly. For most parents, it is important to send children to school so that they can read, write and do arithmetic, which helps to maintain accounts. For daughters too, education is considered important, since parents feel that it is important to prepare them well before they go to their in-laws. Education is often seen as an added qualification for marriage for the girl child and for imparting certain useful skills. Parents who cannot read or write reiterate that their parents were their *gurus* or teachers and that it is from them that they learnt about life.

Besides the learning that children acquire in school, they are taught farming, how to feed the animals and social customs and traditions by their parents and grandparents.

Children

Children, both boys and girls, have to sometimes fight with their parents, for their

right to education especially when money is scarce or when there is a need for extra hands at work. Often parents do not give any priority to education and children drop out of school. Children who receive full parental support in their education are far more motivated than those who do not.

For some children, going to school itself means breaking barriers. There are no specific reasons offered by the children as to why they want to study. Some do say that they would like to pursue a degree and go out of the village to work. For others it is important to study but they do not necessarily have a stated ambition. For some children, the fear of failure keeps them away from school. In fact this is one of the main reasons for children dropping out of school.

Discussions with girls in high school reveal that access to education for them is determined only in part by their gender. The economic class, caste and background also has a strong bearing on girls education. The economic status of the community determines the perception of the need for education of girls and the challenges they face. However some girls do manage to forge ahead and chalk out new paths for themselves.

Schooling helps girls become independent and gives them some freedom of movement, albeit in a limited area. Girls say that they like coming to school because of the exposure they get to the outside world and school gives them a chance to move out of the village. Girl children are usually oriented and trained from a very young age to prepare themselves for marriage and household activities. Even though they do go to school, few think of careers in the future. Many girls are married at an early age and move to another home. Sometimes girls are withdrawn from school while they are

in Class IV or V and married off. Early marriage is one of the main reasons for the high drop out rates among girls. This is more prevalent among families with first generation literates, where greater priority is given to housework and agricultural work than to education.

Teachers

Teachers feel that the teaching community was more respected in the past than it is today. Teachers had the liberty go to homes in the village and bring children to school. Today, very little importance is given to the teacher. There is a need for mobilising support for education in the community so that more parents send their children to school and understand its importance. According to the teachers, most parents send their children to school to learn simple arithmetic, so as to help them with their accounts.

The main reason cited by the teachers for children not coming to school is financial constraints. The teachers say that many parents are preoccupied with livelihood concerns. They do not force their children to attend school and the slightest inconvenience caused to regular life by sending children to school makes them withdraw their children from school. Children often miss school because they need to help their parents in the fields or to take care of the animals. Irregular attendance is a major problem, especially during the peak agricultural season. Typically, the children lag behind in class and are unable to cope with studies. They soon lose the motivation to carry on with their studies.

The teachers need better facilities and opportunities for training and learning new methods of teaching. Usually only a few teachers get a chance to attend training sessions and they in turn share their learning with the rest of

the group. Teacher trainings are generally held twice a year but few teachers get an opportunity to attend these programmes.

Education: Alienation and the need for integration

The *Jan Rapats* highlight how traditional knowledge is useful in conducting activities related to the lives and livelihoods of people, even in the present context. The current education system appears to have devalued other knowledge systems and created an imbalance in the existing structure. There is some reflection on modern school based education and the need for its integration into people's lives, indicating its alienation from everyday life. This is in contrast to the earlier knowledge and education in the community, which was contextual.

Education in the past included all activities and knowledge domains necessary for daily life, including culture, religion and practices. The teachers were community elders, parents and family members - the knowledge holders of society. Education mainly comprised occupational knowledge, traditional customs

From the people

People of earlier times were also scientists.

*Uraon tribe discussion, Sagibhavan village,
Kasbil block, Jashpur*



Along with education, recognition of local knowledge is what will lead us ahead.

Kesaiguda village, Bhopalpatnam block, Dantewada

Some people are trying to explain the utility of traditional knowledge. They consider it rigid and try to undermine its importance. They are trying to collect modern knowledge and make their lives successful.

Buchiardi village, Akaltara block, Janjgir-Champa



and values, hygiene and childcare, cooking, animal husbandry, house construction and maintenance, preventive and curative medicine (in case of Chhattisgarh this means the use of herbs and home remedies), repairs, construction of agricultural implements and handicrafts. This knowledge was used directly for daily living and sustenance.

With the increased integration of the knowledge domains of societies as well as the influence of external technical knowledge, information and knowledge have become empowering tools to cope with the competitive world. With the growth in the industrial and service sectors, there has been some absorption of labour, but employment is dependent on the level of education and skills within the labour force.

Both school education and entrepreneurial and technical courses have opened up livelihood options for people who are moving out of their traditional occupations and geographical locations. While education plays an effective role in equipping people so that they have more options, it has not been able to increase the opportunities for providing livelihoods, locally.

The increase in the geographical locations with which trade and commerce is carried out, the increased mobility of labour, better transport facilities are factors responsible for several changes that have happened in some of the villages of Chhattisgarh. The slow growth of agriculture has meant that there is a need for technical education and technical knowledge, which is not available within the local society.

Today, even traditional learning is getting more partitioned, rigid and formalised. There is some integration at the practical level, where home knowledge is absorbing elements of modern school based education. In fact, school education often acts as the bridge by which local societies are made aware of the external world. Yet, modern education has not been able to integrate itself with people's existing knowledge domains or their specific needs.

The Village *Jan Rapats* report that education has led to a new classification in villages and there exists a new divide between the illiterate and literate, between the uneducated and the educated. There are two sections in society; the elite group, which is literate and the comparatively disadvantaged group which is largely illiterate. Some *Jan Rapats* report that parents send their children to school because they fear social ostracisation.

The expectation that education is a means to get gainful employment is also creating problems. There are a large number of 'educated unemployed' youth who do not want to pursue the same occupations as their parents. For many rural young people education has not widened opportunities but has led to disillusionment and frustration. School based education as well as information and exposure to the outside world through television and magazines has led to a growing gap between parents and children.

From the people

In Bastar, efforts for the popularisation of school education began in the twentieth century. In 1908, in order to make Bastar educated, the then *Diwan* of the State, Panda Baijnath, passed a decree. It stated that every child in every village must go to school and if the parents did not send their children to school, they would be punished with whiplashes and the children would be hung upside-down from trees. At around the same time, the forests were declared to be outside the reach of the people and the *Begar* policy (work for no payment) was also initiated. Many writers and historians labelled the teachers of that time,

who were from outside the State, as dictators. The behaviour of the teachers filled the people of Bastar with fear and they worried about what would happen to their children.

Discussions were held in the *Jati Panchayats* (Caste *Panchayats*) and the people voiced their concerns. In the interest of protecting their society and culture, they decided to oppose the modern education that was being propagated. This was the beginning of the *Bhumkaal* Revolution of 1910.



District Report, Bastar

People's Perception regarding School Education - Status, Enrolment and Access

School education is the single most important aspect of education. Many village *Jan Rapats* and District *Jan Rapats* discuss issues of provisioning, infrastructure, curriculum, and the quality of teaching in schools. The *Jan Rapats* articulate that it is the State, which is responsible for providing basic education for all. The general perception is that school education has improved. The access to schools, the number of schools and the number of teachers has increased. More villages have primary schools and most also have accessible middle schools. The Reports also point out several shortcomings in the school system and list some recommendations, which can make school education more useful and functional.

Status of school education

Regarding the status of education today, only 19.7 percent (5.1 percent plus 14.6 percent) of the Village Reports state that the status of education is very good or good. Less than half of the Village Reports classify it as being satisfactory, while 34.7 percent (21.4

percent plus 13.3 percent) of the Reports say that education is unable to fulfil their expectations or is unsatisfactory. (See Table 3.6). In the central plains region, 35 percent of the Village Reports classify education as being unsatisfactory.

The resources for education are perceived to be satisfactory by about 48.8 percent of the Village Reports, while roughly 20 percent (11.4 percent



Table 3.6 **Status of education**
(percentage of Village Reports selected
for perception analysis)

Region	Very good	Good	Satisfactory	Unable to fulfill expectations	Not Satisfactory
Northern region	5	17.3	45.2	25.5	7
Central plains	6.3	7.2	39.5	12	35
Southern region	4	19.3	45	26.7	5
State	5.1	14.6	43.2	21.4	13.3

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

plus 8.4 percent) of the villages say that the resources cannot fulfil their expectations or are inadequate. The percentage of Village Reports that classify the resources as being very good or good is substantially higher (31.1 percent; 7.5 percent plus 23.6 percent) than those that categorise the status of education as being very good or good 19.7 percent (5.1 percent plus 14.6 percent). This reflects that the problem is not one of resources alone.

A closer examination of the status of education shows that different districts and areas perceive

Table 3.7 **Status of resources of education**
(percentage of Village Reports selected
for perception analysis)

Region	Very good	Good	Satisfactory	Unable to fulfill expectations	Not Satisfactory
Northern region	6.2	20	54.3	8	11
Central plains	9	15.3	59	9.4	7
Southern region	7.3	35.6	33.2	16.9	7.1
State	7.5	23.6	48.8	11.4	8.4

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

education very differently. We examine the status in the three broad regions.

Northern Chhattisgarh

Surguja district in northern Chhattisgarh has one of the lowest literacy levels in the State, 54.8 percent compared to the State average of 64.7 percent (2001). On the other hand Jashpur, Raigarh and Korea districts have literacy rates of 63.8 percent, 70.2 percent and 63.1 percent respectively, which are equal to or higher than the State average. In Surguja, the people appreciate the available educational facilities and are optimistic about the future⁷. In Jashpur, Raigarh and Korea, the status of school education is considered inadequate.

In spite of high literacy rates, there are specific reasons why 45.2 percent of the Village Reports in northern Chhattisgarh, rate the level of education to be only satisfactory. (See Table 3.6)

- In Raigarh, the literacy levels are extremely low in certain remote villages, villages with high migration rates, forest villages and villages where disadvantaged communities predominate.
- Education for girls continues to be limited in Korea district. The Korea District Report states that although girls are registered as enrolled, most girls between the age of 6 and 14 years do not go to school.
- The Jashpur Report highlights the fact that education levels are low because even though infrastructure is available, it is not being used optimally. Poor attendance of students and irregular attendance of

⁷ This may be because the people of the more literate districts are able to assess their requirements far more critically than others. Another reason for this difference in perception may be that the educational initiatives in Surguja are more recent than in the other districts, and reflect the optimism that people feel about the new initiatives in education.

teachers, small rooms and insufficient space are some of the factors responsible for the low education status.

In contrast, the Surguja District Report highlights the following aspects:

- Education has brought about a wider domain of knowledge and led to the introduction of technical knowledge.
- There is an improvement in the knowledge base due to the influence of television and radio in everyday life.
- The setting up of several Government and non-government educational institutions at the village level has meant that a lot of non-traditional knowledge is imparted.
- There is change in the attitude regarding education for girls.
- Today, even those who are not so well off or work as labourers have access to educational facilities.
- However in remote villages, due to lack of roads and transport facilities, children are unable to move on to secondary education.

Central plains

The central plains consist of the industrial belt of Chhattisgarh - the districts of Rajnandgaon, Kabirdham, Bilaspur, Mahasamund, Dhamtari, Raipur, Korba, Durg and Janjgir-Champa, which have a mixed population. Most of these districts have literacy rates that are close to the State average. Rajnandgaon and Durg have the highest literacy rates in this belt.

The main points regarding the status of education in these districts are:

From the people



Now our children study in the village itself. They do not have to go far. Even girls go to school. Some children even go to college. Some of the educated people have become peons, gram sevaks and teachers in the village. Today, primary education is available in the village itself (both in villages located far from the main road as well as in those located near the main road).

Village Jagdishpur, Surguja

With the coming of education to the villages, there has been a change in the environment in the villages. There is more awareness among the people, there is less discrimination and people have become less superstitious. In village Salihabhata, people feel that there has been an increase in awareness due to education and they have been able to free themselves from practices such as child marriage, dowry and child labour. Besides this, scientific thought has become more popular and there has been an improvement in the standard of living.

District Report, Korba

- Only two out of five District Reports rate the educational facilities as satisfactory. The spread of education has led to a change in the attitude of the people, and a perceptible difference in societal values.
- The District Reports mention that infrastructure facilities are inadequate and are not able to keep up with the current enrolment rates.
- Education for girls is being encouraged and there is greater awareness and interest in their education.
- There are primary schools in every village, except in those villages where the population is small and the number of school going

children is less than the stipulated pupil population.

- There is a demand for more middle and secondary level schools.

Southern Chhattisgarh

The southern part of Chhattisgarh, which is hilly and heavily forested, and has a high tribal population, consists of the districts of Bastar, Dantewada and Kanker. The perception of the people about the status of education is different in each of the three districts.

- The Village Reports of Dantewada rate the status of education as good. On the other

From the people

Traditionally, women have been trained in household chores and home based industries and livelihoods. In Bastar, life is largely dependent on natural resources and women are adept at forest-based activities. Economic activities related to forests and animal husbandry is the responsibility of women. As a result traditional knowledge of household tasks, the rearing of children, care of other family members, folk arts, all rests with women. Their association with modern education is less than it should be, as they are not seen as people who are going to take up jobs. It is also believed that if girls are sent to school, they will only get bookish knowledge and this will alienate them from their everyday tasks. Modern education is not considered useful for girls and traditional knowledge is imparted to them in the house.

However in the last few years there has been some change and people who have not received formal education are labelled 'illiterate and ignorant' and this is considered to be insulting, by the villagers. This is why many villagers feel that at least one person in the family must receive higher education.

District Report, Bastar



hand, in Bastar, the majority of the Reports rate it as satisfactory, while in Kanker district it is considered inadequate.

- Literacy rates in Dantewada are the lowest in the State, while Kanker records a literacy rate of 73.31 percent, far above the State average. However, in spite of the high literacy rates in Kanker district, remote villages still do not have access to education. The main reason for this is the inaccessibility of these villages as a result of natural barriers such as rivers and the hilly terrain.
- Other reasons given for the uninspiring performance of the education sector are the non-functionality of schools, the lack of continuity in educational provisioning after primary school, distance to school, irregularity and shortage of teachers and the need for a greater relevance of education to everyday life.

In districts that have seen the initial impact of the programme for universal elementary education (UEE), the outlook is positive. Districts like Dantewada and Surguja, which had very low literacy levels in the past, are clearly impressed by the recent gains that they have made. Districts that are in transition take a far more critical look at education. They show a marked change in the attitude to women's education, a desire for modern and technical knowledge and the need to keep pace with the outside world where knowledge, ability, skills and attitudes are constantly changing. In districts with high literacy rates, the focus is on quality of teaching, updated and local context in curriculum, inadequate infrastructure and lack of access to education in certain pockets. Thus the mere provisioning of schools, infrastructure and facilities is not enough. There is much that needs to be done.

Issues in enrolment

Education is perceived as being directly linked with development. It is regarded as a means to better opportunities in the future and it is this belief that encourages parents to send their children to school. While there has been a growth in the enrolment of children in school, especially that of girls, there is also a high drop out rate. High enrolment does not necessarily translate into regular attendance. The retention rate in the higher classes is low.

Inadequate facilities is one of the main factors that hinder the enrolment of children. While efforts to increase the number of schools and locate a school in every habitation as well as to provide adequate school infrastructure have been underway for many years now, infrastructure is still inadequate. The lack of resources, buildings, rooms and teachers has also adversely affected the quality of education imparted.

Girls' enrolment

The gender role for girls as defined by traditional society often persuades parents to assume that the education of girls is an unnecessary investment. Girls are usually made to stay home to look after the household needs of the family, which they continue to do after they grow up and get married. There are no specific issues that have been highlighted in the Reports with respect to the education of girls, although it has been mentioned that even if girls are officially enrolled in school, they do not attend school.

Field visits and discussions with middle school girls reveal the challenges faced by them when they go to school. Financial constraint is a major factor that prevents girls from attending school. Though all children face the threat of not being sent to school when their parents are not economically well off, girls find it even more difficult because of their prescribed gender role.

Besides social issues, another reason for poor attendance of girls in school is the concern for safety. Some Reports articulate the need for *ashram shalas* (hostels) for girls, if the school is situated outside the village. Girls who live in remote areas, specifically villages where no school exists, face more problems because of the distance they have to travel.

However, the attitude with regard to education of girls is changing. In Raigarh, for example more and more girls are enrolled in schools and the reasons for this are agricultural prosperity, better availability of educational institutions as well as a general improvement in transport infrastructure, due to increased investment in roads. The *Soochna Shakti Yojana*, which offers computer literacy for girls, has been mentioned in some District Reports. Villages located near urban conglomerations and situated on major roads are keen to impart computer literacy to their girls, whereas remote, backward and poor villages are still looking for basic education.

Out-of-school children

A few District *Jan Rapats* discuss the issue of drop-outs, or 'out-of-school' children and the problems associated with sending children to school.

In most of Chhattisgarh, children are regarded as an important economic asset for families. While education is perceived as having the potential to enhance livelihoods it is also seen as a threat that keeps hands away from work and makes children unwilling to work in traditional occupations. The *Jan Rapats* also mention that parents find it difficult to retain children in school, because school hours often coincide with working hours. Since school education does not appear to provide any major benefit in everyday life, children are often withdrawn to support their families. The children

From the people

People have become more aware about education and their interest in education has increased. The desire for knowledge, information and higher education has also increased.



District Report, Rajnandgaon

The people feel that education, up to high school, should be available in every village.

District Report, Raipur

With regard to education, people's expectations are not limited to the improvement and extension of educational resources but also include the qualitative aspects of education. They ask for resources as well as a change in the methodology of education.

District Report, Kabirdham

themselves are vulnerable to dropping out, and the education system is not sensitive to the psychological requirements of these children, or even to their learning needs. The challenge lies in helping these children to continue with their education and to make education relevant to their lives.

Field visits and discussions with school going children reveal that the fear of failure is another reason for dropping out. Villages with high migration tend to have high drop out rates. Families that move in search of alternate livelihood during the 'off' season, work on a contract basis and there are no fixed places of migration. Children from such families usually do not manage to complete even primary school.

Notwithstanding the high drop out rates, it is apparent that most people view education positively and do try and send their children to school.

The *Jan Rapats* highlight the perceived advantages of school education as well as the problems associated with it. While people feel that the immediate needs of children and society are not addressed in the kind of education that is being provided, they recognise the critical role that education is likely to play in the future. The education system dissuades children and parents from regular attendance and long years of schooling. On the other hand, the critical role that education plays in literacy, in the development of self esteem and capacity building are all well accepted.

Issues of access

Access to education remains an issue in many districts despite the recent initiatives in literacy and universalisation of education. In districts like Raigarh, Kanker and Jashpur, in spite of prevailing literacy rates above the State average, issues of access persist. Even today education levels are low in, villages inhabited by certain communities, in remote villages, in villages with high migration and in forest villages. Remotely located or sparsely populated villages face challenges regarding the continuity of education, even if they have sufficient access to primary education. Some of the smaller and remoter villages have been serviced with schools under the formal Government school system and it is important that the achievement of such schools in ensuring universal reach of primary education is extended to universal elementary education.

In other districts like Surguja, Dantewada and Kabirdham, which have the lowest literacy rates in their respective regions, there is a demand for *ashram* schools for children from the more remote villages as well as for children belonging to disadvantaged sections. In the absence of such facilities many children are

From the people

In far off villages there are education guarantee schools that have been set up, which cover small hamlets or *padas*. Almost all other villages, besides these, have primary schools. In some large villages, there are separate schools for girls.

District Report, Korea

In every revenue village in the district, there is a provision for a primary school. There is no primary school in habitations where the number of children is less than the required number (40 children and 25 children in tribal habitations). In these areas, hostels and residential schools have been provided.

District Report, Bilaspur

According to the villagers the poor condition of the buildings, lack of buildings and teachers are some of the reasons for the level of education being lower than expected.

District Report, Jashpur

The present situation of women's education is very poor. The knowledge that they get from the elders at home is not relevant or useful today, as things are changing. Technology is also changing and everyday something new comes up. Earlier people used to say give newborn babies water, now they say do not give them water for at least four to five months.

District Report, Bastar

According to the Korva children who study in boarding schools, it is very difficult to stay at home and study. The prevalence of alcoholism in many families and the difficulties of living in the hills make it impossible for them to study. In the hostel, they get social, educational and economic protection. The people of Suvarpara in Batauli feel that people who have an education can access have jobs in the Government and will be able to serve the Government.

District Report, Surguja



not able continue with their education at the secondary level.

In districts like Rajnandgaon, Mahasamund and Durg, there is a primary school in every village. There is a need to make secondary and higher level education more accessible. These Reports point out that there is no provisioning for disabled children and state that special schools and facilities are required for them. Computer education, technical knowledge, information technology and Internet facilities that are available in the cities and towns also need to be made available in the villages.

Another phenomenon that is now becoming evident is the mushrooming of private schools all over Chhattisgarh. Though these schools are more prominent in urban areas and in very large villages, they have certainly made some difference to access and provide an option for

From the people

People of the village go to both private and Government schools to study. In Government schools, the lack of teachers and the involvement of teachers in other tasks affect the standard of education. Hence parents prefer sending their children to private schools.

Salora village, Katghora block, Korba

There is a primary school in the village, which is run regularly. However the teacher present does not teach the children properly. There are two teachers for 110 children. While one teacher is busy with meetings and administrative work, the other teacher is busy monitoring the five classes in the school. He does not get any time to teach. There is a need for more teachers and specifically women teachers in the village.

*Village Karhiyakhar
Baikunthpur block, Korea*



parents. The perception is that private schools provide better education and give greater care. Very little information is available in the *Jan Rapats* on private schools.

Infrastructure and curriculum

One of the main challenges in provisioning infrastructure is to keep pace with the growing pupil population. The facilities in many primary schools are not up to the mark and the available infrastructure is under stress. New buildings are required and the existing buildings have to be up graded and expanded.

Teachers

Though the overall teacher pupil ratio in most districts conforms to the norm of 1:40, the situation in many schools within the districts is very different. Many schools have 50 to 100 children with just one teacher. Such situations make it impossible to provide quality education. Other problems such as teacher absenteeism, low competence of teachers, teachers who do not reside in the village and improper appointment of teachers have been mentioned in many of the *Jan Rapats*.

In remote areas especially in the tribal areas, requests have been made to keep teachers away from other duties. The Durg *Jan Rapat* states that the quality of teaching is poor because teachers are busy with other work. In Korea, schools do not open and close on time and there is also the added problem of teacher absenteeism. In many villages, parents say that even though the children have been going to school regularly they do not seem to have learnt much.

There is an increasing demand for residential teachers to combat the current problem of teacher absenteeism and people point out that wherever the EGS teacher is a local

person, the level of absenteeism is negligible. Teachers who belong to the village are accountable to the community and take their responsibilities more seriously. In almost all the reports there is a demand for resident teachers, reflecting the need to foster a closer relationship between the teachers and the community.

Curriculum

Need to introduce relevant subjects and use local specific examples: In the debate between traditional knowledge systems and modern education system, there is now an emerging consensus on the need for the two systems to complement each other. The demand for introduction of agriculture based education in the middle school helps to provide a local context to the syllabus being taught in schools. The Kanker Report, for example, suggests that subjects like animal husbandry, agriculture, and poultry farming techniques should be included in the curriculum. Subjects that are relevant for the children should be introduced and the traditional knowledge base should be incorporated into the current curriculum. Teaching should be practical based and less pedantic.

Need to ensure rural-urban parity in education: Education has created a stratification in society between physical labour and white-collar jobs. Livelihoods such as agriculture and animal husbandry are not given due respect. Educated youth look for Government jobs after completing school education. They do not respect their traditional occupations, and do not want to go back to doing physical work and prefer being part of the 'educated unemployed'.

Many of the District Reports express the desire for computer facilities and training to be provided in schools so that the children from the villages

are at par with the urban children. The demand for computer education is more vocal in large and well-connected villages. There is also a demand for the inclusion of English language in the curriculum.

Long term initiatives in school education: Although there is a primary school in most villages, it is important to ensure that children do not stop at the primary level but complete their school education. There is thus a strong demand for secondary and high schools from all villages. Secondary schools and high schools can change the perception of parents and children towards education as they see their wards gaining knowledge and skills that re-emphasise the benefits of schooling.

Role of the Community

There are varying ideas on the role of community in education. People in some villages are ready to assist in improving education and schools while in other villages people feel that the *Panchayat Samitis*, the elected representatives in the village and the Government should ensure education for all. They feel that the community can only be partially responsible for activities like maintenance of schools and that the elected

representatives and the Government should play a more active role. In some villages, the community has offered community support and voluntary labour for new educational initiatives. Some *Jan Rapats* suggest that the community should have the authority to plan and implement educational initiatives. The areas where the community can play a supportive role as recommended in the *Jan Rapats* are:

Community mobilisation

Raising awareness about the benefits of education and mobilising people to send their children to school are areas where the community can play an important role. Motivating educated young people to teach in the rural schools is another service that the community can provide. Twenty one percent of the Village Reports list awareness generation as an area where the community can contribute positively, while 19 percent of the Village Reports list mobilisation of the community so that they send children to school. Another 21.7 percent of the Reports mention that the community can help in the management of schools.

Voluntary services

Nearly half of the Village Reports report that the community is willing to provide voluntary

Table 3.8 **Role of villages in improving education**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Region	Responsibility of awareness generation	Labour contribution	Donation of land	Assistance to Government	<i>Gram Sabha</i> will take lead role	Teacher appointments	Sending children to school	Management
Northern region	37	44	7	24	9	14	18	52
Central plains	15	38	1	6	5	14	35	9
Southern region	11	60	2	22	1	27	4	4
State	21	47.3	3.3	17.3	5	18.3	19	21.7

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

labour for the maintenance and construction of school buildings.

Role of local Government bodies

The role of the *Panchayat Samitis* in monitoring the development and in ensuring proper provisioning of education, needs to be better defined. They should also be responsible for spreading awareness about education and for providing facilities for teachers to stay in the villages where the schools are located.

Community contributions and donations

Some *Jan Rapats* discuss the issue of raising funds for education. The Surguja *Jan Rapat* states that the community is willing to contribute 25 percent of the total cost of conducting training programmes related to employment. People are also ready to provide accommodation and help with arrangements for teachers and trainers who come from outside. In some villages, people have offered land for setting up schools. The Rajnandgaon report has stated that people are happy to donate their old books to a book corpus, which can then be distributed to the new batches of students. This recycling programme has not yet taken off in most schools.

These Reports show that the community sees itself as a facilitator. The community is reluctant to take any major initiative with regard to education because education is seen as a professional field involving expertise, knowledge and training. Therefore while the *Jan Rapats* discuss the role of the community, they also reflect some of the limitations. Apart from the economic constraints, the absence of trained professionals and the lack of adequate capacities in other related areas mean that the government is seen as the main provider of educational facilities.

Conclusions and Suggestions for Intervention

The *Jan Rapats* show that the districts with comparatively low literacy rates are, on the whole, satisfied with the progress of education in the State. The guarantee by the State to provide education to every child between the age of 6 and 14 has been welcomed by these districts. Districts with very high literacy rates and districts that have made significant progress in recent years have considerably different demands ranging from the quality of teaching, curriculum development to better infrastructure. Providing education to the deprived, remote and backward areas still remains a problem. Pockets and areas where education has not reached in the past continue to suffer and reflect the imbalance in the educational initiatives even in districts where literacy rates are high.

The Reports point out that in some areas, even though adequate infrastructure has been provided, it is not being used optimally. In many cases physical infrastructure requires considerable investment for expansion or maintenance.

There is a widespread demand for improving and increasing school infrastructure, classrooms, playgrounds, drinking water facilities and toilets. Some village schools lack proper buildings and in most schools the existing infrastructure needs repair, further expansion and improvement. Many of the schools require more rooms and more space with the huge spurt in the number of students. While the physical infrastructure needs looking into, the quality of teaching, the curriculum, learner needs and the assessment and performance of students also require attention.

Other issues that have been highlighted are the continuity in education, maintaining urban rural parity, teaching of English, regularity and discipline in schools and the need to introduce contextual learning and subjects of relevance. The role of the community in creating awareness, mobilisation and as a general facilitator has also been emphasised.

There is a demand for technical and vocational institutions rather than regular schools. The issue of livelihoods and its link to education is an important issue. It is a challenge for educationists to provide the synergies required to make education such that it incorporates elements of local knowledge and modern education.

The strategic framework for education that emerges from the *Jan Rapats* is outlined as:

- Education must ensure the application of knowledge to everyday life and provide wider opportunities to people. The *Jan Rapats* emphasise repeatedly that education is not linked with the lives of people in the villages, that it does not reflect their life style and is therefore alien to their home environment. This makes the absorption of education tedious for children and is viewed by parents as being irrelevant. Changing

this requires considerable work in a range of areas including curriculum and pedagogy as well as the tools and techniques of teaching.

- Curriculum development is essential and the development of textbooks using stories and references that are local and contextual to the area are needed. These may even be district or region specific. While the State has adopted the CBSE curriculum, efforts have to be directed towards education that is relevant. At the primary level, education should be even more rooted in the local milieu.
- To ensure quality in education, the Government will need to build expertise in the State and this requires centres of learning staffed by sensitive and quality resource persons. Governmental and non-governmental agencies must be mobilised to identify such people, both within the State and from outside.
- The Village *Jan Rapats* state that currently the resident systems of knowledge are not given the recognition they deserve and these systems are fast disappearing. This traditional knowledge needs to be incorporated into the curriculum. This

Table 3.9 **Suggestions for improving the resources for education**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for the perception analysis)

Region	Building construction	Repair and maintenance of buildings	More teachers	Better educational facilities	Teacher should stay in the village	Free education
Northern region	24	31	43	41	22	49
Central plains	56	28	41	45	43	65
Southern region	26	7	24	38	5.8	54
State	35	22	36	41	23.6	56

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

will help children to use local knowledge together with modern systems. This process will also begin the process of codification and documentation of traditional systems of knowledge.

- The infrastructure needs of schools have to be met, including the upgrading of facilities and the proper maintenance of buildings. Forty one percent of the Village Reports suggest better educational facilities. In addition, the provision of facilities like drinking water, separate toilets for girls and boys, playgrounds and basic teaching equipment require attention.
- There is an urgent need to ensure that adequate number of teachers are present in every school so that they teach and attend school regularly and the required pupil teacher ratio is maintained. Around 36 percent of the Village Reports ask that the number of teachers be increased, 23 percent of the Reports insist that teachers should stay in the villages.
- *Gram Panchayats* need to play a more decisive role and the *Panchayats* must focus on how they can galvanise popular demand for better infrastructure in schools by utilising community initiatives. The existing school level committees need to be strengthened and communities need to get more involved in the management and maintenance of schools.
- It is important to look at technical and vocational educational courses. Courses linked to livelihood needs, technical knowledge and information in agriculture as well as manufacturing are required. An overhaul of the vocational education system in the State is required. Many new skills have already been added to the vocational institutions. There is an urgent need to make existing and new skill based training technically up to date, to build up a trained work force.
- As the State nears the goal of universal primary education, the villages need middle level schools for their children. The access to and availability of middle schools is still restricted in many villages and children are often unable to continue with school. More than half of the Village Reports suggest that education be made free.
- Schools must look after the special needs of girl students, especially adolescents. This requires looking at the physical and emotional development of girls and dealing with issues that are specific to them.
- Increased participation by the community in managing schools will have a constructive effect on the teaching - learning process. In spite of legal and administrative provisions, the role of the community is limited. A community that is more pro-active will be able to ensure that future generations can benefit from the advancements that are being made today.



Health and Well-being





Health and Well-being

The *Jan Rapats* show that people recognise the close link between health and ability, health and survival, health and growth, health and livelihoods – in fact between health and life itself. Health is seen as an all-embracing concept, as a state of being able to perform a variety of functions during the cycle of life. The *Jan Rapats* speak of a wide range of factors that impact on the physical and mental well-being of people. These include the environment, the quality and access to basic services, the assistance provided by support groups of kin and community, and even social and communal harmony.

Health does not mean merely the absence of disease. Nor does health care begin only with the onset of a disease and end once it is under control. People speak of what good health means to them and the importance of being healthy. The *Jan Rapats* regard health as a resource that a person must have to be able to function and earn a living.

This chapter is divided into six main sections. The first section details the various indicators commonly used to evaluate the health profile of a population. The second section presents a comparative analysis of the status of health in the past and today; it is based largely on the people's perceptions as described in the Reports. This is followed by a discussion on the determinants of

health and access to health services, both in the public and the private sector, including traditional practitioners and healers. Two separate sections discuss issues related to women's health and mental health. The last segment discusses the emerging issues and the interventions required.

From the people

Till a man is capable of working hard and earning, he is in good health. When his body doesn't have the strength to work and he needs the support of others, he is in bad health.



District Report, Bastar

When a person gets good and nutritious food and maintains cleanliness, he is healthy. When he is both physically and mentally healthy, he is in good health.

Village Report, Matpahad, Paththalgaon Block, Jashpur

Health Indicators for Chhattisgarh

State level data as reflected in the commonly used indicators suggests that on many counts Chhattisgarh does not compare very well with the national averages.

Infant mortality rate

The infant mortality rate (IMR) for the State¹ as a whole is estimated as 77.6 per 1,000 live births,

¹ Sample Registration System, Registrar General of India, New Delhi.

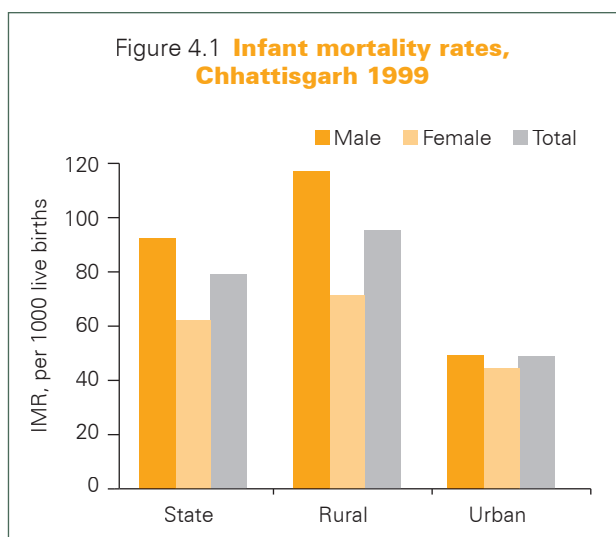
in the year 2000. As in other States, the rural IMR is significantly higher, at 94.5 per 1,000 live births, in contrast to the urban IMR, which is estimated at 47 per 1,000 live births. The high infant mortality rates suggest that urgent attention is required in reproductive health, safe delivery practices, and neonatal care. IMR for females is lower than that for males. The rural male IMR in 1999 was 116.5 per 1,000 live births compared to 71.3 per 1,000 live births, for females. This reflects the natural resilience that girl children have at birth.

Table 4.1 **Infant mortality rates in Chhattisgarh**

	IMR (per 1,000 live births) 1999			IMR 2000
	Male	Female	Total	Total
State	92.1	62.0	79.0	77.6
Rural	116.5	71.3	95.0	94.5
Urban	49.4	44.4	49.0	47.1

Source: SRS Bulletin April 2001 for data on IMR for 1999 and SRS Bulletin October 2001 for data on 2000, Registrar General of India, New Delhi.

The National Family Health Survey – 2 (NFHS-2) estimates the IMR in Chhattisgarh as 80.9 per 1,000 live births, and the under-5 mortality rate as 122.7 per 1,000 live births, in 1998/99. These figures reiterate the inadequate reproductive and child health care (RCH) services available in Chhattisgarh. Over 25 percent of births in the State are unattended. Of the births that occur with attendants, the majority (42.7 percent) are assisted by traditional birth attendants (TBS), especially in the rural areas. Diarrhoea is a major problem amongst younger children (below three years) in the State. The awareness and knowledge about the treatment of diarrhoea is limited. This, coupled with acute respiratory



illness and fever, results in high mortality among children.

Child sex ratio

The child sex ratio² is 975 females for 1,000 males in 2001³. Though this is higher than the national child sex ratio of 927 females per 1,000 males, it has declined from 985 females per 1,000 males in 1991. This points to the disturbing trend of sex selection practices before and after conception. Fertility trends suggest that son preference exists in most families⁴. This, together with the increased availability and accessibility to methods like ultrasound which can be misused for sex selection, will lead to a further decline in the sex ratio, unless urgent steps are immediately taken. This threat must be countered through preventive and regulatory measures so that the misuse of technology, both by the people and the medical community is prevented. A sincere and sustained effort for gender equality as an integral part of all development programmes needs to be initiated.

² Child sex ratio is the sex ratio for the age group 0-6. This ratio is directly associated with the pattern of mortality among children.

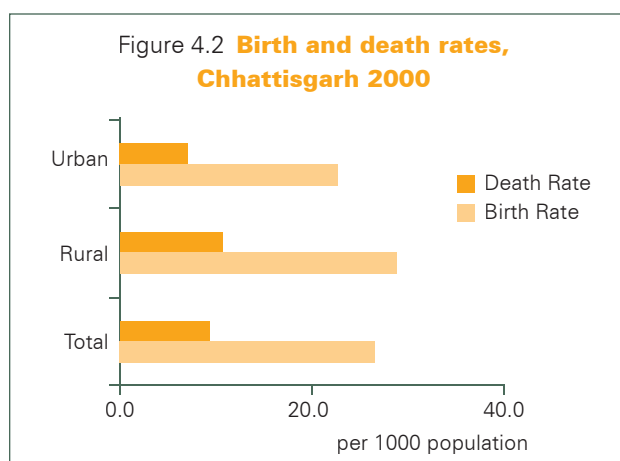
³ Census of India, 2001.

⁴ NFHS-2 reports that of the currently married women interviewed during the survey, 50.7 percent mothers preferred a male child whereas only 13.7 percent preferred a girl child, and 26.9 percent showed no preference.

Table 4.2 **Birth rate, death rate and natural growth rate, 2000**

	Total	Rural	Urban
Birth Rate (per 1,000 population)	26.7	29.2	22.8
Death Rate (per 1,000 population)	9.6	11.2	7.1
Natural Growth Rate	17.1	18	15.7

Source: SRS Bulletin, April 2001



Birth rate

The State recorded a birth rate of 26.7 births per 1,000 population in 2000, which puts it among States with high birth rates in India. It is lower than the birth rates in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan⁵, that are all above 30 per 1,000 population, but higher than that for Jharkhand, which is 26.5 per 1,000 population. It is also higher than the national average, which is 25.8. While the birth rate remains high, there has been a perceptible decline in the growth rate of the population. The decadal population growth rate between 1991 and 2001 was 18 percent,

a drastic fall from 25.7 percent in the previous decade (1981-91).

Death rate

The State has one of the highest death rates in the nation, 9.6 per 1,000 in the year 2000, as compared to 8.5 for all of India. The high death rate, especially in rural Chhattisgarh, presents a challenge for the health delivery system, the supply of potable water and the availability of sanitation facilities. It also raises the issue of food security and livelihoods, that help to ensure a safe and nurturing environment.

Fertility rate

The total fertility rate⁶, in the State is 2.79 according to NFHS-2, compared to 2.85 for all India.

Table 4.3 **Fertility rate in Chhattisgarh**

Total Fertility Rate	2.79
Mean number of children ever born to all women 40 – 49	4.57
Mean ideal number of children	3.2

Source: NFHS-2 1998-99

Information from NFHS-2 shows that women in Chhattisgarh have a high awareness as far as family planning is concerned. Sterilisation as the permanent birth control method is adopted when the desired family size is achieved. There is a definite preference for a male child and till a son is born families tend to continue to have children. NFHS-2 data also suggests that there is a significant percentage of women who have an unmet need for safe contraception.

⁵ The respective rates are 32.8, in Uttar Pradesh, 31.9 in Bihar, and 31.2 in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan.

⁶ The fertility rate refers to the number of children that would be born per woman, if she were to live to the end of her child-bearing years and bear children at each stage according to the prevailing age-specific fertility rate.

Table 4.4 **Unmet need for family planning**

	Percentage of people
Unmet need for Family Planning	13.5
Unmet need for spacing ⁷	8.0

Source: NFHS-2, 1998-99

Immunisation

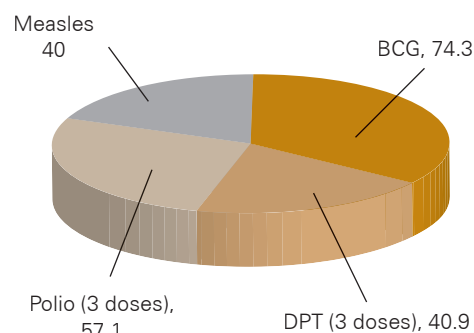
The NFHS-2 records a very low level of immunisation in the State. This is one of the primary reasons for the continued high infant mortality. Only about 22 percent of children in the State have been fully vaccinated. The reasons for this are the limited reach of vaccines and the high dropout rate, where multiple vaccines have to be administered, like those for DPT and BCG. Almost 94 percent of children received the first polio vaccine but only 57 percent received all three doses. Similarly, 68 percent of children received the first dose of DPT but only 40.9 percent children received all three doses of DPT. Immunization is considered one of the most important tools for the prevention of childhood illnesses and mortality.

The decrease in infant, child and maternal mortality in the last few decades is largely



⁷ Spacing refers to the number of years between children.

Figure 4.3 **Immunisation in Chhattisgarh – children vaccinated (%)**



attributed to increased immunisation. People use the public health centre as the main source of immunisation and most children (92 percent) receive vaccination from a public health facility.

The role of the public sector in the provision of vaccines and encouraging immunisation practices is vital in Chhattisgarh, where the infant and child mortality rates are already high.

People's Perception

Status of health – yesterday and today

The Village *Jan Rapats* record the impressions of people regarding the status of health in their villages in the past and what they perceive it to be today. People do not separate health and the quality of existence from the environment that they live in. Therefore, changes in their environment shape the perceptions that people have about their general well-being.

From all the District Reports (which are a compilation of the discussions that were held at

the village level) it is apparent that people see an overall decline in their health. This may not be based on the incidence of illness alone but in the larger context of physical and mental well-being. This perception is strongly connected to the various changes that have occurred over a period of time. The degradation of the natural environment has forced people to move away from their natural lifestyle, including types of livelihood, sources of food, eating habits and traditional practices. The Village *Jan Rapats* suggest that there is a greater level of uncertainty about health today than in the past. This arises from a sense of insecurity regarding the factors that make up health – food, environment, forests, drinking water – and this draws from a decline in the quality and quantity of these resources, as well as the sense of reduced control that people feel over these resources. The loss of control over individual health, and more importantly, its management is reflected in the general feeling of the people that they are poorer today (in terms of health) than they were before.

An analysis of the data collated from the Village Reports shows that only 18 percent (15.1 percent plus 2.9 percent) of the reports feel that the status of health is good or very good in their villages. Another 33.9 percent categorise their health as being satisfactory, while 48.2 percent

of the Village Reports feel that the status of health is poor or unsatisfactory (40.2 percent of Reports rate it as unsatisfactory and 8 percent as poor, see table 4.5 for details).

Diseases such as smallpox, polio and plague are mentioned as illnesses that took a heavy toll of life in the past, but the incidence of such diseases has declined substantially today.⁸ People affirm that their children are in better health and vaccination is a major reason for this. The decrease in epidemics may have reduced the perception of mortality, but this is not directly related with everyday health or healthy living or even with a healthy body, free of illness. There are no mechanisms which aid full recovery after a major illness. These factors lead to the perception of a general decline in the factors affecting health. The Village *Jan Rapats* point out that modern medical systems and programmes have helped to reduce the incidence of major diseases, especially in their epidemic form. People see this as an improvement but only in the prevention of illness, and not in the context of overall health.

Common diseases

The *Jan Rapats* enumerate the more common diseases that affect the villages. While these major diseases have regional and seasonal patterns, they

Table 4.5 **Status of health in the villages**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis⁹)

Regions of Chhattisgarh	Very good	Good	Satisfactory	Not satisfactory	Poor
Northern region	3.9	14.3	22.1	56.1	3.6
Central plains	2.4	11.1	48.3	29.1	9.1
Southern region	2.4	19.8	31.3	35.3	11.2
State	2.9	15.1	33.9	40.2	8.0

Source: *Jan Rapats* Part III

⁸ Smallpox is reported to be totally eradicated from Chhattisgarh and India.

⁹ The perception analysis in this chapter refers to the 2,869 villages, identified as a representative sample for the purpose of this Report.

From the people

Earlier we used to eat a lot of roots and tubers. Our grain was produced without the use of chemical fertilisers. Now all kinds of chemicals are used. This makes the body weak and we are always troubled by illness.



Panchayat Village Report, Surguja

The lack of pure drinking water, the cutting of trees, the lack of health education, superstitions, *basi* (stale) food, all of these have an influence on health. Earlier, health was something that we always had ... and we worked all 12 months of the year. Now we fall ill easily and have to give special attention to our health.

District Report, Rajnandgaon

Earlier, people did not get fever often because they would work, sleep and rise at appropriate times. They would work hard and de-husk the rice and cook it in mud pots before eating it. They would remain clean. The environment was clean and pure, as there were no machines. People would bathe in the water of wells, lakes, rivers and streams and wash their clothes with ash. They ate roots, fruits, vegetables and other tubers to survive. If they got fever, they called a traditional physician for treatment. The use of medicinal plants led to a long life. They also gave special importance to prayers.

Discussions with Uraon tribe, Sagibhavan village, Kasbil block, Jashpur

related diseases, cholera, leprosy, skin infections and tuberculosis. Some reports also mention jaundice, typhoid, pneumonia and diabetes. Medical emergencies like complications during pregnancy and delivery, snakebites and bites from scorpions and other poisonous insects, minor and major injuries, also find repeated mention, as situations often become life threatening due to the lack of medical services. The reports speak of problems of health that arise from socio-economic reasons and are related to habitat and lifestyles, such as those related to malnutrition, anaemia and night blindness.

Diarrhoea is reported to be a major problem in more than half the *Jan Rapats* and malaria is reported in as many as 40 percent of the reports. Stomach related ailments are common in 21.5 percent of the villages, and cholera is also prevalent. A high incidence of snake bites is reported from the northern and southern forest regions.

The cycle of illness

From the *Jan Rapats* it appears that there is a cycle of illness that entraps people and due to its nature, where one thing leads to the other, it is almost impossible to be rid of it. This cycle is illustrated below in Figure 4.4.

occur frequently in all the districts. Among the more common illnesses are diarrhoea, malaria, stomach

Table 4.6 **Incidence of major diseases**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Regions of Chhattisgarh	Malaria	Diarrhoea	Leprosy	Tuberculosis	Skin disease	Stomach related ailments	Head-ache	Cholera	Snake-bite ¹⁰
Northern region	43.1	49.3	1.1	2.3	3.5	21.2	6.1	13.2	15.1
Central plains	31.5	55.1	0.9	1.7	2.6	26	2.6	18	6
Southern region	45.9	57.2	2.1	1.9	3.3	17.5	7.04	14.9	21.2
State	40.2	53.9	1.2	1.96	3.1	21.5	5.25	15.2	14.1

Note: Names of the diseases have emerged from Part III of the Village Reports
Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

¹⁰ While a snake bite is not a disease, it is a common occurrence and requires medical attention. Similarly, headaches and stomach problems are symptomatic ailments described in the *Jan Rapats*.

Each successive cycle makes the person weaker and more susceptible to future illness; it harbours the seeds for the next round of illness.

Many of the more common diseases are closely associated with seasons, when both pre-disposing factors as well as problems of treatment are accentuated.

From the people

People associate the occurrence of diseases with particular times of the year. During the monsoon, diarrhoea and other infectious diseases are common. Malaria is common in November and December. In the period from March to June, skin infections are common. In August and September, illnesses due to dampness are common. The monsoon is the most difficult period, as there are a number of diseases that flourish in this season and access to health services become difficult or even impossible, due to problems of communication and transport. Some villages become virtual islands during the rains.

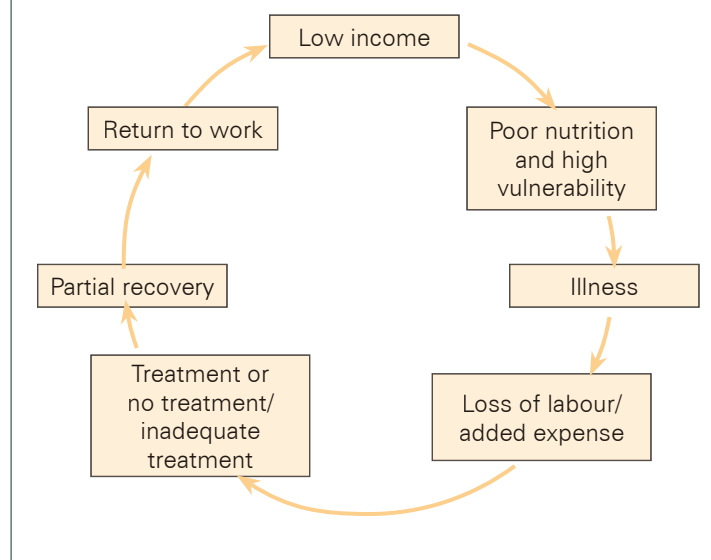


District Report, Korba

Determinants of Health

Low-income levels are the prime determinant of people's health, directly or indirectly. This is especially true when we look at ailments and disease. Poverty causes people to be undernourished; they have low resistance and are vulnerable to a variety of illnesses. Their habitat exposes them to conditions that are conducive to the spread of infectious diseases. The lack of money makes access to good health care difficult.

Figure 4.4 **Cycle of illness**



Food security and nutrition

The connection of nutrition to health is strongly established, not only in terms of having a nutritious diet for good health but having adequate food to eat, for survival. Lack of adequate nutrition is cited as one of the main determinants of ill health. Being undernourished is both an illness in itself as well as a cause for other illnesses. In the Village Reports, good health is often expressed as a situation where there is enough to eat. Adequate nutrition is

From the people

In 18 percent of the villages in the district, poverty is the reason for the lack of nutritious food. The economic situation is a problem. Due to less money, we cannot even buy medicines.



District Report, Kabirdham

The priority given to food, and the struggle to obtain it, pushes the concern for health to the background. First we think of food, then of our health.

Udaipur Village, Surguja

recognised as a prerequisite for good health. Nutrition is connected to issues of livelihood, food security and distribution.

Many of the District Reports speak of poor levels of nutrition, and managing two square meals is an issue for most people. In the village and district reports, people repeatedly say that not having enough to eat is one of the most important issues for them and that the lack of adequate food is one of the biggest causes of ill health. Therefore, tackling the issue of nutrition and food security must be an integral part of the effort to improve the health status of the State.

Table 4.7 **Anaemia in women and children**
(as a percentage of the total of the subset)

Women with anaemia	68.7
Women with moderate/severe anaemia	22.6
Children (age 6-35 months) with anaemia	87.7
Children (age 6-35 months) with moderate/severe anaemia	63.8
Chronically undernourished children (stunted ¹¹)	57.9
Acutely undernourished children (wasted ¹²)	18.5
Underweight children	60.8

Source: NFHS-2, 1998-99

From the people

We see a direct connection between livelihood and health and believe that if we do not earn a living all throughout the year, we will not get suitable and adequate nutrition. Only on getting enough nutrition will our family members remain healthy else, they will be malnourished and will suffer from various illnesses. Because of this reason, we want employment all year round.

District Report, Raigarh



Sanitation

The relationship of health with sanitary conditions and clean living environment has been made clearly in the *Jan Rapats*. The ways in which this can be achieved are equally well articulated. Lack of drains and the presence of ditches create unsanitary conditions, which contaminate water, breed mosquitoes and cause water-borne diseases. Malaria, typhoid, tuberculosis, jaundice and diarrhoea, which have been listed as common illnesses, are all connected to unsanitary living conditions.

Prevalence of anaemia

Women and children in the State suffer from a high incidence of anaemia. Over 68 percent of the women have anaemia. Anaemia is especially relevant in the reproductive years and affects pregnant women and their children adversely. Well over half the children in the State are chronically undernourished and more than 18 percent are acutely undernourished.

From the people

For health, it is important that there is cleanliness. This depends on oneself, the village, the city and the country.

District Report, Mahasamund



Village Reports have clearly listed what needs to be done at the individual and at the village level and what is required to be done by the State. Keeping the village environment clean,

¹¹ Stunted refers to the condition when the height of children is less than the average height for children in a particular age group.

¹² Wasted refers to a situation when the body weight of children is less than the median weight for the height-body mass in relation to body length: Such children are considered to be too thin or wasted.

filling ditches preventing water stagnation, and waste management can be done collectively at the village level. Provision of toilets and bleaching of wells, fumigation and expenditure towards the provision of staff are responsibilities that fall on the Government. The reports also speak of the role of the *Panchayats*. The *Panchayat* needs to take a proactive role in accessing resources from Government schemes and then making rules and regulations for their implementation, to ensure the general cleanliness of the village.

From the people

The *Panchayat* should have strict rules for maintaining cleanliness around the boring made for water, and then we will all follow the rules.



Dongargaon Village, Rajnandgaon

Clean drinking water

Diarrhoea, jaundice and typhoid are among the more common illnesses that occur in Chhattisgarh. Sometimes in the monsoon season they take on epidemic proportions. These illnesses are water-borne and the people list clean drinking water as a priority. The Bastar District Report points out that 71.3 percent of the people feel that the unavailability of clean drinking water is one of the main causes of illness. The demand for the provision of drinking water, hand pumps in the villages and regular bleaching of the existing water sources emerges strongly from all the Reports.

Maintaining water sources and keeping them uncontaminated has been recognised as collective responsibility of the people and the State. Reports say that once the drinking water reaches the village, the people will take

From the people

Water is life, yet in far-flung areas of the district, people do not have access to drinking water. Even today, many villagers are forced to drink water from a *dhodhi*, *nallah* or a *turra*. The Indira Gaon Ganga Yojana has not reached the hilly and interior regions. There are no hand pumps in these areas either. In areas which are close to the road, the Indira Gaon Ganga Yojana has definitely had an impact. However, in some places, due to the lack of maintenance, its presence has not benefited the area.



In many villages, a prominent male or female health worker has been given bleaching powder to be used to keep the water source clean. However, it is not regularly used and this effort has not been fully successful.

District Report, Korea

responsibility for keeping the water clean. However, they cannot assume responsibility for industrial pollution, the unavailability of water or the pollution due to the absence of proper sanitation facilities. These areas are seen as the responsibility of the Government.

Another important point that has been made in the Village Reports is that the location of the hand pump should be a collective village decision, keeping the convenience of all groups in mind. Where water sources are available in the villages, universal access should be ensured.

Factors that affect health

The relationship between environment and health is clearly articulated in report after report. The *Jan Rapats* highlight the main factors that impact on health and point out the deterioration in these factors. The main factors which are listed are:

- The quality of drinking water (listed in two out of five Village Reports)
- Poor sanitation and non-availability of running water, and the resulting lack of hygiene (44.3 percent of the Village Reports, see table 4.8 for details)
- Shrinking forests and the consequent reduction in herbs and other produce accessed from the forests.

The social and economic factors that impact on health are:

- Diseases that the body has to deal with have increased
- The nutritive value in food grains has reduced, due to the increased use of pesticides.
- There are fewer inbuilt security mechanisms that ensure some food security. (This is largely due to the breakdown of the relationship between forests and people.)
- The breakup of the feudal and the *Jajmani*¹³ systems, which ensured some security

within the village for poor households, especially for those who traded their labour or service skills.

Consumption of locally brewed liquor, alcohol and tobacco

The consumption of alcohol, including traditionally brewed liquor and other addictive substances like tobacco products, also lead to ill health. Most District Reports say that locally brewed liquor (from *mahua* and *salfi*) is considered to have beneficial properties as well. The people say that while excessive consumption of the traditional brews made from *mahua* and *salfi* are intoxicating, when consumed in small quantities, they act as relaxants.

The District *Jan Rapats* of Raipur, Durg, Bilaspur and Raigarh state that the widespread

From the people

The drink made from *mahua* or that brewed from rice (*landa*) helps to repress hunger. It also intoxicates.



District Report, Bastar

Table 4.8 **Factors leading to ill health**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Regions of Chhattisgarh	Polluted water	Lack of hygiene	Stale food	Alcohol	Illiteracy	Pollution	Malnutrition
Northern region	36.3	39.9	18.3	38.2	3.3	2.9	2.7
Central plains	49.3	46.3	19.3	41.1	1.9	3.8	3.5
Southern region	34.1	43.3	22.1	33.4	2.1	2.4	2.1
State	38.1	44.3	20.3	38.3	2.6	2.8	2.4

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

¹³ The *Jajmani* system refers to the traditional system where people of the relatively disadvantaged classes work on the land of large landlords in the village. They receive customary payments in cash and/or kind.

consumption and addiction to alcohol (including liquor made from *mahua*, but specially country liquor and Indian Made Foreign Liquor) leads to ill health. Nearly two-fifths of the Village Reports say that alcohol consumption is a factor that is responsible for poor health. Excessive consumption of liquor affects the wellbeing of the entire household. It adds a burden to household expenditure and often results in the loss of wages. Women pitch in to maintain incomes. However, they are often targets of domestic violence associated with the consumption of alcohol.

There is concern about the spread of alcoholism among the young. Another related issue is the increased availability and consumption of *gutka*,¹⁴ even in the interior regions of the State. Many Village Reports demand complete prohibition of alcohol and other addictive substances.¹⁵

The problem of alcoholism among youth is more widespread in industrial and urban centres. The issue of alcoholism needs to be looked at not just in terms of de-addiction (which is important) but also in terms of the reasons that drive people to drink (unemployment, depression, the decline in channels of communication and peer pressure). Serious efforts need to be made to address these concerns.

Health Care

Health infrastructure and investment in the public sector

The health infrastructure in Chhattisgarh needs considerable upgradation, both in terms of coverage and reach and in quality of services provided. The State has a high incidence of



tuberculosis, malaria, leprosy and jaundice. There is only one TB hospital in Raipur district and two leprosy hospitals in Raipur and Dakshin Bastar - Dantewada district.

Most of the smaller districts (except Dhamtari), which have been formed recently, do not have a district hospital. The division of the districts has so far not affected the proximity of access or provisioning of medical facilities. This means that people continue to go to the hospitals located in the headquarters of the erstwhile districts. Tertiary care in Chhattisgarh is clearly less than adequate and there is an urgent need to increase the infrastructure in the State.¹⁶

Access to public health is facilitated through greater provisioning of public investments in the health sector, as well as greater access to medical facilities, both at the primary level as well as at the secondary and tertiary levels. The State has been investing in health infrastructure and technological enhancement in terms of advanced equipment and machinery. The budgetary provisions for health have been increasing over the last few years. The

¹⁴ *Gutka* is a mixture of betel nut, tobacco and other ingredients like lime. It is sold both loose and in small branded pouches.

¹⁵ In Chhattisgarh, the *Gram Sabhas* have been vested with powers to prohibit the sale of liquor in their area of jurisdiction. There are many examples of *Gram Sabhas* exercising this power. There are also reports of organised resistance by women's groups to habitual drinking.

¹⁶ See table 9 in the Appendix.

budgetary allocation for health increased from Rs.184 crore in 2000-01 to Rs. 243.62 crore in 2003-04, an increase of 32.4 percent.¹⁷

The current emphasis is on strengthening specialized medical education. Investments have also been made in private-public partnerships for specialised medical care. In the area of rural health, provision has been made for seven new Primary Health Centres (PHCs) and 31 new Community Health Centres (CHCs) but these are inadequate to meet the primary health care needs of the large rural populace of the State. Besides this, 1,400 *Anganwadi* Centres have also been sanctioned to provide supplementary nutrition and other services for women and children.

Among the new initiatives in the health sector is the *Mitanin Yojana*, which has been launched with 54,000 *mitanins* identified by the *Gram Sabhas*. Of this number, about 8,000 *mitanins* have received training and another 27,000 are under training. This scheme responds to the demand of the people that local personnel be used in the provisioning of health care.

It is apparent from the various health indicators and the perceptions of people that health care in the State requires substantial technical and financial investments.

Public health system

Health is an important responsibility of the State and the public health care system is expected to meet the health needs of the people, irrespective of their ability to pay. The role of the State in the provisioning of health services has been recognised in all Village and District *Jan Rapats*. However, there is a

Table 4.9 **Knowledge of Government programmes**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Regions of Chhattisgarh	Yes	No	No response
Northern region	26.3	59.3	14.4
Central plains	37.1	49.2	13.7
Southern region	44.39	37.5	18.11
State	35.9	48.7	15.4

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

general consensus that the services are far from adequate, both in terms of quality and reach. Various issues of utilisation, access, quality of services, adequacy of resources and performance of health providers have emerged from the reports.

The health delivery system in India is based on a three-tiered structure. At the base are the village level workers, located in every village and hamlet. Then there are Sub-Health Centres (SHC) and Primary Health Centres (PHC), and finally the Community Health Centres (CHC). While there are norms for the setting up of these centres and the staffing pattern,¹⁸ the general feeling is that these are not sufficient to meet the requirements of the villagers—both in terms of the number of centres and the services provided.

A telling commentary on the Government programmes is provided by the Village Reports, which show that only 35.9 percent of villages were aware of Government programmes, while the remaining villages, 64.1 percent, either did not know or did not say anything about this aspect.

¹⁷ The increase in the budgetary allocation in the current financial year (2003-2004) is, however, only seven percent over the previous year, which is the lowest increase compared to all other sectors.

¹⁸ See tables 10 and 11 in the Appendix for details.

Table 4.10 **Availability of health services**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Regions of Chhattisgarh	Very good	Good	Satisfactory	Poor	Very poor
Northern region	2.2	9.3	26.4	53	9.2
Central plains	1.9	8.33	18	68	3.77
Southern region	4.2	14.1	24.4	49.1	8.2
State	2.8	10.6	22.9	56.7	7.1

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

Availability and adequacy of services

The Village Reports categorise the health services as being very good, good, satisfactory, poor and very poor.

The percentage of Village Reports that categorise the health services as being very good or good is only 13.4 percent (2.8 percent plus 10.6 percent). The number of Village Reports that say that the services are poor and very poor is as high as 63.8 percent (56.7 percent plus 7.1 percent). These figures reflect the inability of the system to provide for the health needs of all. The demand for more Primary Health Centres and Sub-Health Centres and Community Health Centres is mentioned in nearly every District Report. While the data suggests that the number of PHCs and SHCs in the State as a whole are quite adequate, as per the population norms, an examination of the district level data shows that the average figure is quite misleading.¹⁹ There are many districts where the rural population being serviced by one PHC is much higher than 30,000 people. In some districts like Dhamtari and Mahasamund, this figure is as high as 50,000 people per PHC. In forested areas, while the number of people serviced by a single SHC or PHC is lower, the

From the people

Villages feel that the health services are inadequate. The people of Kontagaon have demanded a new Sub-Health Centre.



District Report, Dantewada

The people of Wadrafnagar say they would like an increase in the number of doctors.

District Report, Surguja

People want a Primary Health Centre to be located within a radius of five kilometres of every village.

District Report, Mahasamund

The closest health centre is 20 kilometres away. In case of bigger illnesses, we have to go very far, because our own caregivers do not have medicines for these illnesses.

Maroda Village, Rajnandgaon

terrain makes access difficult. The absence of connectivity to all-weather roads in these districts makes it impossible for people to travel to any public health facility, especially in the rainy season.

While many districts do conform to the population norms set for establishing Primary Health Centres, the terrain and the resulting access problems, combined with the lower

¹⁹ See Appendix, Table 11, for details.

population density (compared to the national average), which sometimes results in the PHCs being quite distant, means that villagers are unable to utilise their services. The peculiarities of low density of population in the tribal areas of the State are not adequately factored in. In Bastar, for instance, the distances and natural barriers require more SHCs and PHCs. Thus, while the Government sets up health centres as per the population serviced criteria, for people it is distance which acts as the determining factor.²⁰ Even where PHCs exist, the Village Reports suggest that they do not function optimally. Only very basic needs are met and the referral rate is very high.

Further, the reports say that there is a shortage of staff at the Health Centres. In some cases, staff has not been posted, and in others, the doctors and the nursing staff do not come to the Centres regularly. While the Centre is supposed to have a doctor on duty for 24 hours, it has been reported that doctors usually do not stay at the PHCs located in the rural areas, especially when the PHCs are in extremely remote areas. They often commute on a daily or sometimes on a weekly basis. Consequently, the setting up of a PHC and the posting of staff does not ensure that services are being provided or that the needs of villagers are being met. The *Jan Rapats* mention the critical requirement for diagnostic procedures and specialist doctors. They suggest weekly visits of specialist doctors. The Community Health Centres provide secondary level services, and are supposed to provide specialised services. There are 115 CHCs,²¹ seven of which are being upgraded to District Hospitals.

The inadequacy of the infrastructure and personnel also points to the lack of choice that people face when they require medical attention. One often forces them to turn to more expensive private health care practitioners, and leads to an increase in the economic burden and to increased indebtedness.

Issues of access

The Government health structure caters to people's needs using a number norm, while the people look at the structure in terms of reach, accessibility and whether it can service them or not. Accessibility itself has various aspects – the distance, modes of transport, timings, social and cultural accessibility, issues of alienation, and the limitations imposed by gender, caste, class, and even region – all of which determine use. Some of these are administrative issues and others stem from the system of formal medicine that is being practised, which is intrinsically biased towards dominant practices and groups.

Distance and absence of transportation facilities

For most villages which are not located on the main road or do not have direct transportation facilities to health centres or large towns, accessibility is the main hindrance in the utilization of health services. The health care providers at the village level find it difficult to visit the villages regularly, and the medical requirements of the population in such locations are neglected. For the people, a visit to the PHC means an added expense, and even if the service is free, it has a cost associated with it in terms of access – by some means of transport — it and in terms of time. Therefore, people prefer to rely on whatever services are

²⁰ The population density for Chhattisgarh is 154 persons per square kilometre compared to a density of 324 persons per square kilometre for India, in 2001.

²¹ The population norm suggests a CHC per 80,000 people in tribal areas; and a CHC per 120,000 people in other areas.

Box 4.1

Lifeline – mobile health care for remote villages

The Lifeline Project introduced by Government aims at taking expert care into remote villages through mobile units. Information provided by the Government suggests that this project has been successful in districts like Durg and Bilaspur, but the Village Reports have not said very much about the impact of this scheme.

Government of Chhattisgarh

available within the village itself. These may not be adequate or appropriate for their needs.

The issue of access is accentuated when there is a medical emergency. In such an emergency or during delivery, for example, getting the patient to the health care centre is very difficult and a burden for the patient (physical and psychological). There is the added uncertainty of whether or not the service will be available. Sometimes the sub-centre or the PHC refers the patient to the tertiary hospital located in the city. This compounds the problem and the loss of time in travel and making arrangements, or the sheer inability to reach proper medical care, is often life threatening.

Relationship with health functionaries

The people feel that health functionaries, especially the doctors at the PHCs are too far removed from them. The general attitude and behaviour of doctors, the unsatisfactory interaction with the patients, and reluctance of doctors to treat all patients with equal care and dignity are the main reasons for this. In report after report, the behaviour of the staff is reported to be unfriendly. They are insensitive to the difficulties that people face when they come into an alien environment for treatment,

and provide little or no assistance. There is a reluctance to give information, and very little regard for patients' rights in terms of explaining procedures.

However, health care workers who are 'closer' to the people maintain a more amiable relationship. The services provided by the ANMs (auxiliary nurse midwife) and the *anganwadi* workers have been commended in the *Jan Rapats*. The *anganwadi* worker is the most visible and her presence has been acknowledged as being extremely useful. The level of satisfaction reported for the work done through the *anganwadi* and *balwadis* is higher than for most other services (this includes all government services). The ANM has a prominent presence, as she is the one who provides basic primary health care in the village. Even with her limited skills, villagers find her extremely useful and often seek her help and advice. The *dai* also provides assistance and advice, especially in the area of reproductive health care and delivery. In both these cases, the cultural and contextual location of these providers works in their favour.

Access for women

The absence of women doctors not only makes access for women difficult but also affects the sensitivity and comfort with which women patients expect to be treated. The treatment of women's health primarily as a matter concerning reproductive health has made the entire health system insensitive to the requirements of women. It reduces the issue of women's health to women requiring care only in the period when they are in the active reproductive phase of their lives and completely ignores their need for medical care at other times and for other illnesses.²²

²² Problems of discharge and prolapse of the uterus, for example, often go untreated.

Box 4.2

Women's health

About 37 percent of currently married women in Chhattisgarh Report some kind of reproductive health problem, including abnormal vaginal discharge, symptoms of urinary tract infections and pain or bleeding associated with intercourse. Among women who reported problems, 68 percent have not sought any kind of medical treatment for their problems.

Source: NFHS -2, (1998-99), Chhattisgarh

The neglect of women's health is evident from the fact that it finds little mention in the Village Reports, while there is data as well as experiential work evidence to show that there are a number of diseases and problems that are widespread among women.

Access for people with special needs

Many Village Reports have reported the presence of disabled children or young adults or the very elderly, who continue to live in neglect, due to the lack of any special facilities for them. There is very little information as to who within the health care system is supposed to take care of people with special requirements.

There are some District Rehabilitation Centres situated in the cities, but they do not address the needs adequately. There is virtually no information regarding the schemes that exist and therefore people are not in any position to access these services. Again, within the family, people with special needs are the most marginalised and disempowered, and therefore most removed from access to health services.

Chunauti is a campaign launched in 1996 by the Government for the economic rehabilitation and social mainstreaming of persons afflicted by various kinds of disabilities. Social Security

From the people

Milan Ram Yadav is about 70 years old, is below the poverty line, and needs Government help.



Phulkuvanar Bai, who is about 20 years old, cannot speak and needs help.

Tilaibhat Khergadhi village, Rajnandgaon

pensions are available for destitute people with disabilities and for school-going disabled children, between the age group of 6-14 years.

The *Jan Rapats* indicate that there is a section of the population whose needs are unmet. This reiterates the need for larger outreach, proper awareness, and information systems that will make people aware of the schemes and ensure that the services reach the targeted population.

Quality of services

Quality of services is one of the most serious issues in health care provisioning. The *Jan Rapats* voice strong dissatisfaction about the quality of services provided.

The main issues that have come up in the Reports are:

- The location of the service: Areas where Government health services are most vital are the remote and inaccessible areas; but these areas are also the most poorly serviced.
- Deficiency in service: Where Government health centres exist, the villagers are largely unhappy with the delivery system. The main reasons cited for this are the absence of health staff, especially doctors

From the people

Twenty percent of the villagers want free health care services.

District Report, Kabirdham

The absence of free services and medicine is a major problem.

District Report, Durg



in PHCs and CHCs, the non-availability of drugs, the lack of trained staff, and the absence of facilities that are supposed to be available. As a result, many procedures and tests, which are required, cannot be performed and the service being provided is incomplete.

- User fees: The people have voiced their discontent at the levying of user fees. There is considerable confusion about what is to be charged and what is free, and no clear information is given regarding the fee structure.

Timings of health centres

The timings of health centres limit their utilization. This is because the timings are unsuitable for the users. Most health centres function from the morning till early afternoon. This is the time that people work in the fields. A visit to the doctor means the loss of a workday and wages. Therefore, people prefer going to a private doctor at a time which is more convenient (early morning or late evening). They may even end up going to the same Government doctor, who practises privately and charges a fee for his services.

Non-availability of drugs and diagnostic procedures

The supply of medicines is another area that has received considerable attention in the *Jan*

Rapats. As many as 80 to 90 percent of reports across districts say that drugs are not supplied to them by the Health Centres and that these have to be procured from private drug stores. This happens in spite of the fact that the State has a list of essential medicines, which are to be provided through the three-tier health system – the PHC, SHC and depot holder at the village level. The reports have also pointed out that some of the drugs dispensed are of poor quality and ineffective. This is a serious issue and there is a need for more investigation into the drug procurement and dispensation problem. Certain diagnostic procedures like X-rays, blood and urine tests are also supposed to be conducted at the Public Health Centres. However, these are not done because of lack of staff or equipment, and the people have to go to another public service, often at the next higher level (which may not be accessible) or to a private laboratory.

Systems of monitoring and control

The departmental system of monitoring and the non-accountability of the service providers to the receivers means that there is a huge deficiency in the service. People have little control over the service and the way in which it is delivered. There are no mechanisms that allow people to register their grievances, and the general feeling both among the service providers and the people who receive it is that they have to be satisfied with what they get. For example, the non-availability of the doctors and services at the Primary Health Centres is a common complaint but the people have no mechanism to voice their dissatisfaction and to ensure that the staff (including the doctor) does their duty.

In spite of the *Panchayati Raj* system, the Department of Health retains its administrative control across most levels of functioning. People have very little information about the services that are supposed to be provided, the

allocation of resources and the distribution and supply of medicines. This makes it difficult for them to question the health centre staff.

An attempt to make the health care system more accountable to the people, led to an initiative by the Government that requires the *Sarpanch* to sanction the release of the pay cheques for the health workers. However, this measure has certain drawbacks. Even though it may ensure the presence of the worker, it does not ensure the quality of the work done. Secondly, the *Sarpanch* may decide to sign or not sign, according to his discretion. Besides, this scheme is applicable for the health workers but doctors are not covered by it. The people feel that it is the most overworked and the least paid – the community health workers, and other part time or voluntary staff – that are being targeted by the Government schemes initiated for people's control.

From the people

In Dantewada, the people mention the initiative by the Government, which requires the *Sarpanch* to sanction the order for the salaries of health workers. However, they feel that this does not ensure the quality of the service.



District Report, Dantewada

Private health care

The health care needs of people are met by a combination of various medical systems, some formal and others informal. Though the public health sector (which follows allopathic medicine) is largely responsible for health care provisioning, a large section of health care providers are private – ranging from the traditional herbal medicine practitioners, faith healers (*guniya*, *baiga*), quacks, homoeopaths and *ayurvedic* doctors, to allopathic doctors.

Box 4.3

Share of public and private health services

A survey by the National Sample Survey Organisation in 1995-96 shows that of the people with ailments receiving non-hospitalised treatments (in rural areas) in undivided Madhya Pradesh, 65 percent went to private sources. For hospitalised services, 53 percent of the rural patients used Government health institutions.

Traditional medicine practitioners and faith healers:

Many indigenous forms of medicine exist in different parts of India. While *ayurveda* and *unani* medicine are quite well known, there are many less known local systems that are practised in different parts of the country. These use local herbs and locally available materials. The practitioners of these forms of treatment have been classified broadly as traditional practitioners. There are other healers who invoke supernatural powers or the faith of people to cure ailments and give some succour to their patients. Both traditional healers and faith healers have their origins in the local society and culture and form an intrinsic part of Chhattisgarh's villages and its society.

These healers live with people, and draw their sustenance from them. This helps them to develop a relationship of trust and a dependence, which goes beyond the doctor-patient relationship. Traditional healers have been known to practise numerous ways to cure and prevent diseases and heal injuries. Much of their practice is based on local herbs, medicinal plants, and on practices that are similar to naturopathy. It is these traditional healers and the vast knowledge that they embody that the people rely on. In fact, there is much to be learnt from the systems from which these healers draw their expertise and craft.

From the people

People in the village know how to cure illnesses using medicinal plants as well as by *jhaad phook*. Jaundice can be cured by *kutki* and *chiraita*. *Baad* can be cured by *asgan*. People today have no faith in domestic remedies. In Mungeli, they go to the private practitioner. For medicines they use allopathic medicines.



Jamha village, Mungeli Block, Bilaspur

In our villages the prevalent diseases are malaria, cold, cough, loose motions, vomiting, TB, *moti jeera*, itching, *baad* and *gathiya*. These illnesses are caused due to unhygienic conditions. *Jhaad phook*, herbal medicines and the link worker cure these. The *guniya*, the *baiga*, the doctor and the untrained midwife are also helpful.

Taulipali Village, Korba Block, Korba

Faith healers also belong to the same socio-cultural milieu but they provide very different services. There is no evidence to show that they adhere to any empirically developed form of curative or preventive practices, but through their invocation, which borders on a combination of the religious and the supernatural, they provide emotional and psychological support. This explains why many people say that they go to faith healers, often even while they are following another line of treatment. An important reason why people choose to go to traditional healers and to faith healers is because the payment pattern is flexible. Payment options include part payments and payments in kind.

Apart from the traditional practitioners and faith healers, there are many other quasi-doctors, trained, untrained or ill trained, who roam the vast expanse of the State, offering medical services where none exist, at rates that people can afford, and in a manner that is accessible

and reassuring. These include quacks that practise a mix of allopathic, homeopathic and ayurvedic medicine. Most of them stay in one village and travel to villages around, and are among the main health service providers. Similarly, some people trained under the *Jan Swasthya Rakshak* Programme of the undivided State of Madhya Pradesh now practise privately and provide primary health care in areas where the Government system is particularly weak or absent. The typology, the characteristics and curing abilities of these health providers differ from district to district and region to region.

The Village Reports show that while 18.2 percent of the villages feel that traditional methods are good or very good, about a third of the villages classify these methods as being only satisfactory. These three groups add up to roughly half the Village Reports. The remaining half of the

From the people

Faith healers are referred to by various names such as *baiga*, *dewar*, *ojha*. They are mystical healers and are usually called when we feel that the illness is due to some black magic or the powers of a spirit, or even the ill wishes of a living person. Faith healers provide emotional and mental support as well as comfort, which is why we go to them.



District Report, Dantewada

The *guniya* is a healer who uses traditional medicine. Like the *vaid*, he too prescribes herbal medicine. The *guniya* diagnoses illnesses based on the symptoms that he sees. After this he gives the patient a *churna* or *satta* made of herbs and roots. In case of fractures, arthritis, headaches and stomach aches, the remedies given by him work very well. Faith healers are called *dewar*, *baiga* or *ojha*. We call them to our homes to treat people who are ill. The *dewar* takes rice in his hands, reads *mantras* and examines the mind. After this, he lights a lamp, takes some rice in a *supa* and then begins to chant, swaying and moving his hand.

District Report, Korea

Table 4.11 **Traditional methods of treatment**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Regions of Chhattisgarh	Very good	Good	Satisfactory	Not satisfactory	Poor
Northern region	1.7	20.5	39.1	34.1	4.6
Central plains	0.9	12.3	22.3	45.2	19.3
Southern region	1.1	18.3	36.1	39.2	5.3
State	1.2	17.0	32.5	39.5	9.7

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

Reports categorise traditional methods as being either unsatisfactory or poor.

Herbal home remedies: A variety of herbal remedies are made at home, from traditional knowledge that is passed down from generation to generation. The knowledge of herbal remedies is often the collated experience of society, collected and orally documented from the practices and cures offered by traditional healers. These have become a part of the living heritage of villages and all households use natural medicines, self-made, from locally available materials.

Some general remedies that are commonly known have become part of the system of curative medicine that people practise internally, more like grandmother's remedies, which are used in households all over India. Use of certain leaves and roots, which are either consumed or made into a paste and then applied to cure infection and heal injuries is a common practice. Fractures are also often treated locally, although not at home. Somebody within the village develops some expertise as a bone setter and people usually go to him.

The people have a sense of pride in the traditional herbal healing system, which emanates from

From the people

Some people in the village have considerable knowledge of wild herbs and roots. When people in the village fall ill, they go to these people first for treatment. Slowly this knowledge is disappearing. But we all know the healing properties of some herbs and plants.



District Report, Dantewada

their culture. The knowledge of cures for ailments helps them to take care of their own health, with resources which are available to them. The close link that people share with the forest and its resources is also reinforced by this dependence on herbal medicines and remedies.²³ People do not speak of herbal healing in lieu of a formal medicine system but as useful indigenous knowledge that they value and want to preserve.

The richness of this tradition is reflected in a general listing in most Village *Jan Rapats*. The healing practices range from simple remedies to complex cures for a wide range of ailments, from common colds to diabetes, from ulcers to procedures for treating fractured bones and snakebites.

²³ The more forested and the less urbanised districts rely more on traditional and herbal healing, as well as on the use of herbs for common ailments.

While there is a sense of pride in the knowledge base that the villages have, there is also concern about the decline in traditional healers and their practice in many *Jan Rapats*. One of the main explanations for this trend is the movement of people away from their natural surroundings and the resulting dilution of information. The close contact with the forest itself is under threat, which means access to many of the herbs and plants is denied and therefore it is not always possible to make a remedy, even if the ingredients themselves are known. The non-recognition of these practices by modern medicine and the State, both in terms of education and service delivery, is also seen as a discouraging factor.

The decline in these practices and the non-availability of quality care from the private or

public sector leaves people in a precarious position. Their own traditional knowledge that allows them to take care of some of their health needs is shrinking. It has been encroached upon by modern medical systems, and its practitioners are getting less and less skilled and are fewer in number. Mainstream medical care is connected to the privileges of the higher economic classes and works within a hierarchy in which the poor are always unequal receivers.

Some of the District and Village *Jan Rapats* speak not only of the urgent need to preserve traditional practices but also of their enhancement. There is a demand for Government recognition, and assistance in preservation and propagation. The people do not want this system to operate like the other systems that work within the doctor-patient hierarchy, where knowledge is privileged. They see it as an open system of knowledge that comes out of people's experiences and therefore cannot be restricted to a few. The Government's recognition and acknowledgement is crucial for the continuance of this system.

From the people

Some common remedies that are listed in the *Jan Rapats* are :

Malaria – *bhuileem/kalijiri* and *pathar neem ka kadha* (a thick stock made from the leaves of the neem tree)

Diarrhoea – *bhasm patti* (a dressing made from ash)

Fractures – paste of certain leaves like that of har shringar, is applied once the bone is set

Vomiting and diarrhoea – *pyaaz ka ras* (juice of onions)

Joint pain – *hatul ki patti ki goli*, with crushed *gud* (jaggery)

Cuts in the hand – lime and turmeric and onion are filled into the wound

Jaundice – bark of the mango tree is eaten

Measles – *neem baths*

Anti-tetanus – juice extracted from the bark of the gign tree



Compiled from District Reports of Bastar, Korea ,
Korba and Dantewada

Health Seeking Patterns

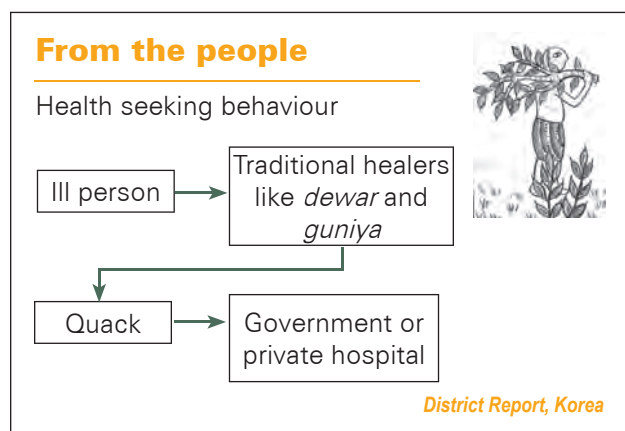
When people have a choice, they may go to different service providers for different types of treatment, depending on different decision variables like access, money, belief and faith and the type of illness. Some-times the progression from the traditional healer to the allopathic doctor is not lateral but may also be simultaneous. Often allopathic treatment is undertaken along with faith healing.

The *Jan Rapats* list the following factors, which determine the choice of the health provider:

- The availability of the health provider,

(especially the preferred one), is the single most important determinant

- The resources (cash and kind) available as against the resources required to access the health provider and his/her cure
- The type of illness. Since traditional medicine is quite effective for a range of illnesses, it is often the preferred option. For example, in an illness like jaundice, people usually go to traditional healers. Symptoms of listlessness and apathy are believed to be the effect of some supernatural force or evil design (*nazar lagna*), for which people use the services of an exorcist.
- The age, gender, importance as a wage earner, status of the patient within the family
- The inability of one practitioner to cure a particular disease may take the patient to another provider, leading to a step-by-step progression from one system to the other
- Experience – by which people learn the most efficacious treatment for different diseases



Health Expenditure

Medical treatment is one of the major expenses incurred by a household. It often leads to people selling or mortgaging possessions like utensils, jewellery, livestock, their land and house to raise money. An illness means expenses like buying medicines, paying the doctor's fees (if it is a private doctor), expenditure on visits to the doctor, and special food, if required. The loss of wages of the patient and the attendant²⁴ only compound the problem. Medical treatment even in Government hospitals is not free and the family ends up spending a lot of money. In practice, Government hospitals do not supply medicines and user fees are also levied, so people have to pay for tests and other diagnostic procedures. For more specialised services and surgeries, patients have to incur even higher expenditures.

From the people

An illness affects a person's life and family in a big way. It can impoverish the person. A person spends much more money on the treatment of the illness than he does on food. If a person falls ill, arranging money for treatment becomes impossible. The only source of money is the sale of permanent assets, which make the economic situation of the person worse.



Matsagara village, Kota Block, Bilaspur

Traditional healers, faith healers, and private doctors also mean considerable expense. The difference is that sometimes the system of payment may be flexible (in instalments) and payments can be made in kind instead of hard cash. Since illness causes an emergency-like situation, savings, if any, are usually swiftly depleted and loans at high rates of interest are

²⁴ Due to the poor nursing care in most Government hospitals, the hospitals insist on a relative as an attendant for in patient hospitalisation.

common; many families afflicted by an illness soon get into a cycle of debt.

Unethical Practices

Unethical and unnecessary treatment by health care providers often increases the expenditure on health care. Charging high fees, prescribing irrational treatment procedures and medicines,²⁵ as well as prolonging the treatment are common malpractices. It is in the largely unregulated private sector that most of these practices are more prevalent.

As people are dependent on these practitioners for treatment, they have no alternative but to comply. The lack of information, especially in the non-traditional system and to some extent even in the traditional system and the healer-patient hierarchy, encourages these practices. The Government does not have a strong regulatory system to check such practices, which leaves the people with no recourse but

From the people

Since we cannot afford the expensive treatment of the big doctors, hence, along with our deteriorating bodies, our poverty also increases.



District Report, Korba

to accept the inefficiency and dishonesty of practitioners.

Within the public sector too, incidents of corruption and unfair practices have been stated in the *Jan Rapats*. There have been complaints from villages across districts about the unavailability of doctors at the PHCs, the unavailability of drugs, and the fact that many Government doctors also indulge in private practice. Since the people have no clear redressal procedure and because they are dependent on the doctor or the health care provider, they are hesitant to register specific complaints.

Women and Health

The Village and District Reports maintain silence on health problems of women, which are not related to maternity and childcare. Apart from Reproductive and Child Health (RCH) issues, there is very little that has been said about the specific health concerns related to women.

The services provided through the State under the RCH and *anganwadi* programmes are frequently mentioned as services that the majority of the people are aware of, at least in the areas where the public health service does exist. Though the level of satisfaction with regard to quality, consistency and equal access to all people within the village may vary, these services, together

From the people

Illness results in a change in the social and economic life of a person and leads people into a debt trap.



Pebassaguda village, Bhopalpatnam Block, Dantewada

Illness causes instability both socially and economically and creates indebtedness. The people go to the *guniya* or *baiga* for the treatment of illnesses. Chicken, alcohol, rice, grain and money are spent on the same. Treatment at the Government hospital is free, but it is not available. If they visit private doctors, the poor have to give a lot of money. They have to sell their grain, *mahua* and tora for their treatment.

District Report, Korea

²⁵ Prescribing or administering unnecessary syrups, injections and intravenous saline are some common practices.

with vaccination for children, have been rated as those with the best coverage. Most of these services are being provided through the ANMs and the anganwadi workers.

According to the *Jan Rapats*, the *dais* carry out most deliveries. Though the presence of trained *dais* and the use of safe delivery methods have been reported in most district reports, some Village and District Reports point out that there is a need for such services to be located closer to their villages. This becomes especially relevant in emergency situations, when there are complications during pregnancy and childbirth, and access to the nearest health service is difficult.

From the people

The ANM comes to the village and gives pregnant women medicines for the blood (iron folic tablets) or gives them an injection. She takes their weight and gives them information on food and nutrition. She also tells them how to care for the child after its birth.



Ambikapur Block, Surguja

After childbirth, the mother is given jaggery, *kankepani* and jaipha²⁶ boiled in water for three days. On the fifth day after childbirth, which is marked by celebrations, the mother is fed *mung badi* (nutritious dried lentil balls, used in curries) and other food. Apart from regular food she is fed medicine made from dry ginger, jaggery and coconut.

Sukhri Khurd Village, Dhamdha Block, Durg

That the focus of women's health seems to be only in reproductive health and childcare is reflected in the targeted way in which most health programmes approach women's health. In Korba, in discussions held during the *Jan*

Table 4.12 **Attendance at deliveries**

Deliveries attended by	Percent
Doctor	22.3
ANM/Nurse/midwife/LHV	9.7
Traditional birth attendant (dai)	42.7

Source: NFHS-2, 1998-99, Chhattisgarh

Rapats process, women said that iron folic tablets are given free only to pregnant women and not to the others. The NFHS data reports that 67.5 percent of women in Chhattisgarh suffer from anaemia, of which 22.5 percent suffer from severe to moderate anaemia.

Women are reluctant to go to the PHC for gynaecological problems because the centres are staffed largely by male doctors. So most women rely on home and herbal remedies or do not go to a doctor till the illness becomes seriously debilitating. The NFHS data reveals that of the total number of women who reported that they had some kind of gynaecological problem, 68 percent have never sought any kind of medical treatment.

From the people

Women are considered child-producing machines.



Village Report, Madtola, Rajnandgaon

Field visits in Raipur district made during the course of the *Jan Rapat* exercise showed that one of the major programmes being pursued through the health workers is the organisation of birth control and sterilisation campaigns. However, during this aggressive campaign for birth control through the RCH programmes,

²⁶ Herbs and spices having antiseptic properties are boiled with water and given to the mother after delivery.

discussions with both the providers and the people revealed that no effort was being made to involve men in the campaign. Male sterilisation is almost negligible, while for women, sterilisation continues to be the dominant birth control method. The responsibility for birth control therefore falls largely on women.

While few district *Jan Rapats* mention the issue explicitly, discussions with health workers and local women's groups reveal that the practice of sex determination tests is spreading in the State. There are reports of diagnostic centres mushrooming in the urban centres of districts. Durg, Raipur, Bilaspur and Surguja are some of the districts where such centres are reported to have come up.

Table 4.13 **Use of contraceptives in Chhattisgarh**

Current use of contraceptives	Percent
Any method	45.0
Any modern method	42.3
Pill	0.8
IUD	1.0
Condom	2.1
Female sterilisation	35.1
Male sterilisation	3.3

Source: NFHS-2, 1998-99, Chhattisgarh

Some of the other issues that are not mentioned in the reports but became apparent in discussions during the *Jan Rapat* process are sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), reproductive tract infections (RTIs), repeated childbirths, early sterilisations, and illnesses like tuberculosis, respiratory illnesses, under-nutrition and anaemia.

Domestic violence is another area that needs to be seen as a health care issue, as it has a direct impact on women's health, because it increases both risk and vulnerability and accentuates the issue of insufficient and delayed treatment for women for all illnesses.

An important issue is that of women's participation. A large part of the work force in the public health sector and in the NGO sector are women, so it is ironic that there is still a considerable lack of awareness about women's health within the health programme, apart from the issue of maternal and child care. Even in the *Jan Rapat* exercise, despite the fact that 50 percent of the *sangwaaris* were women, many aspects of women's health have not even been mentioned²⁷.

Box 4.4

Domestic violence in Chhattisgarh

In Chhattisgarh, there is widespread acceptance amongst ever-married women that the beating of wives by husbands is justified under some circumstances. Nearly two-thirds of ever-married women (62 percent) accept at least one of six reasons as justification for a husband beating his wife. Seventeen percent of ever-married women in Chhattisgarh experienced such violence in the 12 months preceding the survey. Most of these women have been beaten or physically ill-treated by their husbands.

Source: NFHS - 2, 1998-1999, Chhattisgarh

The importance of analysing women's health within the context of their access to resources and health care, labour intensive work (both inside and outside the house), nutrition, effect of early marriage, burden of child-bearing and rearing cannot be overstated. The lack of drinking water and fuel wood, the absence

²⁷ One reason for this may be that women functionaries are often placed at the lowest level of the administrative ladder and are seldom involved in conceptualising and designing programmes.

of means of livelihood, declining access to forests, use of alcohol are all issues that directly impact women's lives and therefore need to be addressed specifically. This will only be possible if women are directly involved not just in implementing schemes but are also provided space so that they can articulate their concerns. Programmes must be sensitively designed and implemented, if they are to have any meaningful impact on women's health.

Mental Health

In the broad definition of health people define health as physical and mental well-being. However, in the *Jan Rapats* there is very little mention of mental illness, treatment patterns and facilities, either in the private or the Government sector.

The services in the psychiatric and mental health area provided by the Government are far from adequate. Psychiatric services are available only in the tertiary hospitals, situated in urban areas and big towns. Community Health Centres or secondary level hospitals do not have these services. People approach religious and faith healers for seemingly unexplained and complex problems that may be symptoms of mental illness. Many mental illnesses go undetected and untreated, due to the lack of facilities.

There is a clearly a need to examine this issue in more detail, but mental illness has always been a neglected area in community health. An assessment of the issue, the services available, and an understanding of local practices and means of strengthening them will be a positive step towards the holistic health approach that is required.

Emerging Issues

The diverse suggestions of the Village *Jan Rapats* cannot be consolidated into any one report, but an attempt is made to highlight the common issues that have emerged. The manner in which people see health and its determining factors does not match the perception of the agencies that work in the field. There are many systems and ways in which people seek to manage issues relating to their health. Their own knowledge domain is as important and relevant as the facilities offered by the State or private agents. It appears that villagers do not feel any affinity towards most systems that are trying to deal with health issues. This is because health continues to be seen within a service delivery paradigm. People look at health within the context of their struggle for survival. People who are marginalised from good health care are disadvantaged in comparison to those who are mainstreamed into health care. Issues regarding equal access, people's rights, control over services, regulation, marginalisation of communities based on class, caste, gender, religion, mode of living and livelihood and sexuality acquire significance and health assumes a political and a rights dimension.

People's participation

In the *Jan Rapats* people express the view that it is the Government's responsibility to provide adequate health facilities. The people's role should be to monitor the service provisioning and design health services in such a way that they reach the people. People see this involvement not as their contribution but as their entitlement. Just as they are entitled to quality health care, they are entitled to being involved in decision making on issues that affect them.

About a fourth of the people say that they will contribute towards the improvement of health services by volunteering services, money, shramdan (voluntary labour) for building SHCs, and construction of accommodation for the doctors and nurses. The desire to participate in health programmes, in monitoring and overseeing health functionaries (including doctors), and to contribute in ways that would help health service delivery is something that *Jan Rapats* have stated repeatedly, provided this opportunity is genuinely offered to the people.

The *Jan Rapats* are almost unanimous in their recommendation that local persons should be used for health delivery, as they are rooted in the community and will be responsive to the needs of the village. Besides, such a step will add to the human resources of the village.

Cultural alienation

The public health system is seen as being alien to the people. This is clear from many *Jan Rapats* and voiced most strongly in the Bastar *Jan Rapat*. One of the main reasons for this is that very little effort has been made to assimilate the public health system into the local context and its reach is extremely limited. The general disregard for local traditional systems in the public health system keeps sections of the population away from the services. The system is not people friendly and frightens people away. There are wide differences between the culture, language and behavioural patterns of the people and the doctors and the paramedical staff. The gap is so wide that many people try and avoid the health system for as long as possible. For these reasons a large section of the population does not utilise the services at all.

Information and awareness

Awareness of Government schemes is limited among the people, especially among those who

live in areas that are difficult to access. This is reflected in the responses that people provide in relation to specific services. The villages, which are situated near the roads and the districts or the regions that are better connected, have been able to articulate the specific lack of services, even though they also speak of not having complete information. However, in the distant parts, only the lack of services or the absence of a health care provider in emergency situations is articulated. Clearly, the villagers here do not have a complete idea of the services that the State is supposed to provide.

This leads to the non-utilisation of services and prevents people from demanding services that are supposed to be provided to them. There is very little effort by the Government to spread awareness about the various Government services and programmes.

Need for regulation

The *Jan Rapats* and discussions during the process indicate the prevalence of practices that do not fall within the domain of medical ethics. The legal, democratic and institutional mechanisms that ensure consumer rights have still not been appropriately and adequately constructed. Though there is an emerging consumer movement at the national level, it still needs to take root in the State. People are not aware of their rights as consumers.

In the absence of a strong regulatory system by the Government to check malpractices, people continue to be helpless and are forced to submit to the inefficiency and dishonesty of practitioners. Doctors employed in Government health centres are unavailable during duty hours and are often not available to treat patients. This in itself is serious dereliction of duty and should invoke strong disciplinary action. The widespread private practice by Government doctors adds

Table 4.14 **Expectations voiced in the Village Reports**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for the perception analysis)

Regions of Chhattisgarh	Awareness and information	Sympathetic health worker	Support from Government	Approachable Health Centre	Availability of medicine	Financial support to poor
Northern region	25.8	16.3	59.3	57.5	9.5	13.2
Central plains	34.3	24.2	51.5	61.2	13.2	11.5
Southern region	22.1	10.7	50.7	52.8	8.1	9.2
State	26.3	18.2	51.6	55.3	11.2	10.6

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

to this problem. There is anecdotal evidence to show that patients are encouraged to meet Government doctors at their private clinics.

Within the administrative system there are no clear, people-friendly and empowering redressal procedures. The doctors have created a strong lobby for themselves within the health care system, to the extent that even law enforcing, administrative and political authorities are subverted and undermined. The lack of information and the existing healer-patient hierarchy effectively disempowers the patient.

The Village Reports say that more than half the villages want an approachable health centre. (see Table 4.14) They also feel that health care must be supported by the Government. More than a quarter of the Village Reports expect better awareness and information of Government health programmes. Sympathetic health workers, availability of medicines and financial support for the poor are among the benefits that the people expect the public health care system to provide.

Suggestions for Intervention

The *Jan Rapats* show that public health care is an area where the people want proactive intervention

by the Government. Providing universal access to public health care is a challenge, which will require considerable reorientation by the State and a restructuring of its system so that it is transparent and accountable.

Improving the public health delivery system

Numerous suggestions have been made by the people to improve the system. These range from improving access, introducing more suitable timings and evening clinics, to preventive medicine and better awareness and information. Easily accessible hospitals, availability of doctors, regular presence of health workers and an improvement in the quality of services are the most widespread suggestions which emerge from the Village Reports. Availability of medicines and modern treatment facilities are other suggestions which have been made in the Village Reports.

There is a sense of unease regarding user fees. There is confusion about these fees, and therefore one of the most urgent needs is to have effective and prominent communication mechanisms to convey the idea of user fees to consumers, wherever they are applicable. There is also discontent on the increasing costs of public health, and there is wariness about the new trend to charge for services by

Table 4. 15 **Suggestions for improvement from the Village Reports**
(percentage of Village Reports selected for perception analysis)

Regions of Chhattisgarh	Improvement in quality of health services	Regular presence of health worker	Approachable hospital	Availability of modern treatment facilities	Availability of doctors	Availability of medicines
Northern region	18.6	49.5	41.1	8.4	19.6	17
Central plains	46.3	36.3	21.3	29.3	41.2	21.3
Southern region	33.4	17.91	25.1	14.6	28.7	12.5
State	31.6	33.9	31.3	18.1	31.2	17.0

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

the State. There is a clear demand in the *Jan Rapats* that basic health should be provided free of cost to the people. A call to continue with the existing public health system emerges from every report.

Preserving and integrating the traditional systems with the modern

Traditional forms of medicine are quite popular and can be relied upon for a large variety of common illnesses. Unfortunately these systems are not documented and therefore there is scepticism about their effectiveness in mainstream medical culture. Ignorance and lack of knowledge has not allowed an acceptance or proper appreciation of these systems. Yet, their efficacy in certain cases cannot be denied. There is an urgent need to study, learn and research these systems, objectively. It is evident that unless this traditional knowledge is documented, a vast body of knowledge will be gradually lost. An integration of these systems of knowledge into the other more popular, modern, medical systems would help people benefit from the strengths of both.

Health from a people's perspective

People have not alienated health from their living environment. Issues of livelihood, control

over resources, their relationship with forest and its produce, issues of nutrition and clean drinking water, as well as the social and cultural systems are seen as being closely connected to health.

The health delivery system itself needs to be more inclusive. There is some recognition in the Government of the inter-dependence of health, sanitation and clean drinking water, as well as of the close link between nutrition and health. The *Jan Rapats* recognise this association and endorse the need for a comprehensive approach to the issue of health.

Conclusion

In terms of the usual health indicators Chhattisgarh is one of the most disadvantaged states. The modern medical system has not been able to overcome the challenges of distance, remote location, and the economic and social conditions of the people. Compounding this is a general deterioration of the natural environment and other factors that impact health. Many traditional forms of medicine exist, but these seem to be weakening with the changing way of life and the gradual loss of control over natural resources. This has led to some disquiet among the people.

The State's health apparatus has made a dent in areas like immunisation and the reduction of epidemics, but the highly technology-centric approach of modern medicine has externalised health. Another constraint apparent from the *Jan Rapats* is the attitudinal make-up of the modern health care provider. The manner and approach of the doctors at the higher levels of the health care system is intimidating for common people and prevents them from using Government services.

Along with illness and disease, the people find themselves contending with inadequate services, non-availability of drugs, apathetic and unsympathetic health care providers. The health system clearly needs special efforts on a number of fronts to make health services comprehensive, accessible, and people-centric. An integrated approach to health issues is called for, so that there is a visible and lasting impact.



Society and Institutions





Society and Institutions

Development means building up the productive capacity of a society, so as to ensure growth and an improvement in living standards. The productive capacity of a society, in turn, is crucially dependent on the effectiveness of the institutional structure. Social institutions affect the process of change. Social, economic and political equality are essential pre-requisites in the development of human resources. Society and the institutional structure are closely intertwined; neither can exist independently of the other. It is therefore important to understand Chhattisgarh's society, its social institutions, their structure and the influence that they exert.

This chapter examines how social institutions function in Chhattisgarh and attempts to detail the additional efforts required to usher change and bring about a more equitable society. The first section details the tribes of Chhattisgarh, the regional dialects and the structure of villages. The second section examines the social and traditional institutions of the State, and the institutions for self-government and change. These include the *Panchayats*, the Forest Resource Committees and other emerging institutions. A number of new institutions, which are functioning in Chhattisgarh, are also detailed. This section is followed by the experiences of the people and their perceptions regarding societal relationships and institutions

(especially the *Panchayats* and *Gram Sabhas*) as gathered from the *Jan Rapats*. The final section presents the challenges for the future and conclusions.

The Tribes of Chhattisgarh and their Social Structure

Chhattisgarh's history and traditions date back to ancient times. It is said to be the parental

From the people

Our forefathers taught us to live in consonance with nature, its forests, mountains, animals and birds. Maybe I don't know or understand enough, but our lives are guided by this philosophy. Today, the media – television, radio, newspapers – and the dazzling consumer goods available in the market are changing our lives. We would also like to live in beautiful houses, like those in the cities, but we are caught in a trap. Our traditions, our lack of education and our limited means of livelihood hold us back. Our experience tells us that the goods that come to the market from outside can be bought with money. But we have always bartered goods among ourselves to meet our needs. We have never had much use for money. A lot has changed, some for good, some for bad. I don't know whether we are on the right path or not.



A villager from Bade Kilepal, Bastanar Block, Bastar

Table 5.1 **Population composition of Chhattisgarh** (percentage figures)

Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes	Other communities (including Backward Classes)
11.61	31.8	56.59

Source: Census of India, 2001, Final Population Totals

home of Kaushalya, the mother of Ram (son of King Dashrath), legendary god of the epic Ramayana. Historically, the region was called Koshal, and over the ages it has come to be known as Mahakoshal.

Approximately 80 percent of Chhattisgarh's population lives in its villages, and depends on agriculture and natural resources for its livelihood. A small percentage of the population lives in cities. Rural life in the State is enmeshed in a network of institutions and societal structures.

Tribes

Chhattisgarh is dominated by a number of tribes. Over half the area of the State is a 'scheduled area' or 'tribal majority area' and falls under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution. Areas within the Fifth Schedule have been given special

rights to protect the unique way of life and the democratic institutions that exist in these areas. People belonging to the Scheduled Castes¹ (11.60 percent) and Scheduled Tribes² (31.08 percent) together account for 44.68 percent of the population of the State.

The majority of the people in the villages depend on agriculture for their livelihoods. A few castes or tribes dominate the villages in each region. However, other people belonging to work-related castes, such as priests (*brahmins*), blacksmiths, carpenters, potters, barbers and weavers (*koshthas*) also inhabit the villages. Each tribe continues to maintain its traditional, institutional structure and these structures govern life even today.

Table 5.2 and 5.3 present a mapping of the rural areas of the State by its resident communities.

Languages and dialects

Chhattisgarh can be divided into four major regions on the basis of language/dialect: Surguja and Korea in the north; Bilaspur, Raipur, Durg and Rajnandgaon in the central region; the ancient Dandakaranya region of Bastar

Table 5.2 **The main regions and the people of Chhattisgarh**³

	Districts	Demographically dominant people
Northern region	Korea, Surguja, Jashpur, Raigarh and parts of Bilaspur, Korba and Kabirdham	Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes ⁴
Plains of Chhattisgarh	Raipur, Durg, Mahasamund, Rajnandgaon, Dhamtari, Janjgir-Champa and parts of Bilaspur district	Backward Classes
Southern region	Uttar Bastar-Kanker, Bastar and Dakshin Bastar-Dantewada	Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes

¹ Scheduled Castes refers to those communities which have been at the lowest end of the social caste hierarchy in India, based on birth. These communities are relatively disadvantaged and marginalised.

² Scheduled Tribes refer to communities that are economically backward, partly due to the fact that they live in remote and isolated areas.

³ This table has been prepared on the basis of information from the District *Jan Rapats* and the population figures from the Census of India 2001

⁴ The term 'Backward Classes' is used to refer to historically marginalised and disadvantaged communities or groups of people.

Table 5.3 **Different regions and the tribes that inhabit them**⁵

Area	District	Major tribes that inhabit the area	Primitive tribes of Chhattisgarh
Northern region	Surguja, Korea, Jashpur, Raigarh	Kanwar, Oraon, Nagesia, Korwa, Saunta, Saur, Sawar, Baiga, Agaria, Kol, Dhanwar, Biyar, Binjhwar, Manjhwar, Bharia, Bhaina, Majhi, Khairwar, Kharia and Gond	Kamar, Bison horn Maria, Korwa, Birhor, <i>Baiga</i>
Central region	Durg, Rajnandgaon, Kabirdham, Korba, Bilaspur, Mahasamund Janjgir-Champa, Raipur, Dhamtari	Gond, Baiga, Kamar, Oraon, Kol, Binjhwar, Dhanwar, Kanwar, Halba, Pardhi, Bahelia, Bhunjia, Agariya, Kondh, Bhaina, Majhi, Kanwar, Manjhwar, Sonr, Saur Gadaba, Sawar, Saunta	
Southern region	Uttar Bastar Kanker, Bastar and Dakshin Bastar Dantewada	Halba, Gadaba, Pardhi, Kamar, Bhatta, Dhurwa, Muria, Maria, Bison horn Maria, Dandami Maria Gond, Raj Gond, Dorla, Hill Maria, Pardhan, Mudia	

to the south; and Jashpur and Raigarh in the west. People of the Scheduled Tribes dominate the regions of North and South Chhattisgarh, and these regions depend on agriculture and forestry.

Table 5.4 **Languages spoken in Chhattisgarh**⁶

Region	Language / dialect
Surguja, Korea	Surgujiya, Kurukh, Korwa ⁷ , Hindi
Jashpur, Raigarh	Chhattisgarhi, Kurukh, Gondi, Hindi
Bilaspur, Korba, Janjgir-Champa, Raipur, Durg, Rajnandgaon and Kabirdham, Mahasamund	Chhattisgarhi, Hindi, Gondi, Kurukh, Munda
Dhamtari, North Bastar-Kanker, Bastar and South Bastar-Dantewada	Chhattisgarhi, Halbi, Bhatti, Gondi, Hindi, Bastari, Boojhmadi, Dandamimadi, Dorli, Muria, Dhurvi, Koytoor

Society and traditions

Society and its institution evolve simultaneously. Each society has its social organisation and each organisation its defined leadership structure. The common culture of the village, its habits and lifestyle influence the structure of these social institutions and organisations. Today, it is difficult to tell when habits and lifestyle became tradition and when tradition acquired institutional roots.

Box 5.1

Traditional healers and faith healers

The *guniya* is a person who heals illness using indigenous herbs. First, he sifts rice, and then depending on the type of illness, he decides the medicine and its dosage. If the patient does not get well, he is taken to a *sirha*, who uses a combination of incantations and ritual prayer in an attempt to cure the patient. Before starting any healing rituals, the *sirha* demands certain things like rice, a black cock, lemons and *mahua* wine. After a series of rituals the *prasad* (offering) is given to the patient. These rituals are based on the belief that the gods are angry or the patient is suffering due to the ire of an evil soul.

⁵ Source: 'Madhya Pradesh Reorganisation Act, 2000' and *Panchayat Upbandh* (Extension of Scheduled Area) *Adhiniyam*, 1996 *Ke Pariprekshya Mein Adim Jati Evam Anusuchit Jati Kalyan Vibhag Ka Abhimat*, 1997.

⁶ Bastar: *Itihas Evam Sanskriti*; Lala Jagdalpuri, Madhya Pradesh Hindi *Granth Akademi*, Bhopal; 2nd Ed., 2000.

⁷ Madhya Pradesh *ki Janjatiya*: Dr. S.K. Tewari; Dr. Shri Kamal Sharma; Madhya Pradesh Hindi *Granth Akademi*, 2000.

In Chhattisgarh, each tribe and caste group has a different social arrangement, and each tribal or caste grouping considers its society as pre-eminent⁸. More than one tribe or caste inhabits most villages. The villages have developed a common society that transcends caste or tribal groupings and coexists with the pre-eminent societal groupings. The philosophy of maintaining social harmony through cooperation and sharing of power is apparent in Chhattisgarh's rural society. This philosophy stresses working together, producing together, sharing the produce, and celebrating together. Social life is not individualistic, but collectively experienced, and centred on the group.

Communities have caste or tribal institutions to resolve disputes and direct their affairs. The structure and organisation of these institutions depend on the size of the community and its location. If a village has a particular caste or tribe in majority, it may form a village-level organisation. However, there are other people also living in the village, whose numbers may range from a few people to a substantial number. They may form their own organisations. These are not village-level organisations but usually cover four to 12 villages.

The fabric of social relationships

Social relationships among villagers are bound together by festivals, customs, traditions and common culture. Festivals and customs are not restricted to a single household or community; all people living in the village participate and may even play a leading role in the festivities. There are however some common traditions across Chhattisgarh. One of the most prominent is the *Chher-Chhera* festival. After the crop is harvested, groups of children go from house to house demanding '*Chher-Chhera*', which is

usually given in the form of grain, to symbolise the celebration of a good harvest. The hallmark of these festivals is that they transcend caste and tribal divides and are pan-caste/tribal in nature.

Apart from caste affairs, village society discusses village life and issues connected with it, ranging from those relating to common well-being and happiness, to the changes taking place in society and the policies of the Government. The place where such discussions take place is normally the *haat* or weekly village market. Sometimes villages take turns to organise such discussions.

How villages function

Most villages have a group of people who are responsible for the management of the affairs of the village. Apart from the leader of the village social system, there are others who play an important role in the daily life and needs of a village. They include the *sirhas* and *guniyas* (healers), the *baigas* (priests), the *panaras* (musicians), *manjhi-mukhiya* (village headmen or leaders) or the *bhatnayaks* (as they are called in the Bastar and in some other places), the potters, weavers, carpenters, blacksmiths, shepherds and barbers, among others.

Festivals and traditions

The festivals, customs, traditions and culture of Chhattisgarh bind its 16 districts together. Since Chhattisgarh is mainly a rural society, most of the festivals and traditions are associated with the agricultural calendar. The numerous festivals reflect the rich cultural heritage of Chhattisgarh's society.

Navakhani (celebrating the new crop), *Matthi tihar* (festival of the earth), *Aam tihar* (celebrating

⁸For example, the Halba people of Bastar or the Bhattra society or the Muria-Maria group believe that they are superior to the other tribes in their area.

the new mango crop), and *Diyari tihar* (festival of lights) are some of the festivals, which provide an opportunity for people to come together and celebrate. Naturally, no celebration is complete without the joy and merriment of dancing, which is an inseparable part of life of every community in Chhattisgarh.

Among the well known dances of Chhattisgarh are:

- The dance of the *Raut* (shepherd) community of the plains of Chhattisgarh
- The *Shaurya nritya* (valour dance), also called the Bison Horn Maria dance
- The *Karsad nritya* of the Abujmar region
- The Gondi dances of the *Gond* tribe
- The *Parab* dances

Many of these dances celebrate a good harvest. Special songs welcome the different seasons, and express joy, social power and grandeur. People celebrate festivals with enthusiasm and spend as much money as they can afford.

Certain social structures and behavioural conventions have evolved over time. For example, the soil is an important facet of life in Bastar and many other regions of Chhattisgarh. A vow on the land is looked upon as an inviolable oath. In addition to the mores of celebration, the people also practise a series of rituals related to the different stages of life, from birth to death. These depend upon the social class and standing of the people. Relationships are built through participation and support in such situations.



From the people

Our village has many communities. The *Gonds* dominate the village. There are different customs, traditions and food habits among the different communities. *Gonds* do not allow the *Luhars* (ironsmiths) to take water from the well of the *Gond* community. Earlier, Panika, Ghasia, Luhar and Scheduled Caste communities were treated as being inferior to the *Gonds* who considered themselves as upper caste. These traditions are changing gradually. Youth groups are forcing the elders to change.



*Jhaar village, Panchayat Kongera,
Narainpur Block, Bastar*

Institutional Structure of Chhattisgarh

Rural society depends upon several formal and informal institutions to keep alive its traditions, customs and social relations. These institutions play an important role in finalising the rules and regulations that govern the social system. They also help in implementing such rules and they take corrective action whenever there is a violation of the social norms which have been decided by them.

Social and religious institutions

Different districts have different communities and tribes that are predominant both in terms of number and social hierarchy. Often the same community is numerically dominant and is ranked high in the social hierarchy as well, but this is not always the case.

Hierarchy in tribal society

Contrary to popular perception, the tribes that consider themselves to be 'superior' in the social order do not eat with members of other tribes. Tribes like the Kanwar and *Gond* do not eat in Uraon homes, and try to avoid

Box 5.2

Different ways of getting married

Different tribes have different marriage rituals, and even within the same tribe, marriage may be performed in a number of ways. In the Halba tribe, two types of marriages are common. These are *sankchipta* (short) and *vistrit* (detailed) marriage. In the *sankchipta* marriage, the bride is taken to the house of the bridegroom and the marriage is solemnised in a simple ceremony. The *vistrit* marriage has a long procedure. First the family of the bridegroom — the father along with some important people of the village go to the house of girl with gifts of rice, wine and a rooster. The date of marriage is finalised and the marriage is then solemnised on that date. The *sankchipta* marriage is common in poorer families, while the *vistrit* marriage is prevalent among the more affluent families of the tribe.

The Bhattra tribe has four different kinds of marriage. These are *mangani vivah* (engagement marriage), *prem vivah* (love marriage), *vidhwa vivah* (widow marriage) and *gharajiya vivah* (the son-in-law resides in the girl's house). The *gharajiya* marriage is common among the boys of poor families, who may be unable to get married because they cannot afford the expenses. Typically the boy goes to a family that has a girl of marriageable age. He works there, assisting the household for a month. If the family is happy with the behaviour and ability of the boy, they arrange a marriage and the boy continues to live in the family of the in-laws even after marriage. A similar tradition is found in the plains of Chhattisgarh, where it is referred to as *lamsena pratha*.

even drinking water there. Similarly, tribes like Pando and Korba are not regarded as 'equal' in the districts of Korba, Surguja and Jashpur. Even among the *Gonds*, hierarchies exist. The Raj *Gonds* are considered superior to the other *Gond* sub-castes. In villages, where people belonging to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes live together, the tribes which consider themselves superior to the Scheduled Castes do not eat with them. Almost all the tribes of the State follow the *gotra*⁹ system in matters of marriage. However, these practices are gradually changing.

Social institutions

Different tribes follow different practices relating to different stages of life, from childbirth to death. Marriage is one of the oldest institutions in society. Along with the institution of the household, it is marriage that governs how men and women live together and behave as couples. There are many different ways in which marriages are performed in Chhattisgarh, particularly among its tribal communities, depending on the particular situation and economic standing of the people.

Religious institutions

Religion and religious beliefs are an integral part of the lifestyle of the people of Chhattisgarh. Rituals and festivals are not just an expression of their religious beliefs but also a reflection of their traditions and institutions. The homage paid to the soil in *Matthi tihar*, to the new grain in *Navakhani* and to the new crop of mangoes in *Aam tihar*, all show how nature and environment are worshipped and revered in traditional tribal societies.

Religious beliefs have changed with time and have acquired new definitions.

⁹ The *gotra* system is followed to avoid marriages within the family or within the branches of the family. It is similar to the *gotra* system of the upper-caste Hindus, where a girl and boy belonging to the same *gotra* cannot get married.

The *Ghotul* – an education for life

The *ghotul* is a much-discussed cultural institution of the Muria-Gond tribals. It is a centre for young girls and boys, a night dormitory that is accepted by tribal society. The *ghotul* is built through community labour and it is in this institution that, once every year, unmarried youth — girls and boys — are permitted entry. The boys are called *chelic* and the girls are called *motiyari*. The leader of the *chelic*s is called *siredar* and the leader of the *motiyaris* is called *belosa* (leader of girls).

Earlier, *ghotuls* were of two kinds, one in which the relationship between the youths is long-standing and the other in which the pairings kept changing. The *ghotul* has a management committee, with various officials of different designations, whose powers and responsibilities are defined. There is provision for punishing indiscipline in the *ghotul*. Each girl and boy is given a name by which he or she is addressed in the *ghotul*. That name is restricted only to the *ghotul*.

Special attention is paid to cleanliness and hygiene in the *ghotul*. The artistry of the *ghotul* is outstanding.

The entrance door introduces you to the fine woodwork of the region. The inner walls are decorated with a variety of murals. The walls are plastered with red and yellow mud and the murals are done with coal and rice powder. The drawings of animals and birds, trees and plants are very attractive. The folk music of the *ghotul* is another attraction that draws you there. In truth, the lovingly crafted, disciplined and charming art centre, the *ghotul*, is a commendable establishment for multi-faceted training.

Once a person enters into married life he or she forfeits membership of the *ghotul*. *Lingopen* is the focus of adoration in the *ghotul* of the Gond-Muria society of the Bastar region. *Lingopen* is in fact the god Lingaraj or Natraj. It is through his mercy that the *chelic* and *motiyari*, as well as other individuals attain success in the musical arts. There is no idol of *Lingopen* in the *ghotul*; he remains formless. Only hymns of praise are sung to him.

Extracted and translated from: Bastar: Itihas Evam Sanskriti, by Lala Jagdalsuri, Madhya Pradesh Hindi Granth Akademi, 2nd Ed., 2000

Educational and cultural institutions

Education is part of life in the Indian social system. The *ghotul* system, which is prevalent among the Scheduled Tribes of Bastar, educates, informs and teaches teenagers who are entering into adulthood and family life how to conduct themselves in this phase of life.

The *ghotul* — an education for life

The *ghotul* system teaches girls and boys how to live together and understand each other as men and women.

Cultural institutions

Society and culture are entwined. Economic and productive activities are the wellspring from which the form, depth and diversity of folk music and culture emanate. In Bastar and Dantewada, the festival of *Diyari* is celebrated on different days over a period of three months, according to the convenience of the shepherds

and graziers. *Diyari* is a day for entertainment, dancing and joy, accompanied by food and drink.

The *nacha mandal* (dance group) and the *bhajan mandal* (religious songs group) provide entertainment in rural Chhattisgarh. Cockfighting is a popular sport and entertainment in the villages.

Post-independence institutions

Many institutions and administrative departments have been working in rural Chhattisgarh since Independence. The village *Jan Rapats* say that both traditional institutions and modern institutions coexist in rural Chhattisgarh. The following institutions are most common:

- Institutions for self-government and social change

From the people

Dhorrai and the festival of light



Our village has the tradition of appointing a *dhorrai*, a shepherd, who takes care of the animals of all the families of the village. The appointment is made for one year and is renewed every year. Till last year the *Raut* (who are like the Yadavs and are associated with animal husbandry) community had taken the responsibility of *dhorrai* but now they are not willing to do so. Now people from our own *Dhurva* tribe have taken over the functions of the *dhorrai*.

The *Diyari Tihar*, a festival that celebrates the new crop, is celebrated over a period of three months, in different villages. It is a three-day long celebration in the village where all the villagers together with the *dhorrai* make merry. People of the Mahara community usually do the work of grazing the cattle. The *maati pujari* (the priest of the soil), in consultation with the village leaders and the *dhorrai*, decides the actual dates of the festival. It is a time for renewal of contract and negotiation of payments and contractual arrangements. This is also the time to ask the *dhorrai* about his difficulties and problems. The *dhorrai* is appointed in the month of *Magh* (January-February) for the full year. If he leaves the job before the completion of one year he is fined. If he is not willing to take up the post of *dhorrai* in the following year he must inform the village head one month in advance. The *dhorrai* is offered cooked food every day and this is called *bhandi*.

Each village has a different date for the celebration. The *dhorrai* is the central figure of this festival. On the first day of the festival, he hosts a lunch for all the animal owners at his house. This is his duty, as the owners provide cooked food for him for the rest of the year (364 days). After the grand feast, the animals are cleaned and decorated. On the second day, after the feast, the *dhorrai* receives paddy from the animal owners, and on the third day, the *gothan* (the place where cows are kept) is worshipped. There may be more than one *dhorrai* family in the village, depending on the number of livestock.

*Village Report of Machkot, Panchayat Chaukawada, Bastar Block
Bastar District Report*

- Institutions involved in economic activities
- Educational and human resource development institutions
- Modern cultural and social institutions

Institutions for self-government and social change

There are basically two main types of institutions in rural Chhattisgarh; those that work for change and development, and those that administer and implement the law of the land. Apart from the various Government departments that function in the State, the *Panchayati Raj* institutions, some non-governmental organisations, and self-help groups are important instruments of change.

Panchayati Raj institutions

The *Panchayat Raj* institutions are among the predominant institutions that are active in Chhattisgarh. Chhattisgarh has 9,139 *Gram Panchayats*, 146 *Janpad Panchayats* (at the Block level), and 16 *Zila Panchayats*. The *Panchayati Raj* system covers around 20,000 villages in the State and has a total of 1,36,393 representatives. Altogether, close to 1.5 lakh people in rural Chhattisgarh are involved in the strengthening of self-government and the democratic process.

The *Panchayati Raj* structure is as follows:

- *Zila Panchayat* at the district level
- *Janpad Panchayat* at the block level

Box 5.4

Composition of the *Gram Panchayat*

A *Gram Panchayat* is composed of:

- One Chairperson or *Sarpanch* (directly elected)
- 10 to 20 *Panchs* (directly elected)
- One Deputy Chairperson or *Up-Sarpanch* elected by and from among the members

Table 5.5 **Representation in Panchayati Raj Institutions**

Representatives	Social Categories			
	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes	Backward Classes	Unreserved
<i>Gram Panchayat</i> Members	15,532	52,198	23,278	33,203
<i>Gram Panchayat Sarpanch</i>	898	5,166	1,610	1,433
<i>Janpad Panchayat</i> Members	318	1,062	540	719
<i>Janpad Panchayat</i> President	12	96	21	17
<i>Zila Panchayat</i> Members	30	112	58	74
<i>Zila Panchayat</i> President	2	10	3	1
Total	16,792	58,644	25,510	35,447

Source: *Panchman*, 1st Issue, November-2001, Chhattisgarh *Samvad*, Raipur

- *Gram Panchayat* for a minimum rural population of 1,000 people
- *Gram Sabha* for every revenue and forest village

Institutional structure of Panchayati Raj institutions

In Chhattisgarh, an attempt has been made to ensure that the *Panchayat Sarpanch*/chairperson and the members of the *Panchayati Raj* institutions are actively involved in the working of these institutions. *Panchayats* have set up permanent subcommittees at various levels, and delegated some of the powers assigned to them to these subcommittees. These include the power to decide about the work of some of the Government departments that have been placed under the supervision of the *Panchayats*.

In addition to this three-tiered structure, every revenue and forest village in the State has a *Gram Sabha*, with all the villagers as members. The members of the permanent subcommittees are chosen from among the ordinary members of the *Panchayat*.

Decisions made by these subcommittees are placed before the general assembly of the

Panchayat by the administration subcommittee. Once the decisions are approved, they are implemented. The *Panchayati Raj* system, which was implemented after the 73rd Amendment of the Constitution in 1994, is not completely new. Even before the implementation of the *Panchayati Raj* Act, there were functioning *Panchayats* in the districts, although their functions and powers were limited.

Box 5.5

Standing committees of Panchayati Raj Institutions

Gram Panchayat

Five permanent standing committees. These are:

- General administration
- Education, health and social welfare
- Development and construction
- Agriculture, animal husbandry and fisheries
- Revenue and forests

Janpad and Zila Panchayat

Five permanent standing committees. These are:

- General administration committee
- Agriculture committee
- Education committee
- Cooperatives and industries committee
- Communication and works committee

Source: *Hamarein Gaon Me Hami Sarkar*, Debate, 2002

Committees of *Panchayati Raj* Institutions

Standing committees exist at all three levels, comprising the elected representatives. The basic objective behind constituting these committees is to create space for all elected representatives in the day-to-day management of the affairs of the institution.

Women in *Panchayati Raj* Institutions

About 50,000 women are office bearers and members of the *Panchayat* bodies, and women account for 38 percent of all representatives in the *Panchayats*.¹⁰

The high participation of women can be explained by the positive sex ratio in rural Chhattisgarh and the socio-cultural conditions of the State. Korea, Surguja, Korba and Bilaspur are the only districts where the sex ratio in the rural areas is adverse. The most favourable sex ratio in urban areas is in Dhamtari, followed by Rajnandgaon, Kanker, Mahasamund and Bastar. The sex ratio in the urban areas in all the other districts is less than 950 women per 1,000 men.



Table 5.6 **Sex ratio in Chhattisgarh**

Name of the District	Sex Ratio		
	Rural	Urban	Total
Korea	971	890	946
Surguja	977	904	972
Jashpur	1003	919	999
Raigarh	1003	941	994
Korba	992	917	964
Janjgir-Champa	1005	941	998
Bilaspur	984	932	971
Kabirdham	1008	935	1002
Rajnandgaon	1034	976	1023
Durg	1016	929	982
Raipur	1004	929	980
Mahasamund	1026	961	1018
Dhamtari	1006	991	1004
Kanker	1007	976	1005
Bastar	1017	961	1011
Dantewada	1025	904	1016
State	1004	932	989

Source: Census of India, 2001

Panchayati Raj in Scheduled Areas

A large part of the State falls under the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India. The *Gram Sabha* and *Panchayats* in areas which fall within

Table 5.7 **Women members in Panchayati Raj Institutions**

Women Representatives	Scheduled Castes	Scheduled Tribes	Backward Classes	Unreserved
<i>Panch</i>	5,074	17,520	8,129	11,220
<i>Sarpanch</i>	299	1,715	849	4,834
<i>Janpad Panchayat</i>	100	383	194	239
<i>Janpad Panchayat President</i>	6	38	6	5
<i>Zila Panchayat Members</i>	10	45	18	22
<i>Zila Panchayat President</i>	0	4	1	0
Total	5,489	19,705	9,197	16,320

Source: *Panchman*, 1st Issue, November 2001, Chhattisgarh *Samvad*, Raipur

¹⁰ There is 33 percent reservation for women in *Panchayat* bodies. The representation in Chhattisgarh is five percent more than the stipulated requirement.

the Fifth Schedule have been given special rights. These rights relate to:

- Control and utilisation of natural resources
- Protection of the culture and traditions of Scheduled Tribe societies
- Legal framework for settling mutual disputes in Scheduled Tribe societies
- Abolishing moneylending activities in Scheduled Tribe areas

Table 5.8 **Fifth schedule areas in Chhattisgarh**

Districts completely under the Fifth Schedule	Districts partially covered by the Fifth Schedule
1. Korea 2. Surguja 3. Korba 4. Jashpur 5. Kanker 6. Bastar 7. Dantewada	1. Raigarh 2. Bilaspur 3. Raipur 4. Dhamtari 5. Rajnandgaon 6. Durg

Source: *Hamarein Gaon Me Hami Sarkar*, Debate, 2002

The powers given to *Gram Sabha* in the Scheduled Tribe areas have influenced the laws of the country. Many of these powers have now been given to the *Gram Sabha* in non-Scheduled Tribe areas as well. They highlight the attempts that have been made to ensure that people in villages participate more actively in governing themselves. The *Panchayats* have also helped in establishing political equality in villages.

Gram Sabhas

Each revenue and forest village has a separate *Gram Sabha*. In the early stages of *Panchayati Raj*, each *Gram Panchayat* had a *Gram Sabha*. However, since a *Gram Panchayat* had more than one village under its purview, provision was later

made in the *Panchayat Act* to constitute separate a *Gram Sabha* for each revenue village.

The *Gram Sabha* in Chhattisgarh represents a system of direct democracy. All villagers of voting age together constitute the *Gram Sabha*. The voters have the right to govern themselves through the medium of the *Panchayats*. The *Gram Sabha* can exercise control over the *Panchayat*, its decisions, plans, budget and staff.

Powers of the Gram Sabha

- Controls the *Panchayat*, its resources and staff
- Through the medium of the *Panchayat*, exercises control over departments/ organisations and staff transferred to the *Panchayat* system
- Controls the plans that are to be implemented and the plan expenditure
- Is responsible for managing the natural resources of the village
- Has propriety rights over minor forest produce
- Is responsible for managing water and water sources

Gram Sabhas in scheduled areas

Gram Sabhas in Scheduled Areas have the power to take all necessary steps to protect the traditions, cultural identity and community resources of the tribal community. They use traditional social methods for resolving disputes within the tribal community. The concerned parties are compelled to abide by the decisions taken by the *Gram Sabha* regarding disputes. If one of the parties to the dispute is unhappy with the decision of the *Gram Sabha*, he/she

can appeal against the decision to the District Court, but no Government official can change the decision of the *Gram Sabha*.

The *Gram Sabha* exercises control over the land, water and forests that fall within its geographical boundaries, and is permitted to manage the natural resources in conformity with local traditions.

Self-help groups

During the last few years a network of self-help groups, especially women's savings groups, has emerged in the villages. These savings groups have tried to encourage savings in the village community, and are slowly forming a base for undertaking economic activities. The self-help groups have taken different names and forms in different districts, such as the Bambleshwari group in Rajnandgaon. The names of these groups are chosen on the basis of local symbols in an attempt to appeal instantly to the common people.

Some self-help groups have been set up through the projects operating in the area:

- *Swarna Jayanthi Gram Swarozgar Yojana* (a scheme for self-employment in the villages)
- Thrift and credit groups formed under the Watershed Mission

Table 5.9 **Self-help groups**

Number of committees	7,600
Savings through these committees	Rs 1.38 crores
Membership	8,38,000

Source: Directorate of Women and Child Development, Chhattisgarh

- Self-help groups set up by non-governmental organisations
- Organisations like *Gramya*, set up by Department of Women and Child Development.

Membership of the self-help groups benefit people by extending assistance to the indebted, as well as by providing assistance to improve the economic situation of the people. With 838,000 members, the 7,600 committees that exist in the State have generated savings worth Rs. 1.38 crores.

However, the impact of self-help groups is limited. People are inclined to be apprehensive of loans, because they associate loans with exploitation and indebtedness. There is a reluctance to engage in financial dealings which involve repayment, as they are viewed with suspicion.¹¹ Considerable advocacy and awareness is required to make micro-credit through self-help groups an effective instrument of change.

Government departments and institutions

Today, every village has some interface with the Government and this is evident in the presence of functionaries such as the schoolteacher, the *patwari*, the agricultural extension officer and the health care worker. The Government is responsible for the provision of amenities such as electricity, drinking water, primary health care, and childcare. The experiences of the villagers with Government departments are mixed. While people welcome amenities like hand pumps and the services of the ANM, as well

¹¹ This mistrust stems from the collective inheritance of the people of Chhattisgarh. Under the British, the people of Bastar were frustrated with the exploitation of moneylenders and traders, who charged exorbitant rates of interest. They rose up in revolt. Even today, the people continue to view credit with apprehension.

as the setting up of Primary Health Centres and schools, the interface with the Forest Department, in particular, is not heartening.

Historically, the interaction of villagers with the forest department goes back a hundred years, when the British Government passed the Forest Protection Act and moved the people out of the forests. The laws relating to forests and forest produce continue to create friction between the people and the Government, even today.

The Government provides a range of services in the villages, through various departments like the Education department, the Public Health Engineering department, the Health department, the Forest department and the department for Animal Husbandry/Veterinary Services, the *Panchayat* and Social Welfare department. Electricity, irrigation and roads are other areas where there is an interface with the Government. The Police department is assigned the task of maintaining law and order in the village.

Institutions related to livelihood

In the last few decades, a series of institutions have evolved, which impact on the lives of the people of Chhattisgarh. Some of these are traditional institutions like the village markets (*haats*) and cattle fairs, while others like the Forest Produce committees are new institutions designed to serve a specific purpose. The main institutions are:

- Cooperative Societies, particularly Large Agriculture Multi Purpose Societies (LAMPS), Farmers Agriculture Credit Societies (FACS), Primary Agriculture Credit Societies (PACS) and Forest Cooperatives
- Forest Produce Committees

- Village markets (*haats*) and cattle fairs
- *Mandis* or Agricultural Produce Marketing Committees (APMC)

Cooperative Societies

The cooperative movement in Chhattisgarh is largely the result of Government effort. Many Government departments undertake work in the villages by establishing cooperative committees for specific programmes that they want to implement. The villagers themselves are members of these cooperatives. Hence, information about their plans and programmes filters down easily to the ground level. The villagers have benefited by becoming members of the cooperative committees. In particular, the LAMPS committee formed at the level of every 10 to 15 villages provides villagers with basic necessities through the public distribution system. These include essential commodities like rice, wheat, sugar, salt, edible oil and

Table 5.10 **Cooperative institutions**

Organisation	Number
LAMPS	243
PACS	1,335
Milk Federation	609
Fishing Federation	808
District Cooperative Federation	7
Joint Agricultural Cooperatives	132
General Marketing Activities	153
Tree Federations	352
Primary Consumers Warehouse	760
Building Construction	360
Weavers Society	242
Industrial Associations	463
Primary Forest Produce Federation	25
Mineral Cooperatives	542
Credit Societies	264
Marketing Societies	153

Source: Registrar of Cooperatives, Chhattisgarh

kerosene. Apart from this, LAMPS also provides crop loans in the villages within its field area, and people learn the use of new agricultural techniques and inputs, like improved hybrid seeds, fertilisers and pesticides. After the harvest, LAMPS purchases the crop at the declared support prices.

In villages where animal husbandry is prevalent, people have benefited economically through the setting up of milk cooperatives. In villages with mines, mineral cooperatives have been set up, and fishing cooperatives have been set up in villages with fisheries.

The cooperative institutions are set up under the purview of the Cooperatives Act. Government departments — major successes being LAMPS and the milk cooperatives — also manage most of them. The *Jan Rapats* outline details of the working of these cooperatives, particularly the LAMPS initiative in Bastar, which played a major role in the utilisation of forest resources.

Forest resources committees (van dhan samitis)

In 1998, during the Tamarind Movement¹², the *van dhan samitis* (forest resources committees) were established. The Forest department and the Cooperation Department constituted two other committees, which had similar responsibilities.

A forest resource committee was set up for those families which had unemployed members, or were below the poverty line, or belonged to a Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe. It had a minimum membership of 10 and a maximum membership of 20. The *Gram Sabha* selected the members of the forest resource group. The objective was to collect forest

produce from the forests near the village. The Government, through Trifed, was to fix a fair market price for buying the produce from the forest resource committees. The *Gram Sabha* took this decision after discussion. The *Gram Sabha* insisted that the Government should ban middlemen totally, so that local villagers could get an appropriate price. Unemployed village youth got employment in the forest resources committees and the villagers received a fair price for the forest produce.

Within a period of four years, the project and the committees had evolved and developed so well that Trifed was able to withdraw. Although the project did not attain the expected level of success, it was perhaps for the first time that the communities of Bastar were able to identify with a Government programme. A major reason for this was that the programme recognised the intimate relationship between natural resources and the people, and it was designed with the active participation of the people. Almost all the *Jan Rapats* from different development blocks have urged that similar projects and programmes be taken up throughout the State.

Project and programme specific committees

Over the past few decades considerable emphasis has been placed on people's participation in development activities.

Project and programme specific committees	
●	Watershed committee
●	Forest protection committee
●	Forest management committee
●	Education committee

Many donor agencies working in the field insist that the beneficiaries be involved in the development of programmes and activities.

¹² The Tamarind Movement was a major initiative undertaken for the sale and collection of tamarind in Bastar district. It was a cooperative effort undertaken by the Government and the people to strengthen the economic base of the villages.

Table 5.11 **Committees at the village level**

Name of project	Committees active at the village level
Watershed projects	Watershed committees
Forest management projects	Forest protection committees and forest management committees
Animal husbandry projects	Projects to develop animal husbandry and enhance economic activities connected to animal husbandry in Bastar, undertaken with the help of Danida
Education projects	Village education committees and school management committees

Source: *Panchayat* and Health: Status of Decentralisation, Debate, March 2003

The Government has also left most of the decisions relating to the implementation of village development programmes to the people. It has organised committees at the village level, and set up an institutional framework for the purpose. Several projects in the districts are being run with the help of the Government and donor agencies (see table 5.11).

An attempt has been made to form village groups to implement these projects and achieve their objectives. Several committees for primary education were constituted under the Education Department. These include the school management committee, village education committee and village building construction committee. In the same way, the forest department has set up forest protection and forest management committees.

The experience of the people with these committees has been mixed. Their initial observation is that Government departments are making attempts to invite people's participation in the working of these committees, as well as trying to provide information about projects

and programmes to the villages. However, from the people's perspective, these committees are only a medium for the Government system to do its work. The villagers feel these project-based committees give useful insights into the structure and working of the Government system and afford an opportunity to learn and understand new techniques.

Traditional economic institutions

There are many traditional economic institutions.

Village markets (haats)

Village markets are a window to the changing lives and lifestyles of the villagers. They play a key role in determining village fashion, help to understand the demand pattern of the people, and provide a competitive market for small buyers and sellers. *Haats* are also social meeting grounds — going to the *haat* is an outing, a chance to meet friends and family and see what is new in the market.

The activities of the village market include:

Table 5.12 **Responsibilities of Committees**

Name of committee	Responsibility
Village education committee	School management
Forest protection committee	People's participation in protecting forests
Watershed management committee	People's participation in watershed development activities

- Buying and selling produce
- Exchange of information
- Entertainment (like cock fights)

Agricultural markets (*mandis*)

The main objective of agricultural *mandis* is to provide a market where farmers and grain producers can get a minimum support price for their produce. These rural *mandis* are democratic in nature, because their office bearers are elected.

New institutions for education and capacity building

Several institutions in Chhattisgarh are active in facing up to the challenge of changing times. Their main objective is to upgrade human resource capabilities in the State so that quality is improved and production is increased. These institutions are focusing on areas like education, medical and industrial education, livelihood training, agricultural education, training and technical education.

Yet, apart from primary and secondary education, the reach of other educational institutions is limited. Some efforts in this direction have been made in the last few years, since the formation of the new State. A number of institutions such as medical colleges, degree colleges and universities have been established. An important initiative that has been undertaken is the *Soochna Shakti*, which has taken computer education to the villages. Under this scheme, computer education is imparted to girls studying in the villages.

Modern cultural and social institutions

In the last 10 to 15 years, several modern institutions have emerged in the rural areas of Chhattisgarh, which have become part village life. These include:

- *Yuvak mangal dal* (youth group)
- *Mahila bhajan mandali* (women's group that sings religious songs and offers prayers)
- *Mahila mangal dal* (women's entertainment group)
- *Bhajan mandal* and *kirtan dal* (groups that sing religious songs and offer prayers)

These groups are active in the villages and people join them for religious and spiritual reasons. Their main focus is social occasions. For example, a group may take up the responsibility for organising marriages in the villages. In times of crisis, the *yuvak mangal dal* (youth group) springs into action. During the lean agricultural periods, *bhajan mandals* organise *bhajan* sessions in the village or a group may organise a recital of the Ramayana.

Experiences and Perceptions of the People

This section analyses the perception of the people regarding society and institutions and their impact on the process of development. Development in turn impacts on these institutions. The experiences describe the changes that are occurring within the village and its social structure, as well as the influence of external institutional systems that work within the villages. An analysis of the perceptions of the people, across districts, illustrates that there are considerable regional variations in the State.

The Village *Jan Rapats* document the community's perception of the current status of institutions, the status of women in the institutional framework, and the expectations of the community regarding change in the institutional organisations. The *Jan Rapats*

make clear that there is a strong desire for change. The reports outline the broad areas of support required from outside and the role of the people in this process of change.

Perceptions regarding society and traditions

Extracts from the Village Reports (Box 5.6) shows us the difference in the perceptions of the people belonging to three villages (all three are from one block of Kabirdham district) regarding various aspects of life. It illustrates the oft-repeated point that generalisations cannot be made for Chhattisgarh.

Women and society

The Village Reports are an integration of different group discussions in the villages. In all of them, separate groups of women discussed various issues¹³ regarding the status of women, their role and their perception of themselves.

The men also discussed these issues and the analysis includes the perception of both men and women.

Table 5.13 **Place of women in traditional society**

(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Regions	High	Average	Low/Unequal
Northern region	40	44	16
Central plains	34	39	27
Southern region	50	45	7
State	41	43	17

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

Traditional status of women

Two out of four Village Reports say that traditionally women enjoy a high status in rural society. Almost the same proportion of reports say (43 percent) that women have only an 'average' status. Less than a fifth (17 percent) of the Village Reports say that traditionally

From the people

Opinions from the villages regarding the status of institutions



	Current status	Desire to change	About organisations	Role of the village in proposed change
Village Haddi, block Borla, District Kabirdham	We have a social tradition. We live in harmony. Child marriage and dowry is not practised. The customs in our village are not orthodox.	We do not wish to change our present customs and traditions.	Self-help group and defence committees are not constituted in our village.	No comment
Village Darai, block Borla, District Kabirdham	Traditions of society are not good. Child marriage is common in our village.	Elaborate campaign on education is needed.	No comment	Support is needed from the Government.
Village Keshamda, block Borla, District Kabirdham	Daily life depends on old customs and traditions. Festivals provide an opportunity to dance, sing and drink.	We want to change old customs that are rigid and bad.	There is no social and cultural organisation in our village.	We need a cultural forum. We also want to change our rigid and incorrect customs. Training, exposure and information will help us in changing such traditions.

Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

¹³ A little less than half the villages (7,359) discussed the status of women in the social system of the village. Of these, 2,233 villages are from the northern region, 3,637 are from the central plains of Chhattisgarh, and 1,489 villages are from the southern region of the State.

the status of women is 'low' and that they are treated as being inferior to men in rural society. The reports indicate that the status of women is perceived to be relatively better in the southern region than in the other two regions. Among the three regions, the status of women is perceived to be the worst in the central plains, where 27 percent of Village Reports say that women are traditionally regarded as unequal partners.

Present status of women

The present status of women is not perceived to be better than their traditional status in rural society. In fact only 31 percent of the Village Reports maintain that the status of women is high, while 49 percent feel that the status of women is 'average'. The percentage of Village Reports that classify women's status as being 'low' or unequal to that of men, is 18

Table 5.14 **Status of women in present society**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	High	Average	Low
Northern region	26	59	13
Central plains	29	43	28
Southern region	38	44	14
State	31	49	18

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

percent. On the whole, the status of women in modern society seems to be lower than that in traditional society. Once again, the status is perceived to be low by about 28 percent of the Village Reports in the central plains area. In the north and the south, this percentage is substantially lower, reflecting that women in these areas are perceived to have a higher status.

Change in customs and traditions

About 27 percent of the Village Reports say that traditions and customs are changing with time. Just over a third (35 percent) of the Village Reports maintain that traditions are still useful. Another 30 percent of the Reports feel that customs create an environment of cooperation and have a positive influence. Many villages are proud of their customs and traditions. Two out of five Village Reports (40 percent) say that most of the customs are rigid and they need to be changed. Nearly a third of the reports (29 percent) say that customs related to death and marriages are interpreted in a manner that has an obstructive influence on society. The expenses associated with these occasions lead to considerable difficulties for the people.

Table 5.15 **Perceptions regarding customs and traditions**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue¹⁴)

Region	Changing with time	Customs are useful	Positive and cooperative	Rigid and need to change	Some traditions force people to spend unnecessarily
Northern region	27	41	36	39	24
Central plains	31	26	21	62	47
Southern region	23	37	32	19	16
State	27	35	30	40	29

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

¹⁴ The perception analysis in this chapter relates to all the villages that discussed a particular issue. The data from all the *Jan Rapats* was analysed using special software developed for the purpose. However, this exercise has only been done for the 'Society and Institutions' section. Out of 19,128 villages 12,356 villages discussed the issue of customs and traditions in their villages. Out of these 4,325 villages are from the northern region, 6,453 are from the central region and 1,578 are from the southern region.

Table 5.16 **Change in customs and traditions**

(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	No Change needed	Society and customs should change with time	Repressive and rigid customs should change	Expensive custom of marriage	Expensive death ceremonies	Caste based customs	Our society should change like urban society
Northern region	8	28	48	23	9	1	2
Central plains	5	39	63	44	23	6	4
Southern region	24	32	18	15	8	4	14
State	12	33	43	27	13	4	7

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

Forty-three percent of the Village Reports suggest that practices like child marriage, dowry and alcoholism should be discouraged and should disappear from their society. A small percentage of the reports (seven percent) want their village to transform into an urban society. They feel that urban societies are better, because caste barriers are not as strong as they are in the villages.

The Village Reports suggest that the people have a role in the process of change, but they do expect the support of the State in this

From the people



Turetha village is a tribal village. People of the Halba and the *Gond* tribes mainly inhabit it. Both tribes have their social organisations and social systems.

The Halba society has its own social customs. Their marriages, birth and death ceremonies, worship practices and other systems are different from other societies.

The *Gonds* in turn have their own distinct social customs. Their marriage systems, birth and death ceremonies, their gods and goddesses, worship practices are different from the Halba society.

The *Gonds* have the *ghotul*¹⁵ system, which is an integral part of their social system. The *ghotul* system has various officials: subedar/chief, *patel*, *kotwal*, policeman, watchman, and check-post guard. These officials perform different duties to maintain the *ghotul* system.

*Turetha village, Mathla Gram Panchayat
Narainpur Block, Bastar*

process. The extremely important role that institutions play in village life is apparent in the need expressed by the people for cultural forums and self-help groups.

Change in social systems

Almost all Village *Jan Rapats* accept that change is occurring in the social and economic system. This change directly affects the social and economic relations among people.

Table 5.17 **Perceptions regarding change in social customs**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	Good	Moderate	Partially useful	Not Good
Northern region	4	31	22.4	33
Central plains	27	30	23	22
Southern region	18	38	20	28
State	16	33	22	28

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

¹⁵ As described earlier the *ghotul* is a cultural centre in the village, which is managed by teenage girls and boys themselves.

From the people

Institutional System

The situation in the past

About 25 to 30 years ago, our village – Govindpur – did not have a school building or an *anganwadi*. The future of our children was bleak.

Where are we at present?

The *Sarpanch* reports that the present situation has improved a lot. The village has a middle school and an EGS school. Although there is still no building for the school or *anganwadi*, the school is functioning.

Where we want to reach in the future?

The *Sarpanch* and the other villagers say that we shall send our children to school in future and construct a school building so that the standard of education is improved. We must also open a small hospital for our health needs.

How will this be possible?

We require the support of the Government to achieve all this, but we will cooperate and offer all support. We must strengthen our education and become more aware.

What should we do?

For this, we must all support this endeavour wholeheartedly. We expect the Government to construct a school building in our village, Govindpur, because we do not have one at present.

What do we expect from outside?

In addition to our efforts we require the support of the Government to put the institutional structure in place in our village.

Govindpur village, Chiparkaya Gram Panchayat, Batholi Development Block, Surguja



The influence of outside forces on the structure and society of the villages is also increasing gradually. As a result the villages are abandoning their own institutional systems. Some of the changes that are taking place are:

- The breaking up of the joint family system and the move towards nuclear families
- The disbanding of established social organisations
- Decline in social and village unity
- Disillusionment with village life and a gradual shift to urban lifestyles
- Growing needs which require ever higher incomes

Not unexpectedly, these changes are not uniform in different areas of the State. The reactions of the people of Bastar and Dantewada vary

considerably from those of the people in Raipur and Durg, making it difficult to generalise. Often different tribes with different societal systems inhabit the same village, and the process of change is different in each society. Thus the process and pace of change within the same village may be quite different between different tribes.

Perceptions regarding institutions

As far as institutions are concerned, the experiences of the people are more or less similar. They are positive about the changes initiated by the forest resources committees and the Government. However, the interface with the forest staff continues to be largely unfriendly and most people see the Government as a body that takes too long in taking decisions.

Looking beyond the institutions and the legal system the *Jan Rapats* have raised questions about the relevance and usefulness of these institutions to the villages.

The following analysis presents the perceptions of the people regarding a range of issues, varying from traditional to modern institutions and the changes that are taking place in these institutions. It also speaks of the role of Government agencies and Government employees, their own expectations for change and the role that they see for themselves in this process. The role of *Panchayats* has been examined in considerable detail.

Traditional institutions

The Village Reports list the various types of traditional institutions which are active in the villages of Chhattisgarh¹⁶. These are:

- Community *Panchayats*
- Traditional village institutions
- Cultural institutions

Community *Panchayats* deal with matters related to a particular community, for example, there is a *Panchayat* of the *Gonds*, a *Panchayat* of the Raut community and a *Panchayat* of the Halba community, each one assigned the task of dealing with specific issues relating to its own community or sorting out problems with other communities.

Traditional village institutions deal with village level issues and cut across communities. General disputes among villagers, village level celebrations and issues pertaining to common resource management fall under the purview of traditional institutions. In some cases, the community *Panchayats* and the traditional village level institutions are coterminous because single communities or tribes inhabit the village. Cultural groups also cut across community lines and focus on cultural celebrations in the village.

More than half (53.3 percent) the Village Reports say that community *Panchayats* are still active in their villages. In the south and the central plains, the figure is 52 percent while in the north the figure is 56 percent. Out of 2,456 villages, 72 percent of the Village Reports say that traditional institutions are active and working in their village. Cultural institutions are present only in 64 percent of the villages.

Modern institutions

The Village *Jan Rapats* say that modern institutions have come up in the last 10-15 years. These relatively new institutions have been termed as modern institutions. They include:

- Community institutions

Table 5.18 **Traditional institutions in the villages**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	Community <i>Panchayats</i>	Traditional institutions	Cultural institutions
Northern region	56	81	71
Central plains	52	70	63
Southern region	52	65	58
State	53.3	72	64

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

¹⁶ The existence and status of traditional institutions was discussed in 2,456 villages out of the total number of villages.

- Youth groups
- Women's groups

These institutions are largely initiated, managed and controlled by the villagers themselves. Community institutions deal with issues of common interest like expenditure on marriages, and the relationship of the village with outside agencies, especially Government departments. These institutions are largely amended versions of traditional institutions. The difference is that these institutions include young and sometimes influential people in the decision-making process, a feature that is not common in the traditional system.

The *Jan Rapats* say that community institutions are present in about 44.6 percent of the villages. Women's groups are not very common; only 18.3 percent of villages say that they have a women's group in their village. Rajnandgaon district, which reports the presence of functioning women's groups in 51 percent of its villages, is the only exception.

Institutional changes in the villages

Looking back, it is apparent that considerable change has occurred over time. Among the institutions that have taken over the traditional social administration are the:

- Revenue department
- Forest department
- Police department

These departments and their activities have taken the decision making process away

Table 5.19 **Modern institutions in the villages**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	Community institutions	Youth groups	Women's group(s)
Northern region	40	27	19
Central plains	48	30	26
Southern region	46	22	10
State	44.6	26.3	18.3

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

From the people

Our village has fraternal social relations. It does not face any problem. Whatever problems occur, they occur within the village. On the religious front, *navtha* (a devotional programme) is organised. Traditional festivals like *hariyali*, *Diwali* and *Holi* are celebrated with fervour.

Lifestyle: The lifestyle of the village is simple and the living good.

Arts: Arts find expression through the medium of music provided by our village musician, Kotwar Sarju.

Literature: We get to read stories, serials, books through the *Panchayat*.

Dance: The various kinds of dances include *suva*, *karma* and *dandia*.

Choice of a life partner:

Life partners are chosen in the traditional way. The elders choose the partner and the children accept the choice.



Education: Our village has an alternative school system in which education is given from Class 1 to Class 5.

Values in relationships: The relations between husband and wife are good. Father-mother, father-son, brother-sister, neighbours all share good relations with each other. The bonds of friendship have survived for years, as a result of which there is harmony.

*Ralai village, Mehratola Gram Panchayat
Charama Development Block, Kanker*

From the people

Where are we?

A lot of change has occurred in the institutional system as it prevails today. The joint family is breaking down. Individualism is becoming more widespread. Many social institutions are breaking down. The importance of social unity is diminishing. Youth groups no longer participate in cultural and religious activities as they used to. Unethical and anti-social activities are on the increase. The village administration has been entrusted to the *Gram Panchayat*. Through the Government, it is constructing youth centres, cultural centres, drama theatres, *mahila mandals* and youth group centres.

Where do we wish to reach?

We would like to set up an institutional system that will strengthen the social organisation of the family. People want to develop traditions and cultural and social consciousness, so that the village can become pre-eminent, strong and organised.

Mainpur village, Mainpur Gram Panchayat, Charama Development Block, Kanker

We get no benefit from any of the *Panchayat* projects. Everything just remains the same.

Ambikapur Development Block in Surguja



from the village. Under the aegis of these departments, many new institutions have emerged. These institutions are the *Gram Panchayats* and *Gram Sabha*, the *tendu* leaf committees, the forest protection committees, the watershed committees and the self-help groups. These modern institutions impact upon the behaviour and traditions of village society in a number of ways.

Institutions promoted by external agencies

All the villages discussed the institutions promoted by external agencies. In the last

two-three decades many new institutions have started functioning in the villages. The Village Reports make clear that these institutions are promoted by outside agencies, and that the villages have very little control over them. Table 5.20 shows the percentage of Village Reports that report the presence of these institutions. Interestingly, most of these institutions are either Government line management departments or project-based committees, like the watershed committees. Not surprisingly, schools and *anganwadis* are the most widespread institutions in the villages. Nearly 90 percent

Table 5.20 **Institutions promoted by external agencies in the villages**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	School	Anganwadi	Post office	Bank	Revenue	Police	PHC	PDS	Veterinary	Panchayat	Watershed committee	Forest committee	Hostel for students
Northern region	96	79	11	5	3	4	17	39	12	50	24	28	9
Central plains	80	60	13	8	6	5	38	53	13	56	20	22	11
Southern region	92	62	6	5	2	4	24	16	5	58	23	21	8
State	89.3	67	10	6	3.7	4.3	26.3	36	10	54.7	22.3	23.7	9.3

Source: *Jan Rapats*, Part III

of the villages say that there is a functioning school in their village.¹⁷

The *Gram Panchayat* is considered to be a Government department, rather than an institution of self-government. About 50 percent of the villages list *Panchayats* as one among many institutions that are controlled and governed by an agency outside the village. Certain institutions like the Police and the Revenue department are not perceived as functioning or working in the village, but they do exist. A very small number of villages (less than 10 percent in every district) say that these departments are working in their village. Institutions like banks and post offices have been listed on their physical presence in the village.

From the people

Today our village has the following institutions 1. Pre-middle School 2. Middle School 3. EGS 4. *Anganwadi* centre 5. Girls' hostel 6. Police camp 7. Primary health centre 8. Ayurvedic hospital 9. Forest office 10. Post office 11. *Saraswati Shishu Mandir*. The village also has social institutions like a youth group (*navyuvak mandal*), a women's group (*mahila mandal*), and a *ghotul*.

Village Report Dhorai, Panchayat – Dhorai, Block Narainpur, Bastar, Narainpur Block, Bastar



Level of awareness regarding schemes and institutions

Given the presence of a number of external agencies in the villages of Chhattisgarh, the question that arises is how effective these

Table 5.21 **Level of awareness about Government schemes**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue¹⁸)

Region	Very good	Good	Average	Low	Very Low
Northern region	3	20	50	23	5
Central plains	3	43	32	12	4
Southern region	2	20	59	21	1
State	2.7	28	47	19	3.3

Source: Village Jan Rapats, Part III

institutions are, and to what extent do they make a difference to the life of the village. A reasonable number of villages (47 percent) say that the level of information about various schemes is average.

In the central plains region, 43 percent of the villages say that the level of awareness regarding Government schemes is good. The northern and southern regions show a different trend. Twenty-one percent of the Village Reports of the southern region say that the level of awareness about Government schemes is low. Similarly, 23 percent of the villages in the northern region say that the level of awareness about Government schemes is low; in the central plains, this figure is only 12 percent.

Role of Government institutions and employees

A large number of the institutions operating in Chhattisgarh are in fact promoted, managed, or set up by the Government and its departments. An analysis of how the Government is perceived is a telling commentary on the state of development in the region.

¹⁷ However, in Rajnandgaon and Bilaspur, the percentage of Village Reports, which say that there is a functioning school in the village is considerably lower, at 70 and 75 percent respectively. This reflects the low access to schools in these districts.

¹⁸ In an attempt to answer this question, 16,781 villages discussed the working of Government institutions and the level of awareness among the people regarding the schemes that are implemented by these institutions.

Table 5.22 **Perceptions about Government agencies**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue¹⁹)

Region	Cooperative	Satisfactory	Not satisfactory	Low strength of employees
Northern region	38	16	23	23
Central plains	31	20	30	18
Southern region	32	26	23	23
State	34	21	25	21

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

Government institutions, voluntary organisations and self-help groups also operate in the villages. Discussions held in the villages provide critical data about the role of Government institutions, the attitude and performance of their employees. While some Village Reports are not happy with the work of the Government agencies, others feel that the Government is largely supportive.

The people feel Government employees should be more honest and accessible to the people. There is some mention of self-help groups in the *Jan Rapats*, but they are not considered important in bringing about social change in the villages. In fact, the self-help groups have not had any substantial impact in the villages and even today villagers continue to depend on moneylenders for loans.

Only one in three villages (34 percent) says that Government institutions are cooperative. In Dantewada district, for example, only 14

percent of the Village Reports say that the Government institutions are cooperative. In the State as a whole, 25 percent of the villages feel that the work of Government institutions is not satisfactory. One-fifth (21 percent) of the Reports feel that this is partly because the number of Government employees is less than the number required, and this affects their functioning.

The perception of the people with regard to Government employees is similar. At the State level, 33.7 percent of the villages feel that Government employees are cooperative. An inter region comparison reveals that only 30 percent of the Village Reports in the central region say that the Government employees are cooperative. About 16 percent of the Village Reports say that the work done by the employees is satisfactory. However, a slightly higher percentage (19 percent) of Reports categorise the work of Government employees as not satisfactory. This percentage

Table 5.23 **Perceptions about Government employees**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	Cooperative	Satisfactory work	Not satisfactory	Busy in other work	Interested in gossip	Do not help people
Northern region	37	17	24	10	8	5
Central plains	30	14	26	20	5	6
Southern region	34	16	7	14	12	15
State	33.7	15.7	19	15	8.3	9

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

¹⁹ 12,435 villages discussed the issue of Government departments and their employees.

is considerably lower in the southern area, where it is only seven percent, but the unhelpful nature of Government employees is recorded as being substantially higher here. Nine percent of the reports suggest that Government employees do not help the common people.

Expected nature of change in these institutions

The villages discussed the institutional set-up and the behaviour and attitude of employees. The reports reflect a strong desire for change in the Government institutions. They stress that whatever be the nature of change, it should improve the quality of work. Most villages feel there is a need to focus on the provision of adequate staff and resources. They want more efficient and cooperative Government institutions, with considerably more resources.

The Village Reports advocate that:

- Adequate resources should be available to Government institutions, so the villages can access them
- The institutions should be able to provide financial assistance to the villages and the people more efficiently
- There should be adequate employees in the

institutions, so that they are able to cater to the requirements of all the villages

- The quality of services need improvement
- The regular presence/attendance of employees in the offices is crucial for effective and better functioning
- Employees should be sensitive to the requirements of the people and try to solve their problems
- Government institutions must assist the villages in constructing necessary buildings like schools, warehouses for storage, community halls and other functional buildings.

Role of villages in the process of change

All the villages discussed their role in changing the institutions in the villages. The people feel that they have an important role to play in changing the way the institutions function in the villages. They see the following roles for themselves:

- Contributing for labour to work carried out in the village
- Participating in the functioning of these institutions

Table 5.24 **Expected change in the role of the Government institutions**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	Adequate employees	Village level works be given to <i>Panchayats</i>	Availability of resources	Improvement in service quality	Financial assistance	Building assistance	Sensitive to needs of villagers	Regular presence of employees
Northern region	14	23	23	27	52	18	12	11
Central plains	23	17	40	18	53	22	8	24
Southern region	21	11	29	24	27	26	13	25
State	19.3	17	30.7	23	44	22	11	20

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

Table 5.25 **Role of villages in changing the institutions**

(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	Contributing Labour	Community participation	Assistance in information dissemination	Regular attendance at meetings
Northern region	51	33	23	27
Central plains	51	64	31	23
Southern region	13	42	23	6
State	38.3	46.3	25.7	19

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

- Taking responsibility for the dissemination of information regarding various schemes and the functioning of different institutions
- Regularly attending meetings

Support needed from outside agencies

While detailing the areas where the villages are willing to take the responsibility for affecting change in the role of the institutions, the reports also speak of the support needed from outside agencies. The development and spread of the

institutional structure in rural areas over the past two or three decades has taken place alongside existing traditional social institutions. The new institutional structure holds out the hope of change in the mores, rules and regulations of village society.

The Village Reports highlight several ways to improve these institutions and widen their impact. They list nine areas where they need outside support to change the institutions working in their villages. These areas are economic assistance, training, help in constructing buildings, additional resources, prizes and motivation, help in organising regular meetings, access information, institutions that can assist in promoting small scale industries, and finally, institutions for promoting higher and technical education. Economic assistance, training and resources are the three areas where outside support is most required.

The existing institutions have influenced society substantially. Educational institutions have ushered in winds of change across large parts of the State, and have kindled new hopes and ambitions in people. The challenge today

Table 5.26 **Support needed from outside the village**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	Economic assistance	Training	Building	Resources (other than financial)	Prize and motivation	Help in regular meetings	Information	Institution for promoting small-scale industry	Institutions for promoting higher and technical education
Northern region	43	26	16	20	1	3	10	5	2
Central plains	44	29	17	15	9	6	9	12	7
Southern region	51	31	11	12	4	2	6	7	8
State	46	28.7	14.7	16	4.7	4	8.3	8	6

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

is to prevent these hopes and ambitions from transforming into a pessimism that may halt change. This might happen if the system does not change in consonance with the aspirations of the people. The overwhelming desire for change that is evident among the people necessitates a transformation in the institutions that govern life in Chhattisgarh.

Perceptions regarding the functioning of *Panchayats* and *Gram Sabha*

Effective functioning of the *Gram Sabhas* and the *Gram Panchayats* can be the catalyst for change in rural Chhattisgarh, and can take the people towards a self-sufficient and autonomous society. While these institutions are seen as the harbingers of change, the experience of the people so far has not been very encouraging. Yet, the people are hopeful and optimistic that change will come.

Panchayats

Everyone accepts that the *Panchayati Raj* has helped in some limited decentralisation. There has been some change in every village since the introduction of the *Panchayati Raj* system. People feel that development is possible in each village, if the *Sarpanch* is proactive. They are also aware that resources and facilities that had not come to their villages for the past 50 years are now have accessible, following the constitution of *Panchayats*. However, they continue to feel excluded from the system.

In many villages, people express some dissatisfaction with the work that has been

undertaken. They say it is not in accordance with the wishes of the villagers. Most villages consider the *Panchayat* to be a Government department or part of the Government system. The reasons for this feeling are the reservation of posts in *Panchayats*, Government instructions on the work to be done, and Government's participation in implementation. The people see the *Panchayats* as being different from the tribal *Panchayat*, which makes its own decisions.

This perception of the *Panchayats* as being non-representative leads to low participation at *Gram Sabha* meetings. The people say that most of the discussion at these meetings and the decisions taken there are related to the implementation of Government programmes. From Surguja to Korea to Dantewada, the hopes of the people in the *Panchayati Raj* system have been belied. The District and Village *Jan Rapats* make clear that the people see the *Panchayat* system as a system for distributing Government patronage, not as a unit for self Government.

The District *Jan Rapats* of Bastar, Raipur, Dantewada, Korea and Mahasamund clearly indicate that people equate the *Panchayat* with any other Government department.

The lack of any observable change is indicative of the absence of synergy between the *Panchayati Raj* institutions and the Government departments. If change is to be initiated in the system, it is necessary to change the perception of the people regarding these institutions.

Regarding the perception of the people on the subject of *Panchayats*, an analysis of the *Jan Rapats* show that 12 percent of Village Reports say that the *Panchayat* system has encouraged nepotism within the village society and that the *Sarpanch* and other influential members try to use the *Panchayats* for their own benefit.

From the people

We get no benefit from any of the *Panchayat* projects. Everything just remains the same.



Ambikapur Development Block in Surguja

Table 5.27 **Perception regarding Panchayats**

(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue²⁰)

Region	Encourages nepotism	Power to people	Institution of development	Rule of Sarpanch	Window to information	Institution for positive change
Northern region	10	22	31	9	18	41
Central plains	18	18	37	24	29	41
Southern region	8	6	18	7	11	43
State	12	15.3	28.7	13	19	42

Source: Village Jan Rapats, Part III

While 15.3 percent of the Reports say that the *Panchayati Raj* system has given power to the people, 13 percent (only marginally less) say that it has actually given power to the *Sarpanch*. Yet, 28.7 percent of the Village Reports say that the *Panchayat* is an institution for the development of the village. Twenty percent of the Reports say that the *Panchayat* works as a disseminator of information. The encouraging aspect is that a substantial percentage of the reports (42 percent) say that the *Panchayats* provide an opportunity for positive change in the villages.

Even though the *Panchayati Raj* system has led to increased participation in programmes and some influence of the people in resource allocation, the general feeling based on the experiences of the last five years is that:

- It is the *Sarpanch* who is the most active element in the *Panchayati Raj* system
- There is no participation of the *Panchs* (other members)

- Women representatives are not active
- Government does not give enough importance to the *Panchayati Raj* system
- Government employees are not interested in working with the *Panchayats* and interact only with the *Sarpanch*, and that too, only when they are forced to
- Parallel committees, like the watershed committee and forest protection committee, are already doing work similar to that of the *Panchayats*.

Lack of financial information

Villages have little information about the income and expenditure of *Gram Panchayats*. At the State level, only five percent of the villages say that they have information about the annual income and expenditure of their *Gram Panchayat*. An exceedingly high proportion (95 percent) of Village Reports say that the people do not have any financial details regarding their *Gram Panchayat*. In Kabirdham, Raipur, Rajnandgaon and Bastar, more than five percent of the villages have information about the income and expenditure of their *Gram Panchayat*. In other districts, the percentage is less than five percent. These figures point to a lack of transparency in the functioning of the *Panchayats*.

This situation warrants intervention from the State Government so as to ensure transparency in the functioning of the *Panchayats* and see that the laws, which require that the *Panchayats* share financial information with the *Gram Sabha*, are followed.

²⁰ Detailed discussions on *Panchayats* were held in 13,554 villages

Table 5.28 **Information about income and expenditure of Gram Panchayats**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue²¹)

Region	Yes	No
Northern region	4	96
Central plains	6	94
Southern region	5	96
State	5	95

Source: Village Jan Rapats, Part III

Change in the functioning of Panchayats

The Village Reports say that the people want *Panchayats* to be more open in their functioning and to reflect the sentiments, needs and aspirations of their members. The areas which the *Panchayats* need to address are:

- More transparency
- Priority attention to the most deprived
- More participatory functioning
- Increase in the participation of women
- Construction and development

Table 5.29 **Willingness of people to participate in activities of Gram Panchayat**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	Yes	No
Northern region	78	21
Central plains	73	19
Southern region	82	13
State	77.67	17.7

Source: Village Jan Rapats, Part III

- Employment promotion
- Good planning
- More assertive role
- Information dissemination

The people want to participate in the activities of the *Panchayats* and want the *Panchayats* to function democratically (77.67 percent of the reports say that the people are willing to participate). This sentiment reflects that the people are aware of the potential role that these institutions can play. A large percentage of the reports express the view that the functioning

Table 5.30 **Change in the role of Panchayats**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	Transparency	Priority to poor	More participation	Increase in the participation of women	Construction and development	Institution that promotes employment	Institution for good planning	Assertive role	Centre for information dissemination
Northern region	30	13	17	17	32	18	13	27	21
Central plains	42	27	36	15	50	18	13	16	25
Southern region	27	14	16	19	23	9	4	12	11
State	33	18	23	17	35	15	10	18.3	19

Source: Village Jan Rapats, Part III

²¹ All the villages discussed the role of the *Panchayats* and how they want this role to change.

of the *Panchayat* be more transparent and participatory, and take on a development role. This will require the *Panchayats* to initiate better planning to develop as centres for information dissemination, and tackle issues of poverty and employment generation. The reports also speak of increasing the participation of women in the activities of *Panchayats*. Villages in almost all the districts wish to see this change, although at the aggregate level the percentage is only 17 percent.

Gram Sabhas

The village community does meet to discuss and resolve mutual disputes and quarrels, but they do not consider these to be *Gram Sabha* meetings. The Government does not consider these to be legal meetings of the *Gram Sabha*, because the *Panchayat* laws stipulate that a certain quorum is needed. The village has its own definition of quorum, and considers the presence of one individual from each family as fulfilling this criterion.

In many villages, the *Gram Sabha* or general assembly is non-functional. It is seen as a body that comes together to reap the benefits of the projects that are being implemented by the *Panchayat* and does not represent the people.

Table 5.31 **Level of information about Gram Sabhas**

(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	Very high	High	Average	Little	Very little
Northern region	3	9	38	28	22
Central plains	4	16	37	32	12
Southern region	1	4	35	32	28
State	2.7	9.7	36.7	30.7	24.0

Source: Village Jan Rapats, Part III

Information in the villages about the role and responsibility of the *Gram Sabha*, its powers and duties is rather limited. This is disappointing because this is the first institution at the village level and should ideally be the most dynamic.

More than half the Village Reports say that they have either little or very little information about the powers and role of *Gram Sabhas*. Only 12.4 percent (9.7 plus 2.7 percent) of the reports say that they have a very high or a high level of information about *Gram Sabhas*. A little over a third (36.7 percent) of the villages has an 'average' level of information on *Gram Sabhas*. The central plains of the State are more aware compared to the southern and northern regions of the State.

Table 5.32 **Perceptions regarding the Gram Sabhas**

(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	Institution that empowers community	Place which is formal	People come for their work	Very difficult to fulfil quorum	Place of information dissemination	Good concept	Medium for development
Northern region	14	22	16	23	26	27	12
Central plains	15	35	29	43	41	28	14
Southern region	13	19	10	8	18	16	8
State	14.0	25.3	18.3	24.7	28.3	23.7	11.3

Source: Village Jan Rapats, Part III

While a little less than 25 percent of the Village Reports say that the concept of *Gram Sabha* is very good and recognise that it creates a space for people to participate in the decision making process, only 14 percent of the reports affirm that the *Gram Sabha* actually empowers the community. It plays an important role in disseminating information about Government schemes and programmes (28.3 percent of Village Reports). About 11 percent of the reports see the *Gram Sabha* as a medium that ensures the development of the village.

The people's experience regarding the functioning of the *Gram Sabhas* over the last seven or eight years has not been very positive. One out of four Village Reports regards the *Gram Sabha* as a formal institution. Another common complaint is that the upper tiers of the *Panchayat* do often not respond to the proposals that are sent by the *Gram Sabha*. Villages also feel that only those who think they can get some benefit from the *Panchayat* and the *Gram Sabha* attend the meetings of these institutions. It is difficult to even get a quorum at the *Gram Sabha* meetings, because people do not attend them. They feel the institution cannot fulfil their expectations. The limited support of block and district level *Panchayat* makes the situation worse. The concept of management

powers and ownership rights being given to *Gram Sabhas* has yet to penetrate the villages. In areas where it has been introduced, villages have not been able to put it into practice. The *Jan Rapats* point to the following departments for their lack of cooperation:

- Revenue department
- Forest department
- Public distribution system
- Agricultural department

The villagers feel that the style of functioning of these departments and the attitude of their staff has remained unchanged.

However, they realise that the *Gram Sabha* has certain powers and if it operates democratically and in a more participatory manner, it can give them the power to take decisions regarding their village. This is clearly reflected in the expectations that the people have from the *Gram Sabha*.

An analysis of the *Jan Rapats* reveals that:

- More than 36 percent of the reports say that the Government should respond to

Table 5.33 **Expectations from the *Gram Sabha***
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	It should help poor and destitute	Each hamlet should have its own <i>Gram Sabha</i>	Place for more information	Should become effective institution of control over resources and other institutions	Government should respond to the proposals
Northern region	9	12	23	17	28
Central plains	12	30	28	37	46
Southern region	4	10	26	24	36
State	8.3	17.3	25.7	26.0	36.7

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

proposals sent by the *Gram Sabhas* if they are to play a more meaningful role.

- 17.3 percent of the village reports say that each village should have its own *Gram Sabha*.
- Twenty-six percent villages say that *Gram Sabhas* should become effective institutions of control over resources and other institutions.
- Eight percent of the reports see the *Gram Sabha* as playing a redistributive role and feel that it should help the poor and destitute.

It is important to reiterate that the people want the powers given to the *Gram Sabhas* by the Constitution and State enactments to be respected and implemented.

Women in the *Panchayat* system

The village *Jan Rapats* discuss the role and status of women in Chhattisgarh, both in the institutional structure in general and in the *Gram Panchayats* and *Gram Sabhas* in particular. Twenty-nine percent villages feel that women have an equal status in the institutional set-up. This perception of equity is based on the following indicators:

- Access of women to all institutions
- Freedom to form *Mahila Mandals*
- Freedom to attend *Gram Sabha* meetings
- Freedom to contest *Panchayat* elections

The village community in general, and women in particular, say that they are not restricted from joining any institution. The status of women

Table 5.34 **Status of women in the institutional structure**

(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	Equal to men	Almost equal to men	Less than equal	Lower than men
Northern region	31	28	24	16
Central plains	23	24	31	22
Southern region	34	19	70	12
State	29.3	23.7	41.7	16.7

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

in the institutional structure reflects a better status in the northern and southern plateaus as compared to the plains of Chhattisgarh.

However, this does not mean that the traditional role of women is changing in rural Chhattisgarh. Only 29.3 percent of the reports say that the status of women in the institutional structure is equal to that of men. Forty-two percent of reports classify women's status as almost equal to that of men, while 16.7 percent of the reports express the view that the status of women is not equal and is actually lower than that of their male counterparts.

The status of women in the *Gram Sabhas* is categorised on a four-point scale. In the *Gram Sabhas* women's status is perceived to be better, with 60.6 percent (31.3 percent plus 29.3 percent) of the reports expressing the view that their status is high or very high. Fifteen percent of the Village Reports say that the status of women is lower than that of their male counterparts. Another 24 percent of the reports rank women's status as average.

As regards the status of women in *Gram Panchayats*, 17.3 percent of the Village Reports say that it is low compared to men. The high status in many cases is an outcome of the

Table 5.35 **Status of women in the Gram Sabhas**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	Low	Average	High	Very high
Northern region	19	18	35	32
Central plains	9	23	36	32
Southern region	17	37	23	24
State	15	26	31.3	29.3

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

Table 5.36 **Status of women in Gram Panchayats**
(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	Low	Average	High	Very high
Northern region	16	42	28	13
Central plains	20	47	25	8
Southern region	16	41	36	8
State	17.3	43.3	29.7	9.67

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

Table 5.37 **Ways to improve women's participation**

(percentage of Village Reports that discussed this issue)

Region	Educate women	Motivate women to participate	Continue with reservation	Improvement in employment	Provide training
Northern region	38	22	18	24	36
Central plains	36	28	41	40	34
Southern region	36	32	11	12	28
State	36.7	27.3	23.3	25.3	32.7

Source: Village *Jan Rapats*, Part III

provision of reservation for women. The percentage of Reports that classify women's status as high or very high drops dramatically from 60.6 percent (in the *Gram Sabhas*) to 39.37 percent (29.7 percent plus 9.67 percent) in *Gram Panchayats*.

The people recognise the important contribution that women can make to the economic status of communities and to the well-being of families. This is reflected in the suggestions that have been put forward to improve the status of women, both in the community and in the institutional organisation. The Village Reports identify five areas which require intervention to improve the status and participation of women. The first is literacy and education. Thirty-seven percent of the Village Reports feel that better provisioning for education and improved literacy will help better their status. Training and capacity building are seen as a means of empowering women by 32 percent of the Village Reports. Motivating women to participate in the activities of village level institutions has been stressed by 23 percent of the Village Reports.

Reservation is seen to be important in ensuring the representation of women in institutions. The people say that specific employment opportunities for women will empower them and help to improve their status both within the family and in the institutions.

Conclusions and Challenges for the Future

The Village *Jan Rapats* have largely focused on the Government, the institutional structures connected to Government departments, *Panchayats*, *Gram Sabhas* and project-based institutions. The villages and the different classes of people have presented their views on subjects related to culture, traditions and social relationships. The people reiterate their resolve to change the system and overcome tradition and they expect the Government to be a participant in the process of change.

Institutional structure in Chhattisgarh

The Village Reports have defined institutions in two ways:

- Those that have social approval
- Those that have legal approval

Institutions which have social approval are largely informal in nature but serve the useful function of maintaining society. The legally approved institutions are those which have been set up by the Government or Government departments. They have initiated a specific kind of change in the villages. For example:

- They have encouraged savings
- They have encouraged joint management of natural resources by the village and Government departments
- They have encouraged women to transcend social barriers and come forward to participate in social and political work

In generally, they have encouraged the mobilisation of villagers, and their activities have had two marked effects:

- Encouraging discussion on utilising outside resources for the continued development of villages
- Spreading information and knowledge to villages, to build a more modern society and social structure

There are three distinct categories of institutions present in rural Chhattisgarh: the

traditional and the modern; institutions that affect livelihoods and learning; institutions that oversee society and governance, culture and entertainment.

Traditional and modern institutions

Traditional institutions in the rural context deal with traditions and lifestyles. These institutions are informal in character and are managed by rural society. Examples include the *ghotuls*, the caste *Panchayats* and the systems for social justice.

In the last two decades or so, banks, institutions managed by Government departments, voluntary organisations and religious organisations have also begun to appear in the villages. However, the villagers have a limited role in the management of these institutions. The top management formulates institutional policies and programmes. At the ground level, it strives to increase the participation of people in the implementation of its programmes.

Modern institutions, the spread of education and the communication media, modern lifestyles and culture are now influencing living patterns among the people and are beginning to occupy the space which was earlier covered by traditional institutions. The work style and philosophy of institutions set up by people and organisations from outside the village have shaped the development of community-based organisations and institutions.

Economic and educational institutions

On the basis of their active role in the lives of the people and society, the following two kinds of institutions have high visibility:

- Institutions connected to livelihood and economic activities

- Institutions connected with imparting knowledge/teaching and spreading information

Social systems and entertainment

From the perspective of the social system and source of entertainment, it is evident that:

- The older systems are effective in influencing social systems and local governance. Traditional systems and the *Panchayat Raj* are among these institutions
- Villages have their systems of entertainment, which are connected to the work, culture and life styles of the people. Popular forms of entertainment are cockfights and the famous *nacha* (dance) tradition of the Chhattisgarh plains

At different times and under different circumstances, village groups rely on the different systems, which have been described above.

However, while these institutions and systems are effective at an individual level in the areas in which they function, there is no coordination between them at the level of implementation of programmes. Another important concern is the quality of their personnel and the benefits that they offer. The opinions expressed by people clearly indicate that there is need for serious reconsideration regarding the delivery systems and processes because these do not measure up to requirements. Yet another concern relates to the coordination and dialogue between institutions, their employees/resources and the local people. It is apparent from the *Jan Rapats* that the system looks at people only as beneficiaries, who should be concerned only about the benefits they receive. The people have no control over the programmes, or the

resources, nor are they participants in the decision-making process at any stage.

While the people agree that some administrative reforms have taken place, they also stress that the institutional structure put in place by the Government has not been able to internalise these changes. The rules and systems to enhance decentralisation and people's participation have not been put into practice.

Systems of governance: hope for change

The *Jan Rapats* reflect the hope that change will occur in the existing structure and functioning of the Government system. For example, while the people accept that relations have changed in the context of forest committees, they expect the forest department and its employees to understand the situation in the villages and change their attitude towards the people as well as their style of functioning.

The reports explicate the impact and spread of changes in the context of people's participation over the past two or three decades as a result of the institutional systems and their rules. While the system and its institutional structure have penetrated into distant villages, their functioning and people's participation still pose a challenge.

People's standards for assessment of institutions and their functioning

People have their standards for judging the functioning of committees and institutional structures set up by the Government, its departments and other organisations. These are different from established indicators and standards. For example, the establishment of watershed committees and the fact that they have started to function may be seen as a measure of their success. However, the village

reviews these committees on the basis of a different set of indicators. These indicators, as evolved by the people relate to:

- Establishment
- Control
- Functioning
- The benefits they offer and the quality of these benefits
- Who established the specific committee the Government, the village, an individual or some other organisation?
- Why was the committee established?
- Who benefits from this committee and how?
- How does this committee benefit the poor?

Several questions arise in the context of the committees that have been set up by the Government or its departments, in particular the forest committees and education committees. While in many cases the committees are set up to implement Government projects and act as forums for people's participation, in practice these committees or institutions do not work in accordance with the people's requirements or wishes and the people do not therefore view these institutions as being 'successful'. They do, however, act as a medium of change, and result in some change in the attitude and behaviour of departmental employees. Another important function that they perform is that of information dissemination.

The Way Ahead

Complementary roles for the *Panchayats* and the Government

The biggest challenge lies in ensuring the effective working of the *Panchayati Raj* system. The main difficulty is that the *Panchayats* have been reduced to mere instruments that implement poverty eradication schemes and other Government programmes. The various departments of the Government do not involve the *Panchayats* in decision-making and the *Panchayats* are often marginalised.

In the initial years, the *Panchayat* system was perceived to be working. This may be because when the *Panchayats* were first established, they were not very assertive and Government departments did not see them as a threat. Now, as the *Panchayats* have become more aware of their powers and wish to exercise them, there are problems. There is a demand for change in the way things function and this is a positive development. The second phase, in which the *Panchayats* and the people are able to exercise the powers given to them, has to be planned. The *Panchayats* and the Government must complement each other and work together for development.



Revitalising the *Gram Sabhas*

The *Gram Sabhas* are largely inactive and attendance at their meetings is low. The people have not been able to exercise the powers given to the *Gram Sabhas* and these bodies are often ineffective and powerless. In some cases this is because the *Gram Sabhas* are constrained from exercising these powers, because the institutions that exercised them earlier have not handed them over to the *Gram Sabhas*. It is therefore important to develop capacities in the *Gram Sabhas*, so that they can exercise their powers and carry out their responsibilities. Government departments must also recognise their changed role and responsibilities.

Coordination in the institutional system

If we examine the collective strength and resources of institutions active at the village, district and State level, two aspects become evident:

- In the rural areas of Chhattisgarh, every individual is a member of some institution

- Most institutions, especially those set up by organisations from outside the village, exist in isolation, and there is a lack of coordination between them

These institutions need to be synergistic so that their collective energies are better utilised to speed up the process of development and change. A policy to ensure such coordination and plan strategies for the future is required. This is essential in order to offer protection against the setting up of new institutions, without first deliberating upon the capabilities and achievements of the old institutions.

It is now increasingly being recognised that the State and the community must complement each other in the development process if any meaningful progress is to take place. The Panchayati Raj system, the development of community-based institutions and the policy changes that have taken place over the past two decades evoke a dream of just such a future. Yet, the experience of the people makes clear that there are many challenges in actualising the principle of participative democracy and ensuring that it works.



Human Development in Chhattisgarh





Human Development in Chhattisgarh

The Old Debate: Growth and Development

For a very long time, economists have measured well being – of societies, economies and people – by the yardstick of income. Growth was measured on the basis of economic indicators like per capita income, production and productivity of the economy, and the status of employment. In effect, an economy that produced more goods and services than another was deemed to be better off. Growth was consequently measured by the increase of aggregate income in an economy. In the last few decades, however, this approach has been challenged by a growing perception that ‘the objective of human development is not simply to produce more goods and services for material enrichment, but to increase the capabilities of all people to lead full, productive and satisfying lives.’

Initially articulated by the first Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1990, this is a perception that has grown into a global vision. The UNDP stressed that ‘the real wealth of a country is its people and the purpose of development is to create an enabling environment for them to enjoy long, creative and healthy lives.’ Successive Human Development Reports have asserted that human

development is the process of enlargement of people’s choices. They have highlighted that there are three essential elements of human development – to enable people to lead long and healthy lives, to access knowledge and education and to possess the resources needed for a reasonable standard of living. Consequently, three areas have been identified as being of primary social concern – health, education and material well-being.

Accordingly, a measure of human development, which is a composite of the key indices of health, education and income was developed. The specific indicators utilised in the construction of this composite measure are life expectancy at birth as an indicator of health; literacy and mean years of schooling (or, as an alternative, the combined enrolment ratio) as a measure of education; and per capita GDP (adjusted for purchasing power parity) as an indicator of material well-being.

These dimensions of development have not been studied systematically for Chhattisgarh so far. The Human Development Report provides the basis for an assessment of its development. Equity (in income, in access to education, in health and gender equity), good governance and sustainable development are a few areas that require urgent attention in the State. A unique feature of the Report is that it is based

not on objective data alone but on people's perceptions as well.

A Human Development Report helps to put people in focus and supports alternative paradigms of development, which are participatory, decentralised and community-centred. The Human Development Index (HDI) constructed for the 16 districts of the State of Chhattisgarh offers a point of comparison across the districts. It describes the current status of development of the State and of each district and provides a benchmark that can serve as a starting point for future development. The State HDR itself is a useful and vital component of participatory planning. The comparison – across districts serves as a basis for prioritisation of distribution of scarce resources – towards areas and groups of people that are relatively disadvantaged and therefore in need of special attention.

Estimating the Measures

Chhattisgarh is a new State and is constrained by the lack of an adequate and reliable database that can be used to assess the progress of development in the different sectors of the economy. There is some data on health and enrolment for the seven districts that were originally part of Madhya Pradesh, but no district-level database for the 16 districts exists. In the preparation of the first Human Development Report of the State, this lack of data was a major concern. The absence of baseline information on important indicators of health, education and income at the district level¹ meant that this data had to be estimated. Available data from various sources as well as

information collected as part of the *Jan Rapat* exercise has been used to construct the HDI.²

The literacy figures are from the Census of India, 2001. Data for enrolment was collected from the school education department and has been used to calculate the Education Index. Efforts were made to collect data from all the districts on birth, death, infant mortality rates (IMR) and district income. The Sample Registration System (SRS) of the Census calculates the IMR for the State but does not calculate the district-wise IMR.³ The district-wise IMR has been estimated from the data collected from the *Jan Rapat* exercise. The IMR has been used to compute the Health Index.

The Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Chhattisgarh and district-level teams of Government officials have calculated the District Domestic Product (DDP). This forms the basis for the construction of the Income Index. These three indices in turn have been used to calculate the State and district-level HDI. The HDI facilitates a juxtaposition of the perception of the People's Reports with objective data, and assists us in viewing human development and its inter-district variations in a comprehensive manner.

Initially, the indices were calculated using the conventional formulae used by UNDP and the Planning Commission of India. The district level HDI presented a picture of the districts, which was very different from common perception and knowledge. This led to a detailed analysis of the data used in calculating all the three indices. The SHDR team realised that the inclusion

¹ The Government of Madhya Pradesh published Human Development Reports (HDR) in 1995 and 1998. These HDRs calculated the Human Development Index (HDI) for all districts. It is important to remember that these indices were not calculated for all the 16 districts that are part of Chhattisgarh at present, but only for the seven original districts. The current indices have been calculated afresh and are the first such set of indices calculated for the 16 reorganised districts. For the first time, district incomes have been calculated for all 16 districts. Therefore, the current rank of a district is at variance with the ranks, calculated in the two HDRs, for the undivided State of Madhya Pradesh.

² For details please refer to technical notes.

³ The Sample Registration System (SRS) has only 100 units in the State. The SRS division advised the HDR team that this data may not be very representative, and it should therefore not be used for the calculation of district-wise infant mortality rate (IMR).

of income from mining and quarrying results in a higher income for districts like Dakshin Bastar-Dantewada and Korba. In an attempt to highlight this issue, the team made an attempt to recalculate the income index, without adding the income from the mining and quarrying sector. The difference and changes in the HDI are presented and explained in the Alternate HDI that has been estimated.

Interpreting the Human Development Index

Looking at the components of the HDI, we find that Korba ranked at number one in the income index and at number eleven and twelve in

health and education respectively, is the district with the highest HDI rank. Its high-income rank is explained largely by the presence of coalmines and industries in the district. Durg, Mahasamund and Raipur follow Korba. Durg is ranked second in education, Mahasamund is ranked first in the health index and Korba ranks first in income. These three districts have the first three ranks in the HDI values, and Raipur follows in fourth place. Dakshin Bastar Dantewada is ranked ninth in terms of HDI, even though its education index value is the lowest in the State. The high income index (due to the location of the Bailadila iron ore mines) is responsible for its mid-level rank.

Table 6.1 **Human Development Index**

	District	Education Index	Education Index Rank	Health Index	Health Index Rank	Income Index ⁴	Income Index Rank	Human Development Index	Districts Ranked as per HDI
1	Bastar	0.527	15	0.132	15	0.134	14	0.264	16
2	Bilaspur	0.723	9	0.411	9	0.214	9	0.449	8
3	Dakshin Bastar Dantewada	0.413	16	0.514	7	0.396	2	0.441	9
4	Dhamtari	0.781	5	0.412	8	0.295	5	0.496	6
5	Durg	0.828	2	0.545	5	0.362	3	0.578	2
6	Janjgir-Champa	0.739	8	0.580	3	0.181	11	0.500	5
7	Jashpur	0.570	14	0.621	2	0.173	12	0.455	7
8	Uttar Bastar Kanker	0.758	7	0.280	12	0.152	13	0.397	12
9	Kabirdham	0.681	11	0.193	13	0.104	16	0.326	15
10	Korba	0.603	12	0.293	11	0.980	1	0.625	1
11	Korea	0.714	10	0.140	14	0.318	4	0.391	13
12	Mahasamund	0.773	6	0.697	1	0.262	7	0.577	3
13	Raigarh	0.790	3	0.295	10	0.205	10	0.430	10
14	Raipur	0.782	4	0.558	4	0.262	6	0.534	4
15	Rajnandgaon	0.838	1	0.063	16	0.221	8	0.374	14
16	Surguja	0.590	13	0.532	6	0.132	15	0.418	11
	Chhattisgarh	0.711		0.392		0.310		0.471	

⁴ The per capita income has been calculated from the District Domestic Product, which has been estimated by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Chhattisgarh. The State per capita income according to this estimate works out to Rs. 10,363, which is substantially higher than the per capita income estimates from the State-level data. The higher per capita income represents some double counting in the estimation process.

The high-ranking districts are largely concentrated in the central plains area of Chhattisgarh. Durg, Mahasamund, Raipur and Janjgir-Champa and Dhamtari all have high HDI ranks. The HDI value of the highest-ranked district, Korba, at 0.625 is close to three times that of Bastar, the lowest-ranked district (0.264) indicating high inter-district inequity. Six districts have HDI values higher than the State average, while ten districts have values that are lower.

Table 6.1 (HDI and its indices calculated according to conventional formulae) show large variations across the three indicators that constitute the HDI. Rarely is the performance

of a district consistent across the three indices. Rajnandgaon has the first place in education, is at number 16 in health and in the eighth place in income, but its overall ranking is 14. Similarly, while Dakshin Bastar Dantewada is placed at number 16 in education, at number 7 in health, its relatively high-income rank gives it the ninth position in the HDI values. Korba, ranked at number 11 and 12 in health and education respectively, owes its first place only to its first rank in the income index. Korba's extremely high income index value of 0.980 pushes its HDI value to 0.625, substantially higher than the 0.471 HDI value for the State.

Table 6.2 **Calculation of the indices and the HDI**

Sl. No.	District	Education					Health		Income		Human Development Index Value	Districts Ranked as per HDI Value
		Literacy (%)	Literacy Index Value	Combined Enrolment Ratio (%)	Enrolment Index Value	Education Index Value	IMR (Infant Mortality Rate)	Health Index Value	Per Capita Income at Current Prices, 2000-2001 (Rs.)	Income Index Value		
1	Bastar	43.90	0.439	70.21	0.702	0.527	104.1	0.132	7602	0.134	0.264	16
2	Bilaspur	63.50	0.635	89.81	0.898	0.723	70.7	0.411	8748	0.214	0.449	8
3	Dakshin Bastar Dantewada	30.20	0.302	63.65	0.636	0.413	58.4	0.514	12060	0.396	0.441	9
4	Dhamtari	74.90	0.749	84.60	0.846	0.781	70.6	0.412	10090	0.295	0.496	6
5	Durg	75.60	0.756	97.07	0.971	0.828	54.6	0.545	11367	0.362	0.578	2
6	Janjgir-Champa	65.90	0.659	89.97	0.900	0.739	50.4	0.580	8258	0.181	0.500	5
7	Jashpur	63.80	0.638	43.36	0.434	0.570	45.4	0.621	8135	0.173	0.455	7
8	Uttar Bastar Kanker	72.90	0.729	81.63	0.816	0.758	86.4	0.280	7841	0.152	0.397	12
9	Kabirdham	55.20	0.552	93.96	0.940	0.681	96.9	0.193	7212	0.104	0.326	15
10	Korba	61.70	0.617	57.54	0.575	0.603	84.9	0.293	33763	0.980	0.625	1
11	Korea	63.10	0.631	88.14	0.881	0.714	103.2	0.140	10504	0.318	0.391	13
12	Mahasamund	67.00	0.670	97.85	0.979	0.773	36.3	0.697	9522	0.262	0.577	3
13	Raigarh	70.20	0.702	96.62	0.966	0.790	84.5	0.295	8617	0.205	0.430	10
14	Raipur	68.50	0.685	97.71	0.977	0.782	53.1	0.558	9524	0.262	0.534	4
15	Rajnandgaon	77.20	0.772	97.11	0.971	0.838	112.5	0.063	8856	0.221	0.374	14
16	Surguja	54.80	0.548	67.47	0.675	0.590	56.1	0.532	7573	0.132	0.418	11
	Chhattisgarh	64.7	0.647	84.04	0.840	0.711	73	0.392	10,363	0.310	0.471	

Table 6.2 provides details regarding the calculation of the three indices that constitute the HDI. It is clear that a high rank in one index is not sufficient for a good HDI rank, although a high value in any one of the three indices may give a particular district an advantage.

The table provides information regarding the per capita income of the districts. Korba has the highest per capita income of Rs 33,773 per annum, and Kabirdham has the lowest per capita income of Rs.7,214 per annum. This shows the large gap in the per capita income across the districts. Similarly, the data on health also reflects wide inter-district inequity. The

IMR varies from 36.3 per 1'000 live births in Mahasamund to almost three times as much, 112.5 per 1,000 live births in Rajnandgaon.

However, the two districts with the lowest HDI values (Bastar and Kabirdham) reflect low education, health and income values. These low values point to the need for sustained intervention in all three areas.

Recasting the Income Index and Estimating an Alternate HDI

As indicated, the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Chhattisgarh

Table 6.3 **Recasting the income index and estimating an alternate HDI**

Sl. No.	District	Educa- tion Index Value	Educa- tion Index Rank	Health Index Value	Health Index Rank	Alter- native Income Index Value	New Income Index Rank	Income Index Rank with min- ing and quarrying	Alternate Human Develop- ment Index	Districts Ranked as per Alternate HDI Value
1	Bastar	0.527	15	0.132	15	0.134	13	14	0.264	16
2	Bilaspur	0.723	9	0.411	9	0.210	8	9	0.448	8
3	Dakshin Bastar Dantewada	0.413	16	0.514	7	0.238	6	2	0.388	12
4	Dhamtari	0.781	5	0.412	8	0.295	3	5	0.496	6
5	Durg	0.828	2	0.545	5	0.339	2	3	0.571	2
6	Janjgir-Champa	0.739	8	0.580	3	0.176	9	11	0.499	4
7	Jashpur	0.570	14	0.621	2	0.173	10	12	0.455	7
8	Uttar Bastar Kanker	0.758	7	0.280	12	0.152	12	13	0.397	10
9	Kabirdham	0.681	11	0.193	13	0.104	14	16	0.326	14
10	Korba	0.603	12	0.293	11	0.594	1	1	0.497	5
11	Korea	0.714	10	0.140	14	0.066	15	4	0.307	15
12	Mahasamund	0.773	6	0.697	1	0.261	4	7	0.577	1
13	Raigarh	0.790	3	0.295	10	0.168	11	10	0.418	9
14	Raipur	0.782	4	0.558	4	0.251	5	6	0.530	3
15	Rajnandgaon	0.838	1	0.063	16	0.221	7	8	0.374	13
16	Surguja	0.590	13	0.532	6	0.055	16	15	0.393	11
	Chhattisgarh	0.711		0.392		0.238			0.447	

has calculated the Net State Domestic Product and district-wise per capita district domestic product for all the 16 districts of Chhattisgarh. The methodology that has been used, is the same as is used by the UNDP and the Planning Commission of India to calculate the Human Development Index across States⁵ (See technical notes for details). However, it is important to bear in mind that the income of certain sub-sectors like mining and quarrying does not go directly to the people. Therefore, while the DDP may be high and so also the per capita income

as well, these figures do not necessarily reflect the situation on the ground.

In districts like Korba, Dakshin Bastar Dantewada, Surguja and Korea, mining and quarrying account for a major part of the DDP. Companies and public sector undertakings like the National Mining Development Corporation carry out most of the mining and quarrying activities; the income generated does not go to the rural population. Hence, using district income, which includes income from this sub-sector, may not

Table 6.4 **Calculation of the indices and an alternate HDI**

S. No.	District	Education					Health		Income		Alternate Human Development Index	Districts Ranked as per Alternate HDI
		Literacy (%)	Literacy Index Value	Combined Enrolment Ratio (%)	Enrolment Index	Education Index	IMR	Health Index value	Per Capita Income at Current Prices, 2000-2001 (Rs.)	Income Index		
1	Bastar	43.90	0.439	70.21	0.702	0.527	104.1	0.132	7601	0.134	0.264	16
2	Bilaspur	63.50	0.635	89.81	0.898	0.723	70.7	0.411	8694	0.210	0.448	8
3	Dakshin Bastar Dantewada	30.20	0.302	63.65	0.636	0.413	58.4	0.514	9133	0.238	0.388	12
4	Dhamtari	74.90	0.749	84.60	0.846	0.781	70.6	0.412	10090	0.295	0.496	6
5	Durg	75.60	0.756	97.07	0.971	0.828	54.6	0.545	10913	0.339	0.571	2
6	Janjgir-Champa	65.90	0.659	89.97	0.900	0.739	50.4	0.580	8190	0.176	0.499	4
7	Jashpur	63.80	0.638	43.36	0.434	0.570	45.4	0.621	8135	0.173	0.455	7
8	Uttar Bastar Kanker	72.90	0.729	81.63	0.816	0.758	86.4	0.280	7839	0.152	0.397	10
9	Kabirdham	55.20	0.552	93.96	0.940	0.681	96.9	0.193	7212	0.104	0.326	14
10	Korba	61.70	0.617	57.54	0.575	0.603	84.9	0.293	17116	0.594	0.497	5
11	Korea	63.10	0.631	88.14	0.881	0.714	103.2	0.140	6736	0.066	0.307	15
12	Mahasamund	67.00	0.670	97.85	0.979	0.773	36.3	0.697	9509	0.261	0.577	1
13	Raigarh	70.20	0.702	96.62	0.966	0.790	84.5	0.295	8074	0.168	0.418	9
14	Raipur	68.50	0.685	97.71	0.977	0.782	53.1	0.558	9333	0.251	0.530	3
15	Rajnandgaon	77.20	0.772	97.11	0.971	0.838	112.5	0.063	8854	0.221	0.374	13
16	Surguja	54.80	0.548	67.47	0.675	0.590	56.1	0.532	6615	0.055	0.393	11
	Chhattisgarh	64.7	0.647	84.04	0.840	0.711	73.0	0.392	9123	0.238	0.447	

represent the actual income level in the district. Another important aspect that has not been considered at all is the social and environmental cost of this income. Many of the District Reports specifically state that the pollution caused by the mining activity impacts health, agriculture and water. In the light of these two extremely important aspects of the development process, which are hidden in the average figures that the HDI uses, district income has been re-estimated, by taking out the income originating from mining and quarrying. Using this data then, an alternate HDI for Chhattisgarh and its districts has been calculated.

Tables 6.3 and 6.4 relate to the calculation of an alternate HDI and its indices. Table 6.3 shows the three indices and the HDI of the districts and the State of Chhattisgarh. Table 6.4 shows the detailed calculation of the three indices and the HDI of the districts and State of Chhattisgarh, using the alternate formulae.

As expected, the exclusion of income from mining and quarrying from the district domestic product changes the HDI of Chhattisgarh and its districts and their *inter-se* ranking. According to the Alternate HDI, Korba moves from first place to fifth place, Mahasamund moves from third place to first place, Dantewada's position moves from ninth to 12 place, and Rajnandgaon improves its ranking from 14 to 13.

An examination of Table 6.4 shows substantial changes in the per capita income of the districts and a resulting change in the income index values. After subtracting the income from mining and quarrying, the per capita DDP in Korba district drops to nearly half, from Rs 33,763 to Rs.17,116 and this changes Korba's rank from first place to fifth place. In Dakshin Bastar Dantewada, the per capita DDP drops from the original Rs 12,060 to Rs 9,133 per

annum. This changes the income index rank for Dantewada from second to sixth place. Similarly Korea's position changes from the fourth to the fifteenth place.

The construction of an alternate HDI serves to illustrate that even the HDI needs further refinement, as it may not reflect many dimensions of development. It needs to be expanded or adjusted at least in some cases to be able to factor in the specificities of different areas, as well as to counter the drawbacks associated with averages and estimation of per capita income values in general. In fact, to assess the quality of life at the district level an alternate methodology may be required that can encompass some of the ground realities.

Infant Mortality Rates and Health Status – A Note

The initiation of the first Human Development Report of Chhattisgarh meant that district-wise data for infant mortality and life expectancy was required. This was a challenge that was compounded by the creation of nine new districts out of the seven original districts, making a total of 16 districts. District-wise data was not available for all the districts. IMR figures were calculated for seven mother districts using fertility tables from the Census figures for 1991. This data on IMR had information about the poorer pockets, in terms of the prevailing health conditions. An attempt was made to collect IMR data during the State HDR preparation period. The IMR data collected during this current exercise helps in separating areas with low IMRs from those with high IMRs. Within a particular region or district, it points out areas or pockets that have particularly high IMRs.

The sub-division of old districts into new districts has changed the *inter-se* rank of the new districts

in most cases, but these ranks are not strictly comparable. This is because the data for 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, as it represent different geographical areas. While the relative position of Rajnandgaon remains the same in 1991 and 2001, because both Rajnandgaon and Kabirdham (the two districts that were formed out of the original district of Rajnandgaon) are ranked at the bottom of the scale in terms of IMR, this is not the case for many other districts. The relative rank of Bastar district shows the most marked slide, from number one in 1981, with the lowest IMR to number 15 in 2001 with an extremely high IMR. However, this does not necessarily mean a slide in the IMR of Bastar but reflects the cutting away of two areas,

Dantewada and Kanker, with relatively low IMRs. Dantewada, which was originally part of Bastar district, has a low IMR of 58 compared to 104 for Bastar, while Kanker, the third district carved out of Bastar, has an IMR of 86. This specific example shows that comparing the ranks, or even the IMR itself, across 1981, 1991, 2001 and even 2003 can be highly misleading.

The high IMRs in Bastar and other districts do however indicate poor health services and facilities. This poor situation in Rajnandgaon and Bastar districts, as well as Korea and Kabirdham warrant immediate intervention in the health sector.

Table 6.5 **Infant mortality rates**

Name of the district	Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births)					
	1981	Rank	1991	Rank	2003	Rank
Bastar	117	1	83	3	104	15
Bilaspur	133	6	87	4	70	9
Dakshin Bastar Dantewada	117	1	83	3	58	7
Dhamtari	132	5	91	6	70	8
Durg	128	3	75	1	54	5
Janjgir-Champa	133	6	87	4	50	3
Jashpur	130	4	88	5	45	2
Kanker	117	1	83	3	86	12
Kabirdham	147	7	97	7	96	13
Korba	133	6	87	4	84	11
Korea	126	2	76	2	103	14
Mahasamund	132	5	91	6	36	1
Raigarh	130	4	88	6	84	10
Raipur	132	5	91	5	53	4
Rajnandgaon	147	7	97	7	112	16
Surguja	126	2	76	2	56	6
Chhattisgarh	NA		85		73	

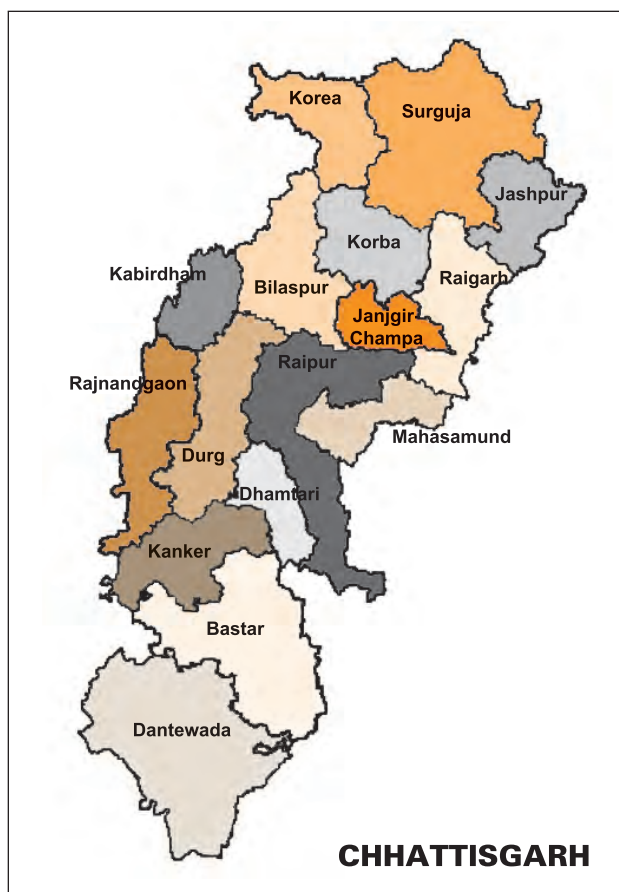


Summary of District Reports and District Profiles





Summary of District Reports and District Profiles



Bastar

The largest district in the State, Bastar, is situated in its southern part. The district has rich forests and natural resources and is known for its waterfalls and scenic beauty. More than two-thirds of the people of the district belong to Scheduled Tribes.



Natural resources

Bastar is well endowed with natural resources — forests and rivers. The people have revered the trees and rivers of their land for generations. Almost 60 percent of the district is covered with forests of *sal*, teak and bamboo and other trees. The forests are also rich in medicinal plants and herbs, which are widely used in traditional medicine. The people feel that during the last two or three decades there has been considerable exploitation of natural resources and little attention has been paid to renewing them. A large number of Village Reports (44

percent) state that villages themselves must protect and maintain the natural resources in and around them. People express the view that the laws governing the use of land and forests must be changed, in order to encourage a sense of community responsibility. Most Reports (53 percent) say that the level of water in the rivers and lakes has declined over the years.

Income and livelihoods

The pattern of livelihood in Bastar continues to be dictated by tradition. Even today, agricultural practices are traditional. This reluctance to change has been a saviour in periods of drought, due to the innately hardy nature of most local varieties of seeds. The *kharif* crops grown here are paddy, *urad*, *arhar*, *jowar* and maize. The *rabi* crops include *til*, *alsi*, *moong*, mustard and gram. Collection and sale of forest produce and other forest-related work supplements meagre agricultural incomes. Crafts are another source of income. A majority of the Village Reports (63 percent) say that traditional methods of cultivation should be promoted, as modern methods are expensive.

Most people (87 percent) do not find employment all year round. The cycle of floods and droughts makes livelihoods extremely vulnerable. The people are often forced to resort to moneylenders in times of crisis, which usually means a life of continued indebtedness. The absence of alternate employment opportunities is responsible for the high incidence of poverty in the area. The reports suggest the promotion of irrigation, animal husbandry, small industries and development work to create more opportunities for employment.

Education, knowledge and information

Literacy levels in Bastar are among the lowest in the State. The district is ranked at number 15 in

the terms of the literacy rate. The people have an inherent expertise, skill and knowledge in their traditional occupations. Some opportunities for education do exist but the people say that modern education is turning young people away from their traditional occupations. This disregard of traditional knowledge and inheritance by the young is a cause for concern for most people. In the last few years, there has been considerable expansion in educational institutions including the Government education system. Yet, only 16.4 percent of the villages consider the level of education in their area as being good. About 50 percent of the Village Reports state that the standard of education is not very satisfactory. Ninety percent of the villages in the district want education to be related to employment. They express the need for the construction and repair of school buildings, and suggest that more teachers should live in the village (rather than outside it) so that they are regular and educational standards can improve. People want their children to go to school. They are enthusiastic about convincing people to send their children to school, and want to participate in the management and maintenance of the schools.

Health and well-being

Traditional knowledge and medicine help to fight illness and disease in the district. However, when diseases like tuberculosis and leprosy strike, traditional medicines do not work. Nearly three-fourths (74 percent) of the Village Reports state that the status of health facilities in their area is very poor. Only 44 percent of the villages have any information about Government health programmes. Most villages emphasise that the availability of medicines, appointment of health personnel, improvement in the quality of health care, Government aid, and the availability of clean drinking water are areas that require attention. People say that since it is the

Table 7.1 **District profile - Bastar**

Human Development Indices	2004		District Information	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.264		Number of Inhabited Villages	3670	1506 [#]
HDI RANK	16		Number of Blocks	32	14 [@]
Alternate Human Development Index	0.264		Number of Towns	7	4 ^{##}
Alternate HDI Rank	16				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	6.25	6.27	Literacy Rate (%)	23.06	43.9
Area (sq km)	17016*	17016	Male Literacy Rate	32.41	56.3
Urban Population (%)	9.90	9.95	Female Literacy Rate	13.7	31.6
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	7.47	3.0	Scheduled Castes	27.8	49.9
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	66.50	66.3	Male Literacy Rate	39.1	63.9
Density of Population (per sq km)	74	87	Female Literacy Rate	16.6	36.1
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	15.5	34.1
Infant Mortality Rate**	83	104.1	Male Literacy Rate	23.8	46.4
Under 5 Mortality Rate	129	—	Female Literacy Rate	7.2	22.1
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	35.41	20.74	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	3	3	Households with <i>pucca</i> houses	7.39	10.57
PHCs	64	57	Households with semi- <i>pucca</i> houses	71.28	82.12
Sub-centres	682	303	Households with <i>kutchha</i> houses	21.32	7.30
Community Health Centres	4	12	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds	186	727	Electricity	24.33	34.03
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe Drinking Water	50.97	56.0
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	3.315	2.660	Toilet Facilities	6.46	10.01
Cropping Intensity (%)	103	103	All of the three given above	4.45	7.38
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	2.191	0.647	None of the three given above	39.71	24
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	86	DNA
Rural	55.4	54.9	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	123	DNA
Urban	31.4	31.5	Total Fertility Rate	4.49	2.49
All	53.6	52.6	Sex Ratio (no. of females per 1000 males)		
Share of Primary Sector	88.3	DNA	Rural	1004	1017
Share of Secondary Sector	3.7	DNA	Urban	947	961
Share of Tertiary Sector	8	DNA	Total	999	1011
Total Employment in Agriculture	88.2	80.2	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	995	1012
Agricultural Labour	17.3	30.6	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	1009	1020
			Female Work Participation Rate	47.2	48.0

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because only the current area has been taken into consideration.

** The IMR in Bastar in 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, because the 2001 data refers to the new district.

The number of villages has declined because this refers to the new district of Bastar.

The number of towns shows a decline because this refers to the towns in the new district of Bastar.

@ The number of blocks shows a decline because this refers to the blocks in the new district of Bastar.

DNA - Data Not Available.

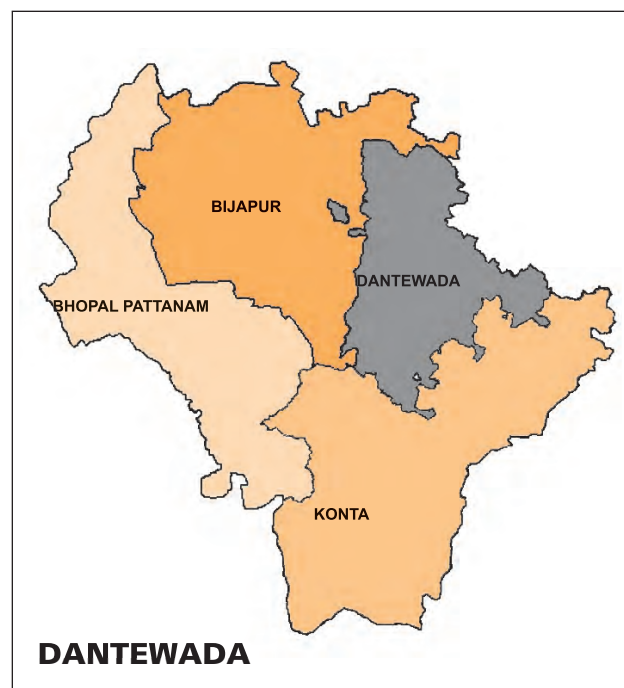
Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003

traditional healers like the *baiga* and the *guniya* who treat illness in the village, they should be trained, so that the use of herbal medicines is streamlined and optimised.

Society and institutions

In every village, every community has its own organisation, which governs the community and helps to maintain the social fabric of life. As a result of *Panchayati Raj*, new facilities have come into the villages. The people believe that the *Sarpanch* is instrumental in the development of the village. The *Sarpanch*, however, says that few people come to the *Gram Sabha* meetings. There are various departments and committees of the Government in the village, which offer different services, such as the cooperative societies, forest committees or the *van dhan samitis*. There are also some self-help groups in the villages that are working to improve the economic situation of the people.

Dakshin Bastar – Dantewada



Situated in the extreme south of the State, this district was part of undivided Bastar district, till May 1998, when Bastar was divided into three districts, Bastar, Dantewada and Kanker. Dantewada reflects the sagacity of age-old ways combined with an understanding that change is inevitable. A high proportion of the people (78 percent) of this district belong to Scheduled Tribes.

Natural resources

In Chhattisgarh's tribal heartland, the trees of the forests, the waterfalls and streams are revered and venerated. People express their distress at the destruction of forests due to mining activity. The iron mines of the National Mining Corporation situated in Bailadila, for example, have resulted in the destruction of the forests and almost a third of the forest area is affected. There has been a reduction in the level of groundwater, due to the cutting down of the forests. In order to replenish this, rainwater must be harvested and the people are keen to support such an initiative. They also want to participate in the protection and conservation of the forests. Almost all the villages in the district have some provision for safe drinking water.

Income and livelihoods

The livelihood pattern in the district reflects its traditional way of life. Forty percent of livelihoods are forest based, 30 percent are agriculture based and 15 percent of livelihoods are dependent on animal husbandry. Another 15 percent of the income of people comes from wage labour. People feel that everyone should have equal opportunities for employment. They suggest that land be developed adequately for cultivation and modern methods of cultivation be practiced. Water conservation and the protection of forests are other areas of concern and the

people see themselves as playing an important role in maintaining these resources. The provision of technical knowledge for animal husbandry and the promotion of handicrafts are other requirements voiced by the people.

In agriculture, shifting cultivation was common in the past and animals were left free to graze. Now farmers have started to cultivate in one place and the animals are stall-fed. Modern implements are being used for cultivation. The main *kharif* crops are paddy, *arhar* and *urad* while the *rabi* crops are gram, mustard, *jowar*, wheat and *moong*. The water retention capacity of the land is low and hence productivity is low. The people say that it is necessary to improve and extend irrigation facilities. While there has been some extension of irrigation services in recent years, it is much less than required.

Education, knowledge and information

With a literacy rate of less than 40 percent, the people are eager for modern education. While there is near universal agreement among the people that the traditional knowledge they carry with them is extremely useful, they want to learn new methods of farming and working. Almost all the Village Reports (97%) speak of the importance of education and its contribution in generating employment.

Most villages feel that the status of education is good and they consider education to be useful. More than two-thirds of the Village Reports (67%) want some provision to be made for vocational education, because they want education to lead to employment. Villages are willing to give complete support for the development of education. The people emphasise the need for vocational, employment-based and technical education.

Health and well-being

Most people in the village consider illness to be caused by the wrath of gods and goddesses. They rely on witchcraft and traditional healers for cures. Government health programmes are bringing some change in the situation but in the far-flung areas, old beliefs and ideas prevail. Eighty percent of the people say that it is important to stay healthy to earn a livelihood. The monsoon is the most difficult period due to the prevalence of a large number of diseases. People want the Government to open more health centres, equip them with all the facilities, and organise workshops and training camps for health awareness.

Three-fourths of the villages want better health facilities, and suggest that steps should be taken to prevent illnesses. They should have more information about the existing health services. Most villages in the district do not find the existing services useful.

Society and institutions

In tribal communities, social organisations and institutions are extremely useful and important. Between 60-80 percent of the people in the district find traditional institutions beneficial. Another 80-95 percent of the people feel that Government institutions are involved in development work, which provides employment to the people. A vast majority of the people (80-90 percent) want an expansion of the educational facilities and more financial support from the Government for institutions involved in the welfare of forest dwellers. As many as 90-95 percent of villages acknowledge the importance of the *Panchayat* and are willing to cooperate in strengthening it. Almost 50 percent of the villages express the need for greater transparency in the working of the *Panchayats*. The participation of women in the *Gram Sabhas* has not been discussed in any detail.

Table 7.2 **District profile - Dakshin Bastar Dantewada**

Human Development Indices	2004		District Information	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.441		Number of Inhabited Villages	-	1220
HDI RANK	9		Number of Blocks	-	11
Alternate Human Development Index	0.388		Number of Towns	-	4
Alternate HDI Rank	12				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	3.53	3.45	Literacy Rate (%)	16.46	30.2
Area (sq km)	15610*	15610	Male Literacy Rate	22.87	39.8
Urban Population (%)	5.18	7.23	Female Literacy Rate	10.09	20.7
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	4.07	3.35	Scheduled Castes	27.8	58.7
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	78.83	78.51	Male Literacy Rate	39.1	71.3
Density of Population (per sq km)	35	41	Female Literacy Rate	16.6	46.1
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	15.5	21.8
Infant Mortality Rate**	83	58.4	Male Literacy Rate	23.8	30.4
Under 5 Mortality Rate	129	58.5	Female Literacy Rate	7.2	13.4
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	35.41	29	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	-	-	Households with <i>pucca</i> houses	7.39	9.73
PHCs	39	34	Households with semi- <i>pucca</i> houses	71.28	66.34
Sub Centres	-	204	Households with <i>kutchha</i> houses	21.32	23.93
Community Health Centres	4	9	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds	214	308	Electricity	24.33	22.19
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe Drinking Water	50.97	53
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	-	4.849	Toilet Facilities	6.46	8.67
Cropping Intensity (%)	-	101	All of the three given above	4.45	6.48
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	-	1.428	None of the three given above	39.71	33
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	86	DNA
Rural	55.4	54.3	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	123	DNA
Urban	31.4	33.9	Total Fertility Rate	4.49	3.49
All	53.6	52.8	Sex Ratio (no. of females per 1000 males)		
Share of Primary Sector	92	DNA	Rural	1014	1025
Share of Secondary Sector	2.1	DNA	Urban	912	904
Share of Tertiary Sector	5.9	DNA	Total	1009	1016
Total Employment in Agriculture	90.2	88.32	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	982	989
Agricultural Labour	8.8	13.8	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	1027	1035
			Female Work Participation Rate	51.5	48.5

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because only the current area has been taken into consideration.

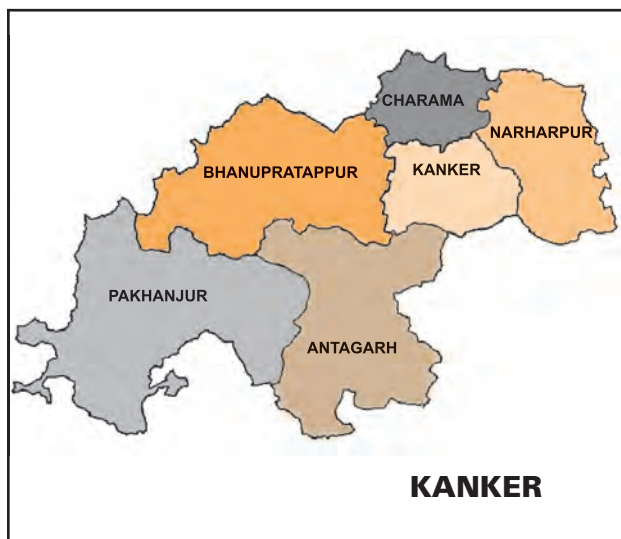
** The IMR in Dakshin Bastar Dantewada in 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, because the 2001 data refers to the new district.

DNA - Data Not Available.

Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003

Uttar Bastar - Kanker

Situated in the southern part of Chhattisgarh, this district is considered to be the gateway to Bastar, bordering as it does the central plains area of the State. It is referred to as north Bastar. The hills of Keshkal form the boundary of the Bastar area, acting as a sentinel to the region.



Natural resources

About 57 percent of the total area in the district is forested. While most of the forest is of *sal* and teak, the district also has its share of mixed forests. People observe that the destruction of the forest results in floods and droughts. They want to be involved in the conservation and plantation of forests. More than two-thirds of the villages in the district suffer from a water problem. The villagers feel that the main reason for this is the destruction of forests. Water conservation is a necessity and 97 percent of the villages are willing to contribute to this process. Since 68 percent of the district relies on rain-fed agriculture, there is a demand for irrigation facilities and modern techniques of cultivation. The land in the hill regions can also be used productively, by levelling it. The District Report points out that the encroachment on

land needs to stop, so that common property resources can be used optimally.

Income and livelihoods

The main livelihoods in the district are agriculture, collection of forest produce and forest-related work. Only 7.28 percent of the total area of the district is cultivable land and the main crop is paddy. Since agriculture is rain-fed and therefore single-cropped, most people do not get employment-all-year round. Other than agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries, collection of forest produce (*tendu* leaves, *mahua*, *sal* seeds, *lac* and *harra*) are additional sources of income. The people feel that with modern techniques and irrigation facilities, livelihood opportunities will increase. They want employment opportunities based on forest produce to be increased. Irrigation, animal husbandry, water conservation, afforestation, protection of forest produce and extension of small industries are the areas where interventions are required and the people are willing to cooperate in these efforts.

Education, knowledge and information

The district is ranked at fourth place as far as the literacy rate is concerned and has made impressive gains in literacy in the last decade. The success of the literacy campaigns in recent years gives people hope that the schemes promoted by the Government will improve education. Some areas in Kanker continue to have low literacy rates and extremely poor access to schools. This is largely due to inaccessibility of these regions and the situation requires focused attention of the Government. The people understand the importance of education and consider it a means to development and employment and are willing to cooperate with the Government departments to promote education.

Table 7.3 **District profile - Uttar Baster Kanker**

Human Development Indices	2004		District Information	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.397		Number of Inhabited Villages	-	1068
HDI RANK	12		Number of Blocks	-	-
Alternate Human Development Index	0.397		Number of Towns	-	01
Alternate HDI Rank	10				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	3.11	3.12	Literacy Rate (%)	37.71	72.9
Area (sq km)	6434*	6434	Male Literacy Rate	51.37	82.7
Urban Population (%)	3.78	4.82	Female Literacy Rate	24.13	63.3
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	4.53	4.25	Scheduled Castes	27.8	77.7
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	55.73	60.07	Male Literacy Rate	39.1	87.4
Density of Population (per sq km)	84	100	Female Literacy Rate	15.6	68.6
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	15.5	68.4
Infant Mortality Rate**	83	86.4	Male Literacy Rate	23.8	78.7
Under 5 Mortality Rate	129	—	Female Literacy Rate	7.2	58.3
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	35.41	23.1	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	2	2	Households with <i>Pucca</i> Houses	7.39	8.57
PHCs	33	21	Households with semi- <i>pucca</i> houses	71.28	89.75
Sub Centres	-	105	Households with <i>kutchra</i> houses	21.32	1.68
Community Health Centres	2	5	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds	250	316	Electricity	24.33	49.79
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe Drinking Water	50.97	57
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	-	2.404	Toilet Facilities	6.46	9.98
Cropping Intensity (%)	-	107	All of the three given above	4.45	5.81
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	-	0.701	None of the three given above	39.71	12
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	86	DNA
Rural	55.4	55.1	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	123	DNA
Urban	31.4	32.7	Total Fertility Rate	4.49	2.60
All	53.6	54.1	Sex Ratio (no. of females per 1000 males)		
Share of Primary Sector	89	DNA	Rural	1004	1005
Share of Secondary Sector	3.7	DNA	Urban	931	976
Share of Tertiary Sector	7.4	DNA	Total	1000	1007
Total Employment in Agriculture	88.9	84.6	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	1041	1043
Agricultural Labour	16.8	24.1	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	1013	1019
			Female Work Participation Rate	48.3	51.2

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because only the current area has been taken into consideration.

** The IMR in Uttar Baster Kanker in 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, because the 2001 data refers to the new district.

DNA - Data Not Available.

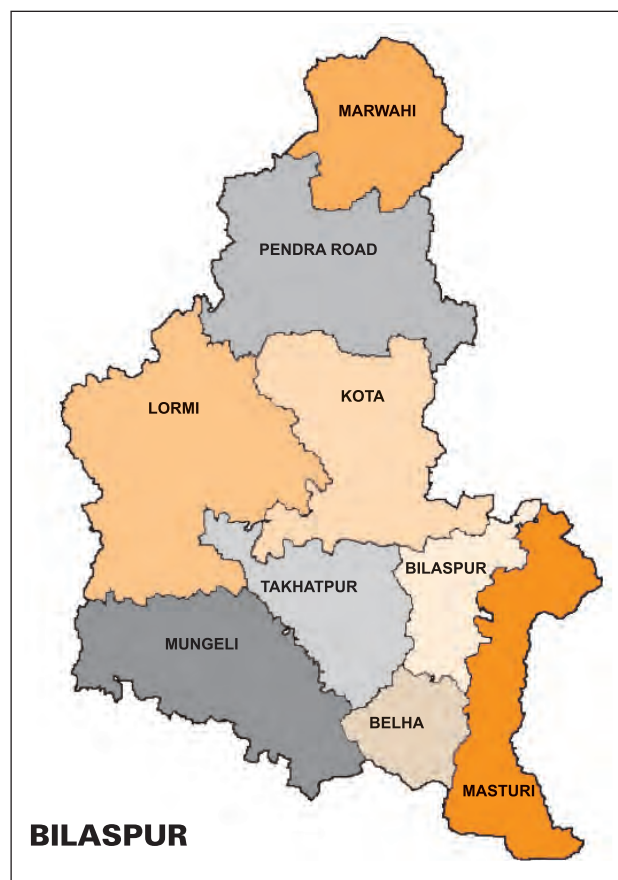
Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003

Health and well-being

While both allopathic and homoeopathic medicines are reasonably developed in the State, in the tribal areas traditional forms of treatment are practised. With the spread of education, people have started paying more attention to treatment methods. During the summer months, 12 percent of the villages are affected by malaria and gastroenteritis. During the monsoon the figure goes up to 31 percent. The main reason for this is unhygienic water sources and the non-availability of clean drinking water. Only 27 percent of the villages in the district have a Sub-Health Centre and 14.4 percent have a health worker. People advocate the introduction of health related training and information dissemination. Some people demand the prohibition of liquor. People are aware about the health needs of their livestock and express the need for better facilities for the animals. They are willing to help in this task.

Society and institutions

Apart from a number of social institutions, many Government institutions belonging to the different departments also operate in the district. However, only two percent of the Village Reports feel that the Government employees are cooperative. An extremely large proportion of the Village Reports (96 percent) do not express any opinion on this. Their silence is probably a telling comment on what they feel. Most Reports also do not say anything about non-government social and cultural institutions. Only 16 percent of the Reports say that such institutions are functioning actively in their village. With regard to Gram *Panchayats*, people feel that more funds are required for development work. Most *Jan Rapats* are silent regarding women and their level of involvement or empowerment.



Bilaspur

Located in the central plains region of the State, Bilaspur is part of the agricultural heartland of Chhattisgarh. The old Bilaspur district was divided into Bilaspur, Korba and Janjgir-Champa districts in May 1998.

Natural resources

The main rivers in the district are Sheonath, Arpa, Kharun, Aagar, Mand, Sonbhadra, Leelagar and Maniyari and these provide adequate water. While there has been an extension of irrigation facilities in the last few years, a need for further expansion of irrigation facilities and the provision of irrigation all year round has emerged. There have also been suggestions for conserving the water in some

rivers and rivulets. Forty percent of the area of the district is forested. The forests are of teak, *sal*, bamboo and other mixed varieties. Other than this, minor forest produce, especially medicinal herbs and plants, are collected from the forests. People want the management of forests to be given to the people who live near the forests and feel that they should also be given permission to use the forest produce. In degraded forests, the plantation and protection of medicinal plants has been suggested. The encroachment of land must also stop and pasture lands must be saved. The empty land within the boundaries of the village can be used for plantation, sericulture, nurseries for *lac* trees, animal husbandry and the plantation of medicinal plants.

Income and livelihoods

The main source of livelihood in the district is agriculture. The main crop is paddy, but wheat, gram, soyabean and other crops are also grown. However, agriculture does not provide year round employment, hence the people are forced to migrate in search of work. In areas close to the forests, minor forest produce supports a livelihood. Labour in construction work is another means of livelihood. People want opportunities for employment to grow. The promotion of the silk industry, (breeding silkworms), the development of lacquer ware and the scientific cultivation of medicinal plants are potential areas of income generation. In agriculture, irrigation and modern techniques of farming are required to improve productivity.

Education, knowledge and information

Access to primary education is good in Bilaspur. There is a primary school within a one-kilometre radius of every village, and high schools and higher secondary schools are also adequate in

number. People are keen that education related to agriculture, vocational education, technical education, and small industries be given to them. Traditional information and knowledge are fast disappearing and people are inclined towards science and newer systems of learning. In this context, people are even willing to give their land/building for the construction of school and college buildings. These will, however, require technical support, teachers and equipment, which will have to come from outside the village.

Health and well-being

While there are health centres in the villages, they are usually short staffed and do not have adequate supply of medicines. In tribal areas, herbs and roots are still used for the treatment of ailments. In other areas, allopathic medicines are now being used. The people want to move away from faith healers, yet they continue to use these systems in the absence of suitable alternatives. They have also voiced a demand to prohibit the sale of addictive substances. The people feel that they were healthier earlier due to better food and clean water and air. The prevalence of malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy and chicken pox is reported from some areas.

Society and institutions

Other than the *Gram Panchayats*, committees such as the village forest committees, village education committees, cooperative societies, self-help groups, women's groups, etc., are functioning in the villages. Institutions and committees engaged in social and cultural activities are also present. People feel that these committees should be given financial support. The *Gram Panchayats* work for the development of the villages in their area and the report says that the scope and duties of *Panchayats* should be increased. The reports express the need for training of *Panchayat* representatives.

Table 7.4 **District profile - Bilaspur**

Human Development Indices	2004		District Information	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.449		Number of Inhabited Villages	-	1579
HDI RANK	8		Number of Blocks	25	07 [®]
Alternate Human Development Index	0.448		Number of Towns	-	14
Alternate HDI Rank	8				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	9.62	9.59	Literacy Rate (%)	45.46	63.5
Area (sq km)	8569*	8569	Male Literacy Rate	62.43	78.4
Urban Population (%)	20.90	24.35	Female Literacy Rate	27.99	48.2
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	19.09	18.46	Scheduled Castes	39.6	60
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	20.49	19.87	Male Literacy Rate	59.4	77
Density of Population (per sq km)	205	241	Female Literacy Rate	18.8	42.4
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	29.9	52
Infant Mortality Rate**	87	70.7	Male Literacy Rate	46.4	68.7
Under 5 Mortality Rate	123	—	Female Literacy Rate	13.4	35.5
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	35.33	24.80	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	2	1	Households with <i>Pucca</i> Houses	24.28	31.99
PHCs	36	42	Households with semi- <i>pucca</i> houses	73.27	67.27
Sub-centres	679***	282	Households with <i>kutch</i> a houses	2.46	0.74
Community Health Centres	6	10	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds	258	335	Electricity	30.31	52.87
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe Drinking Water	53.59	58
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	1.420	1.279	Toilet Facilities	12.49	17.02
Cropping Intensity (%)	130	135	All of the three given above	9.06	13.79
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	0.454	0.320	None of the three given above	34.80	12
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	84	DNA
Rural	47.6	46.6	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	118	DNA
Urban	30.5	31.5	Total Fertility Rate	4.71	3.26
All	44.7	42.9	Sex Ratio (no. of females per 1000 males)		
Share of Primary Sector	81.2	DNA	Rural	986	984
Share of Secondary Sector	5.4	DNA	Urban	925	932
Share of Tertiary Sector	13.4	DNA	Total	973	971
Total Employment in Agriculture	80.8	73.33	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	964	965
Agricultural Labour	26.7	39.1	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	1004	1006
			Female Work Participation Rate	38.6	35.9

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because only the current area has been taken into consideration.

** The IMR in Bilaspur in 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, because the 2001 data refers to the new district.

*** The sub centres shows a decline because this refers to the new district of Bilaspur.

® The number of blocks shows a decline because this refers to the blocks in the new district of Bilaspur.

DNA - Data Not Available.

Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003

Mahasamund



This district was part of Raipur district before 1998. Sirpur¹, the capital of the kingdom of the Dakshinkoshal (which covered most of Chhattisgarh except the Bastar plateau and adjoining portions of Orissa), which flourished between the 5th and the 8th centuries AD, is located in this district.

Natural Resources

The Mahanadi and Jonk rivers are the two waterlines of Mahasamund. Other sources of water like wells and lakes are also present. All villages have hand pumps, but during the summer months, some villages face a shortage of drinking water. While Basna block has no irrigation facilities, Mahasamund block has irrigation from the Kodar Dam. Irrigation facilities need to be extended and people are willing to help in this process. Minor Forest Produce (MFP) is collected from the forest and the collection of *tendu* leaves is an essential part of the peoples' livelihoods. In Bagbahra block, 30 percent of the villages are involved in *lac* production from the *kosam* trees. People have also initiated the planting of trees on the embankments around their fields. They are

conscious of the illegal felling of trees and have suggested the strengthening of Forest Committees. Fallow land and *nistaar* land is decreasing as a result of encroachments. The people say that fallow land should be made cultivable.

Income and livelihoods

Earlier, agriculture was practised using traditional methods and was dependent only on rainfall. Today, agriculture is practised using modern techniques and irrigation facilities, and this has meant a substantial increase in productivity. Agriculture, together with animal husbandry, remains the dominant source of livelihood. While paddy is the main crop, vegetable growing is also popular. Nearly a third (30 percent) of the Village Reports say that the agricultural land is insufficient, and another third speaks of the lack of irrigation facilities. About 10 percent of the villages are involved in stone quarrying. About 30 percent of the villages see substantial out migration with people moving to the urban areas and even to faraway towns in search of employment, only to return when the rains arrive. Rural industrialisation and the promotion of milk and milk products through dairies are seen as areas which can lead to employment generation.

Education, knowledge and information

The people understand the importance of education and want to increase their knowledge and subsequently their livelihood options, through education and training. They are eager to be participants in the process of development of education. Due to a lack of adequate information about Government schemes, almost 40 percent of the people are unable to avail of the benefits, despite the will to do so.

¹ In ancient times, it was known as Shripur

Table 7.5 **District profile - Mahasumund**

Human Development Indices	2004		DISTRICT INFORMATION	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.577		Number of Inhabited Villages	-	1111
HDI RANK	3		Number of Blocks	-	05
Alternate Human Development Index	0.577		Number of Towns	-	05
Alternate HDI Rank	1				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	4.49	4.13	Literacy Rate (%)	42.85	67.0
Area (sq km)	4963*	4963	Male Literacy Rate	60.22	81.1
Urban Population (%)	9.69	11.35	Female Literacy Rate	25.85	53.3
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	11.68	12.13	Scheduled Castes	37.4	61
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	28.10	27.03	Male Literacy Rate	55.9	76.3
Density of Population (per sq km)	165	180	Female Literacy Rate	18.9	46.2
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	35.7	60
Infant Mortality Rate**	91	36.3	Male Literacy Rate	54.8	75.6
Under 5 Mortality Rate	137	99.36	Female Literacy Rate	17.2	45
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	34.49	27.2	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	1	1	Households with <i>Pucca</i> Houses	27.47	27.91
PHCs	15	14	Households with semi- <i>pucca</i> houses	70.38	70.93
Sub-centres	-	142	Households with <i>kutcha</i> houses	2.15	1.17
Community Health Centres	3	4	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds	148	158	Electricity	36.66	56.91
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe Drinking Water	53.90	57
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	2.013	1.862	Toilet Facilities	10.73	6.74
Cropping Intensity (%)	-	106	All of the three given above	7.24	3.25
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	-	0.448	None of the three given above	29.79	10
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	122	DNA
Rural	50.9	49.8	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	138	DNA
Urban	31.9	32.4	Total Fertility Rate	4.33	3.11
All	47.1	47.90	Sex Ratio (no. of females per 1000 males)		
Share of Primary Sector	87.9	DNA	Rural	1021	1026
Share of Secondary Sector	4.3	DNA	Urban	958	961
Share of Tertiary Sector	7.8	DNA	Total	1015	1018
Total Employment in Agriculture	87.6	84.23	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	1082	1027
Agricultural Labour	34.5	42.5	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	1035	1035
			Female Work Participation Rate	42.2	40.6

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because only the current area has been taken into consideration.

** The IMR in Mahasumund in 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, because the 2001 data refers to the new district.

DNA - Data Not Available.

Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003

It is important to recognise that 60 percent of the people do try and take advantage of these schemes. Even today, traditional knowledge is used for treatment of illness, in agriculture, and in generating livelihoods.

Health and well-being

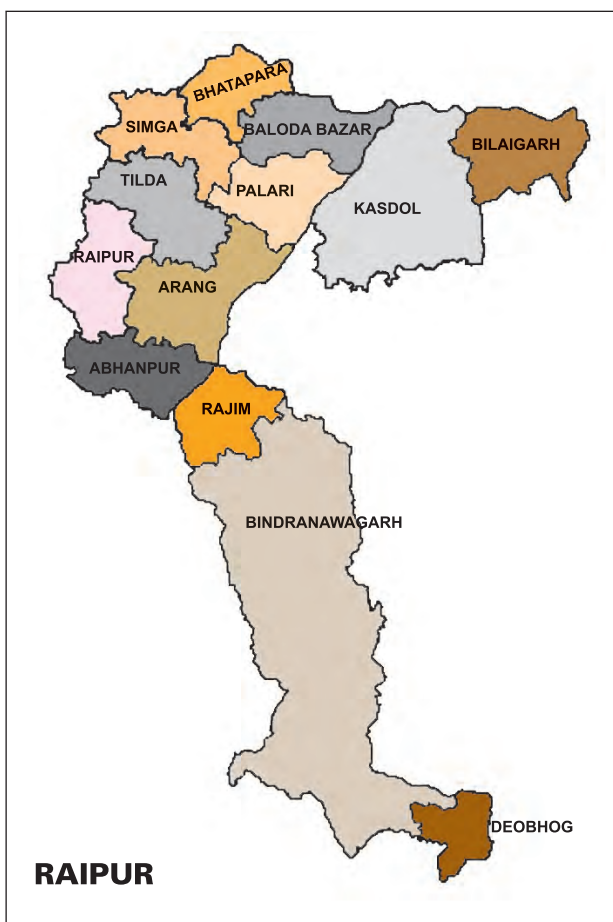
The people are extremely conscious of hygiene requirements and they have constituted committees for maintaining cleanliness in the villages. They use traditional knowledge to maintain health and counter disease. Most villages have a Primary Sub-Health Centre, but the absence of doctors is a problem. The people suggest that a Primary Health Centre be established, along with a public toilet, within a five-kilometre radius of every village. They are willing to support such an initiative financially and in kind. They say that the ANM (auxiliary nurse and midwife) should visit the village once every four days.

Society and institutions

In addition to numerous traditional institutions that are common all over Chhattisgarh, Mahasamund has 355 cooperatives, which include 17 banks. A number of forest protection committees (300) are engaged in the task of forest protection in the district. Seventy-five cooperatives are involved in the collection and sale of forest produce and provide a source of employment and livelihood. There are a significant number of Government and non-government educational institutions and some social and cultural institutions. Most *Jan Rapats* are silent about the working of the *Panchayats* in the villages.

Raipur

Situated in the centre of the State, the capital of Chhattisgarh (also called Raipur) is located in this district. With the formation of the new State, this district is growing extremely rapidly.



Natural resources

In Raipur, two out of five villages are irrigated. One in four villages has a problem of drinking water and one in three villages say they require irrigation facilities. The people are willing to contribute voluntary labour to build these facilities. Raipur is one of the least forested districts of Chhattisgarh. Forests cover only about 39 percent of the district. More than half the villages in the district have expressed an interest in the plantation of trees and are willing to support such an initiative with partial contributions. The main *kharif* crop is paddy and the main *rabi* crop is wheat. Other crops are also grown. One-fourth of the villages express the need to remove encroachments from their land.

Table 7.6 **District profile - Raipur**

Human Development Indices	2004		DISTRICT INFORMATION	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.534		Number of Inhabited Villages		2124
HDI RANK	4		Number of Blocks	24	12 [@]
Alternate Human Development Index	0.530		Number of Towns		16
Alternate HDI Rank	3				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	14.36	14.48	Literacy Rate (%)	48.65	68.5
Area (sq km)	13445*	13445	Male Literacy Rate	65.48	82.0
Urban Population (%)	24.19	30.42	Female Literacy Rate	31.56	54.8
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	16.72	16.16	Scheduled Castes	37.4	62.5
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	13.11	12.10	Male Literacy Rate	55.9	78.4
Density of Population (per sq km)	193	230	Female Literacy Rate	18.9	46.6
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	35.7	57
Infant Mortality Rate**	91	53.01	Male Literacy Rate	54.8	73.3
Under 5 Mortality Rate	137	—	Female Literacy Rate	17.2	41
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	34.49	16.0	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	1	2	Households with <i>Pucca</i> Houses	27.4	40.6
PHCs	50	47	Households with semi- <i>pucca</i> houses	70.3	58.0
Sub-centres	664***	461	Households with <i>kutcha</i> houses	2.15	1.36
Community Health Centres	4	11	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds	600	562	Electricity	36.66	65.7
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe Drinking Water	53.9	67
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	1.784	1.470	Toilet Facilities	10.73	18.91
Cropping Intensity (%)	126	124	All of the three given above	29.79	15.51
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	0.358	0.312	None of the three given above	7.24	8
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	122	DNA
Rural	50.9	45.9	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	138	DNA
Urban	31.9	32.7	Total Fertility Rate	4.33	1.9
All	47.1	41.9	Sex Ratio (no. of females per 1000 males)		
Share of Primary Sector	76.3	DNA	Rural	1000	1004
Share of Secondary Sector	8.5	DNA	Urban	931	927
Share of Tertiary Sector	15.2	DNA	Total	983	980
Total Employment in Agriculture	76	62.94	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	996	996
Agricultural Labour	25.8	31.4	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	1017	1014
			Female Work Participation Rate	38.9	33.5

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because only the current area has been taken into consideration.

** The IMR in Raipur in 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, because the 2001 data refers to the new district.

*** The sub centres shows a decline because this refers to the new district of Raipur.

@ The number of blocks shows a decline because this refers to the blocks in the new district of Raipur.

DNA - Data Not Available.

Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003

Income and livelihoods

In addition to agriculture, people in the district depend on animal husbandry, traditional occupations, and the collection and sale of forest produce. As many as 68 percent of the villages in the district depend on agriculture for their livelihood, while in nine percent, before migrate in search of livelihood in the form of labour. About 63 percent find employment only for part of the year. People want year-round employment. They want to use modern techniques and new implements for cultivation. A third of the Village Reports say that the people require training in occupations based on traditional knowledge. They also say that irrigation facilities should be increased. There is a desire to see that Government programmes are implemented effectively, and the people are keen to be partners in the process of change and development.

Education, knowledge and information

It is evident from the District Report that the people value education and want to use it to be able to access jobs, improve agriculture and better their lives. Four out of five Village Reports (82 percent) say that education is needed for everyday functions. In terms of educational resources, most people do not think beyond school buildings and teachers. A majority of the people find traditional knowledge useful. School buildings with all the necessary facilities and employment-oriented education are two demands that have been made by the people. They also feel that training in agriculture, animal husbandry and business would be useful. People are willing to contribute in cash and kind in order to fulfil their aspirations in the field of education.

Health and well-being

An extremely high proportion of Village Reports

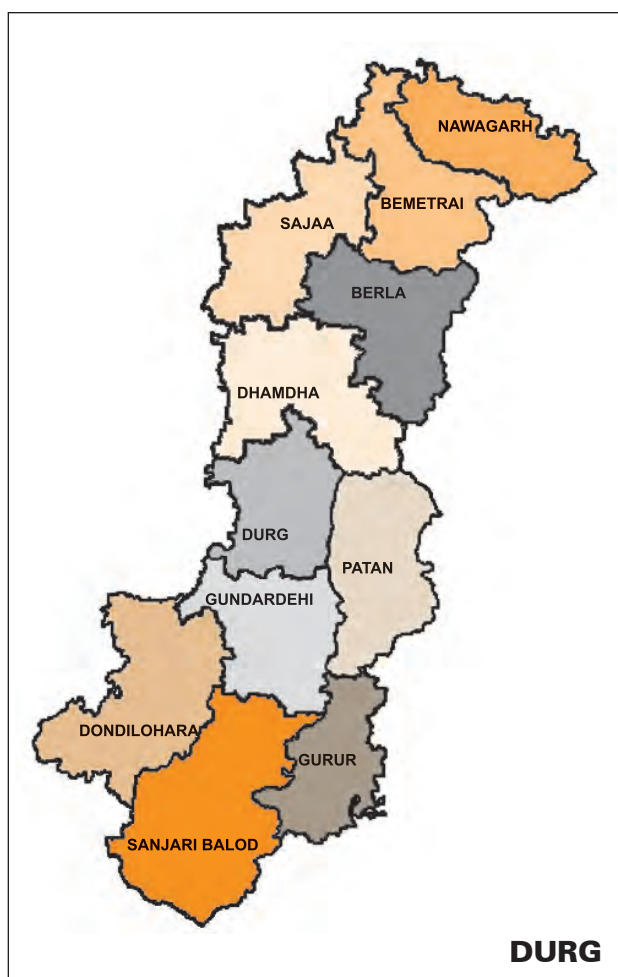
(85 percent) find the facilities for health inadequate. In the tribal areas, a third of the people find traditional forms of treatment useful. It is only when these do not cure an illness that they turn to modern forms of treatment, which they also trust. They want to participate in the process of fulfilling their health related needs and aspirations. The people see the connection between good health and economic well-being. In three out of four villages, they report that the distribution of nutritious food for women and children has resulted in better health. People feel that factors like addictions, unhygienic living conditions, stagnant water and the unavailability of clean drinking water are harmful for health. Illnesses such as diarrhoea, malaria, jaundice, coughs and colds are prevalent during the monsoon. Transport becomes a problem during the rainy season and treatment is difficult to get. People want modern facilities and doctors to be available at the health centres.

Society and institutions

The Government institutions that the people are familiar with are educational institutions, cooperative and fair price shops, *Panchayats*, *anganwadi* centres and the block office. The reports say that the fair price shops must be better stocked with food supplies. *Anganwadi* centres leave much to be desired. All communities have their traditional institutions. Apart from these, there are also various non-Government institutions that are working in the district. The Village *Jan Rapats* do not say very much about the presence of women in the *Gram Sabhas* or the functioning of these bodies.

Durg

Situated in the central plains region of Chhattisgarh, Durg lies between Rajnandgaon and Raipur. The district is known for the Bhilai Steel Plant and the Dallirajhara mines.



Natural resources

The main rivers in the district are the Sheonath and the Tandula, which have now become seasonal, due at least in part to the cutting down of forests. Canals and tube wells provide irrigation in the district. All villages have drinking water. For both domestic use and irrigation purposes, people emphasise conservation and effective management of water. They are willing to support Government efforts for conservation of water resources. People want to work with the Government in order to enrich the forests. They suggest that collection and sale of non-timber forest produce be done through the forest committees. In order to reduce the pressure on forests, the people hope that biogas and solar cookers will

be made available to them, through grants. Productivity of crops and vegetables in the district has increased as a result of advanced techniques, machines, chemical fertilisers and pesticides being used in agriculture. However, people have become aware of the ill effects of chemical fertilisers and pesticides and are slowly veering towards organic farming. People complain of encroachments in pasture lands, grazing lands and on roads. In some places, water from the mines is reducing the productivity of land, even though the mines provide some employment in the area. In years of inadequate rainfall, people in the northern part of Durg have to resort to migration in search of employment.

Income and livelihoods

It is clear from the Village Reports that agriculture is the main source of livelihood. More than two-thirds (64 percent) of the total area of the district is under cultivation. An increase in irrigation facilities has led to an improvement in agriculture. Apart from this, animal husbandry, fisheries, traditional occupations and wage labour in the mines are the other main sources of livelihood. In areas near the forest, collection of forest produce also provides livelihoods and collection is done through the forest committees. Scarcity of water, exploitation of ground water, cutting down of forests, increase in Population and encroachment are seen as factors that affect livelihoods adversely. People want an extension of irrigation facilities, modernisation of agriculture and the promotion of traditional livelihoods, and they hope that these steps will increase employment opportunities. They are willing to cooperate in this process.

Education, knowledge and information

Earlier, people were not educated but had

Table 7.7 **District profile - Durg**

Human Development Indices	2004		DISTRICT INFORMATION	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.578		Number of Inhabited Villages	-	1776
HDI RANK	2		Number of Blocks	12	11
Alternate Human Development Index	0.571		Number of Towns	-	30
Alternate HDI Rank	2				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	13.61	13.49	Literacy Rate (%)	58.7	75.6
Area (sq km)	8702*	8702	Male Literacy Rate	74.06	86.4
Urban Population (%)	35.27	38.15	Female Literacy Rate	42.78	64.6
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	12.76	12.79	Scheduled Castes	49.5	71.1
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	12.43	12.41	Male Literacy Rate	67.2	84
Density of Population (per sq km)	280	328	Female Literacy Rate	31.5	58.2
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	50.6	73.3
Infant Mortality Rate	75	54.6	Male Literacy Rate	68.7	85.3
Under 5 Mortality Rate	122	81.44	Female Literacy Rate	32.9	61.6
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	34.89	28	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	3	3	Households with <i>Pucca</i> Houses	29.19	39.31
PHCs	47	46	Households with semi- <i>pucca</i> houses	68.84	59.33
Sub Centres	352	353	Households with <i>kutcha</i> houses	1.97	1.36
Community Health Centres	7	10	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds	631	685	Electricity	42.24	69.39
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe drinking water	71.19	72
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	2.013	1.683	Toilet Facilities	19.33	24.38
Cropping Intensity (%)	140	143	All of the three given above	16.18	21.37
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	0.041	0.283	None of the three given above	18.44	7
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	84	DNA
Rural	51.4	48.6	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	115	DNA
Urban	30.2	29.7	Total Fertility Rate	4.22	3.6
All	43.9	41.4	Sex Ratio (no. of females per 1000 males)		
Share of Primary Sector	71.4	DNA	Rural	1010	1016
Share of Secondary Sector	13.1	DNA	Urban	891	929
Share of Tertiary Sector	15.5	DNA	Total	967	982
Total Employment in Agriculture	70	64.6	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	982	994
Agricultural Labour	25	30.2	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	1017	1027
			Female Work Participation Rate	36.9	33.4

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because Durg was not sub-divided.

DNA - Data Not Available.

Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003

immense traditional knowledge. People regard this knowledge as useful, even today. The level of education has improved vastly in the last few decades. Access to primary schools is almost universal. Durg has one of the highest literacy rates in the State, 75.60 percent, second only to Rajnandgaon. The literacy rate for women is also reasonably high at 64.6 percent. People want to move with the times and demand computer education. They want education to be more employment based, and suggest that agriculture be a separate subject in the syllabus. While people do consider Government resources for education useful, they do not find them adequate. They want to contribute their own resources to make educational facilities more widespread and education more responsive to their requirements.

Health and well-being

Until only two decades ago, the use of witchcraft and *jhaad phook* was common for the treatment of a number of ailments. While traditional medicine is still practised, witch doctors are not so common. The setting up of a large number of Government hospitals has meant a substantial shift in the approach to medical care. However, people perceive their health status as being only average. They are conscious about health matters and consider substances like alcohol, *paan masala* and *gutka* harmful. About a third of the people consider traditional knowledge and traditional medicines useful. More than half the people consider the existing health facilities useful and are willing to contribute their labour for its improvement. Most people also believe that health is related to livelihood. The main problems that the reports mention are the presence of quack doctors, the spread of infectious diseases and the non-availability of transport during the rains.

Malaria, diarrhoea and indigestion are common illnesses. The reports also detail the difficulties that arise due to the shortage of doctors, the lack of transportation facilities and economic constraints.

Society and institutions

Traditional institutions and groups that help in the internal organisation of communities and in preserving the cultural heritage of the region are present in the district. Prominent Government institutions are present in most areas of the district. The district also has the *Didi Bank* (Sister Bank) the *Bhaiya Bank* (Brother Bank), self-help groups, community *panchayats* and *Dhan Kothi*, which are all functioning well. Committees in the villages related to various Government schemes also perform their tasks satisfactorily, although the people say that the attendance at the *Gram Sabha* meetings is low. In recent years, the participation of women in the *Gram Sabhas* has increased. Individual women have been highly successful in their chosen fields. Women like Teejan Bai and Ritu Verma, both from Durg, have earned international fame in the fields of and folk music and art.

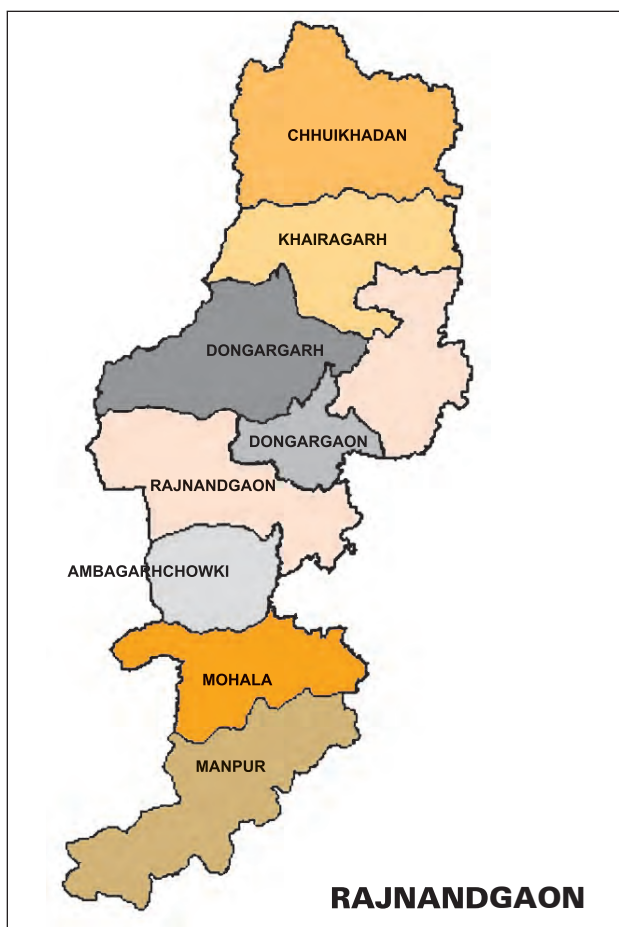
Rajnandgaon

Located in the west of the State, bordering Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh, the original district of Rajnandgaon was bifurcated into two districts, Rajnandgaon and Kawardha (since renamed Kabirdham), in May 1998.

Natural resources

In order to tackle the problem of drought, people voice the need to conserve rainwater and other available water resources. They are willing to contribute labour for this. Stop dams² on the rivers in the district are required in some areas.

² Stop dams are dams that are usually constructed upstream and stop the flow of water.



People are enthusiastic about the construction of farm ponds in the district. They are also concerned about the protection of forest resources. They suggest that the Government take assistance from them in order to stop illegal felling to protect the forests. Tree plantations on embankments around agricultural fields are suggested and the wood from these trees can be used for fuel and fodder in the coming years. Another suggestion is that barren land should be made suitable for cultivation. People need to be made more aware about modern methods of agriculture. In order to increase the productivity of land further, they require technical knowledge and training. Suitable provision for this must be made. At the same time, it is also essential to stop the excessive exploitation of mineral resources.

Income and livelihoods

The main source of livelihood in the district is agriculture, which is essentially rain-dependent. This provides employment for only four months in the year, and in 56 percent of the villages, there is out-migration, in search of employment. People feel that the provision of irrigation facilities, conservation of water and the use of modern techniques for farming will help improve agriculture and increase employment opportunities. They want to participate in these activities, in an attempt to better their lives. In the interior areas, livelihood depends on forest produce, therefore training in forest produce-based industries and other home industries should be imparted. Women's self-help groups are proving to be very successful and their promotion can lead to substantial increases in home-based income generating activities.

Education, knowledge and information

The people feel that education and the use of public communication media has resulted in an increase in information and awareness of education. This district has the highest literacy rate in the State. However, the Village Reports speak of the need to provide food, drinking water, playgrounds and toilets along with school buildings. People are willing to participate in and contribute to these efforts. The District Report emphasises the need for capable teachers and *anganwadi* workers. There is a need for agriculture related training, which will help the people increase production in agriculture. Similarly, training related to home industries will help to improve home-based production. People would like greater information about Government schemes and say that this lack of information is a reason for not being able to benefit from such schemes.

Table 7.8 **District profile - Rajnandgaon**

Human Development Indices	2004		DISTRICT INFORMATION	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.374		Number of Inhabited Villages	-	1605
HDI RANK	14		Number of Blocks	12	06 [@]
Alternate Human Development Index	0.374		Number of Towns	-	07
Alternate HDI Rank	13				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	6.18	6.16	Literacy Rate (%)	48.77	77.2
Area (sq km)	8023*	8023	Male Literacy Rate	66.01	87.2
Urban Population (%)	18.63	18.05	Female Literacy Rate	31.91	67.6
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	10.08	9.92	Scheduled Castes	44	76.8
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	26.91	26.63	Male Literacy Rate	60.7	87.5
Density of Population (per sq km)	135	159	Female Literacy Rate	27.7	66.6
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	35.6	75
Infant Mortality Rate**	97	112.5	Male Literacy Rate	51.8	85.2
Under 5 Mortality Rate	150	—	Female Literacy Rate	20.1	65.4
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	34.16	14.8	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	1	1	Households with <i>Pucca</i> Houses	14.42	19.82
PHCs	25	25	Households with semi- <i>pucca</i> houses	82.82	78.98
Sub-centres	276	218	Households with <i>kutchha</i> houses	2.76	1.19
Community Health Centres	5	6	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds	336	460	Electricity	37.39	64.49
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe drinking water	51.91	63
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	2.448	1.937	Toilet Facilities	6.17	10.94
Cropping Intensity (%)	122	127	All of the three given above	4.48	8.28
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	0.356	0.500	None of the three given above	31.36	7
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	114	DNA
Rural	55.9	54	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	145	DNA
Urban	33.7	35.2	Total Fertility Rate	4.30	2.07
All	52.4	50.6	Sex Ratio (no. of females per 1000 males)		
Share of Primary Sector	84.3	DNA	Rural	1027	1034
Share of Secondary Sector	6	DNA	Urban	967	976
Share of Tertiary Sector	9.7	DNA	Total	1016	1023
Total Employment in Agriculture	84.1	79.93	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	1018	1028
Agricultural Labour	18.7	25.5	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	1046	1051
			Female Work Participation Rate	49.8	47.4

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because only the current area has been taken into consideration.

** The IMR in Rajnandgaon in 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, because the 2001 data refers to the new district.

[@] The number of blocks shows a decline because this refers to the blocks in the new district of Rajnandgaon.

DNA - Data Not Available.

Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003

Health and well-being

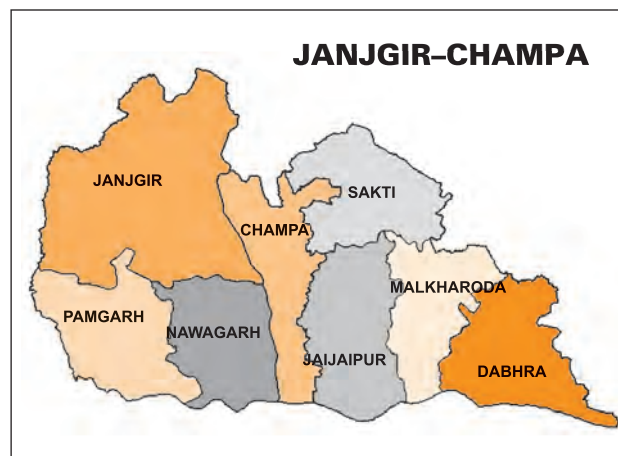
In terms of hospitals and Sub-Health Centres, the health infrastructure in the district is reasonably good. However, in the interior areas, especially in the tribal dominated areas, health facilities are not available. Anaemia and malaria are prevalent in most parts of the district. People feel that their health is deteriorating due to unclean drinking water, lack of nutritious food, the use of substances like *gutka*, smoking *beedis* and increasing alcoholism. The absence of medicines in the Sub-Health Centres is an issue which has been raised by the people in the district. The need for a five-bedded hospital at the *Panchayat* level has been articulated. The report also suggests the holding of frequent health camps.

Society and institutions

Most people have a good opinion about the Government departments functioning in the district. In more than half the villages in the district, traditional institutions that promote harmony and help to preserve cultural traditions are active. The Maa Bambleshwari self-help groups operate in close to 90 percent of the villages in the district. These groups have helped to strengthen the process of women's empowerment helping them to get out of the clutches of moneylenders. They also help to fight other social evils. People feel that financial support to these women's groups will facilitate the process of empowerment. In more than 50 percent of villages in the district, people say that information about Government programmes and schemes is inadequate. They point out the lack of facilities for sports and entertainment, and suggest that these be built up.

Janjgir-Champa

Janjgir-Champa was carved out as an independent district from the undivided district of Bilaspur, as part of the major restructuring



and reorganisation of districts in Chhattisgarh. The district is famous for its *kosa* silk industry and the weavers of Janjgir-Champa are well known and respected for their craft.

Natural resources

People recognise that the inappropriate and excessive use of natural resources like water, forests and land has led to a decrease in rainfall and a decline in the groundwater level. This has meant a reduction in the availability of drinking water and the water available for irrigation, and to a decline in the availability of fuel wood, due to degraded forests. The Hasdev Bango scheme is the main source of irrigation. It is suggested that construction of stop dams, check dams,³ canals and tanks be given priority by the State. The problem of deforestation has also been mentioned. People feel that the establishment of people's

³ Check dams are small dams constructed to contain overflow or overruns in periods of high rainfall like the monsoon.

committees and an increase in people's participation are crucial if the forests are to be protected. Initiatives for ensuring productivity of wastelands, rainwater harvesting and afforestation are expected from the State. On their part, the people say that they are ready to contribute about 25 percent of the cost of various schemes that are implemented for the development of the village.

Income and livelihoods

A majority of the people in the district depend on agriculture for their livelihood. However, due to the limited irrigation facilities in most villages, agriculture is still rain-dependent. Irrigation facilities are a priority. People who do not own any land make a livelihood from the collection and sale of forest produce, labour work in brick kilns, construction and agriculture labour. They usually do not find work round the year and migrate to various places in search of work. Unemployment amongst educated youth is another problem that needs immediate attention. State-sponsored construction work and employment of local people have been suggested as steps to counter migration. The establishment of small and cottage industries to process agricultural produce as well as making available forest resources are other initiatives that can enhance incomes and employment.

Education, knowledge and information

People in Janjgir-Champa are conscious of the benefits of education, and the focus in this district has shifted from primary education to secondary, higher and technical education. The need for computer and technical education, as well as a requirement for communication and informative mediums like the Internet in villages, is voiced in many of the *Jan Rapats*. Value-based education and information related

to health care, hygiene, income generation, budgeting and resource management should be a part of the school curriculum, according to the suggestions emanating from the Village Reports of Janjgir. The lack of adequate infrastructure, the poor maintenance of existing infrastructure, and low teacher attendance have been cited as issues that need urgent attention in the district. In order to encourage the participation of the people in efforts to improve literacy, it is suggested that the State use awareness campaigns and various Information, Education and Communication (IEC) strategies.

Health and well-being

Most people feel that there has been a significant improvement in the health status of the people due to the efforts of the Government but much still remains to be done. People say that along with modern medical facilities, an effort should also be made to strengthen the traditional system of medicine available in the villages. The requirement of full-time doctors, health workers and ambulances (for emergency cases) is stressed. In order to facilitate the provisioning of these inputs, the people offer to help the State by providing assistance in kind and through labour. They feel that local people should be given training, and jobs as health workers and *dais*, because they will then be accountable to the community. This small step can make basic health care a reality at the village level.

Society and institutions

The institutions that are present in the district include traditional as well as new caste and community related institutions. There has been a positive change in the traditional institutions of this district, due to a change in peoples' awareness and attitudes. Although most village development work is coordinated and implemented by Government institutions with

the help of the village *Panchayats*, people are dissatisfied with the working of the *Panchayats*. They say that formalising and increasing the

responsibilities of these institutions has affected the quality of output of most programmes. Programmes should be made according to the

Table 7.9 **District profile - Janjgir-Champa**

Human Development Indices	2004		DISTRICT INFORMATION	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.500		Number of Inhabited Villages	-	889
HDI RANK	5		Number of Blocks	-	9
Alternate Human Development Index	0.499		Number of Towns	-	10
Alternate HDI Rank	4				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	6.30	6.32	Literacy Rate (%)	47.36	66.9
Area (sq km)	4467*	4467	Male Literacy Rate	67.41	81.8
Urban Population (%)	10.69	11.03	Female Literacy Rate	27.56	50.1
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	22.36	22.48	Scheduled Castes	39.6	62.8
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	12.22	11.61	Male Literacy Rate	59.4	79.6
Density of Population (per sq km)	288	342	Female Literacy Rate	18.8	46.1
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	29.9	56.9
Infant Mortality Rate**	87	50.4	Male Literacy Rate	46.4	75
Under 5 Mortality Rate	123	52.79	Female Literacy Rate	13.4	39.6
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	35.33	19.71	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	1	1	Households with <i>Pucca</i> Houses	24.28	30.19
PHCs	53	25	Households with semi- <i>pucca</i> houses	73.27	68.89
Sub-centres	-	210	Households with <i>kutch</i> a houses	2.46	0.92
Community Health Centres	2	6	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds	195	286	Electricity	30.31	64.94
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe Drinking Water	53.59	67
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	-	1.097	Toilet Facilities	12.49	8.78
Cropping Intensity (%)	-	126	All of the three given above	9.06	6.6
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	-	0.279	None of the three given above	34.80	8
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	84	DNA
Rural	47.6	45.1	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	118	DNA
Urban	30.5	32.7	Total Fertility Rate	4.71	2.55
All	44.7	43.7	Sex Ratio (no. of females per 1000 males)		
Share of Primary Sector	87.3	DNA	Rural	1012	1005
Share of Secondary Sector	4.8	DNA	Urban	961	941
Share of Tertiary Sector	7.9	DNA	Total	1007	998
Total Employment in Agriculture	86.8	83.1	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	999	1000
Agricultural Labour	24.5	37.3	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	1035	1029
			Female Work Participation Rate	38.5	37.9

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because only the current area has been taken into consideration.

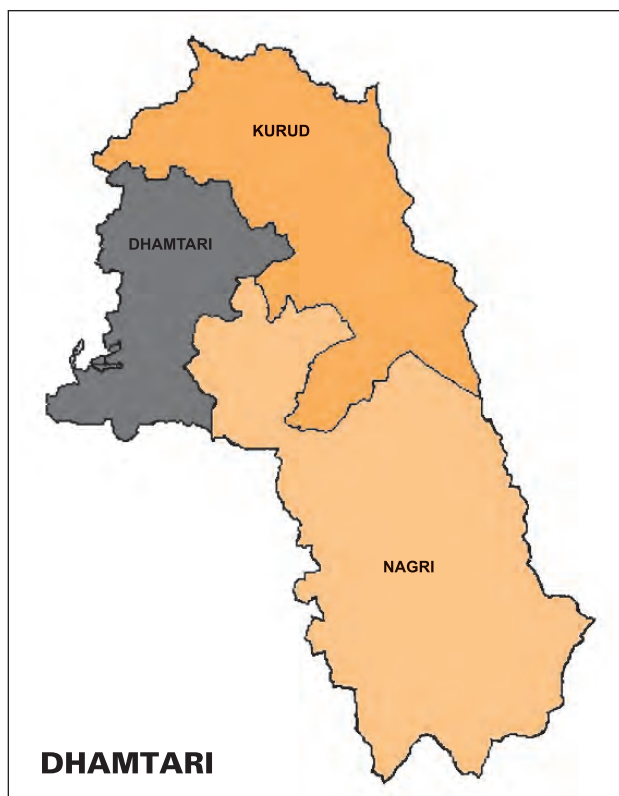
** The IMR in Janjgir-Champa in 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, because the 2001 data refers to the new district.

DNA - Data Not Available.

Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003

requirements of a particular village, with a clear understanding of what they will achieve, before they are formulated and implemented. Local institutions can be instrumental in achieving these objectives only if their functioning is not constrained by higher authorities.

Dhamtari



This district that is located in the central plains area of the State was a part of Raipur district till 1998. The Mahanadi River, which is the lifeline of Chhattisgarh, emerges from the hills of Dhamtari and flows north to Mahasamund.

Natural resources

The low rainfall in recent years has led to a shortage of water. Almost 95 percent of the villages use tanks, ponds and rivulets for easement purposes. When sources of drinking water are used for easement needs,

drinking water gets polluted. In order to deal with the lack of water, people are exploiting the groundwater, which is a matter of concern. The people want to conserve water and raise the level of groundwater. There is substantial forest area in the district and about 60 percent of the villages are engaged in the collection and management of minor forest produce through forest committees. Sixty percent of the villages collect fuel wood from the forests. People are against the illegal felling of trees and want to plant trees on fallow land. This they feel will prevent illegal encroachment on the land. People in most villages want to prevent soil erosion and protect pastures. They also want to use organic manure rather than fertilisers.

Income and livelihoods

The main source of livelihood in the district is agriculture and agricultural labour. Traditional occupations are also practised. The main crop is paddy. In the forest areas, collection of minor forest produce is an additional source of livelihood. Animal husbandry is another important source of livelihood. However, in the rural areas, most people do not find employment all year round. In order to improve productivity, irrigation facilities and modern agricultural equipment are considered necessary. Animal husbandry and forest-based industries can provide additional employment. The people feel that the promotion of small industries and transport and communication facilities can also generate employment.

Education, knowledge and information

Compared to the past, the people today are much more aware of the benefits of education. The level of education in the district has improved substantially in the last two decades. Dhamtari enjoys a high literacy rate, and is

Table 7.10 **District profile - Dhamtari**

Human Development Indices	2004		DISTRICT INFORMATION	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.496		Number of Inhabited Villages	-	629
HDI RANK	6		Number of Blocks	-	3
Alternate Human Development Index	0.496		Number of Towns	-	2
Alternate HDI Rank	6				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	3.34	3.39	Literacy Rate (%)	52.84	74.9
Area (sq km)	4081*	4081	Male Literacy Rate	69.92	86.5
Urban Population (%)	14.13	13.24	Female Literacy Rate	36.02	63.4
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	6.87	6.99	Scheduled Castes	37.4	71.1
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	27.25	26.25	Male Literacy Rate	55.9	84.7
Density of Population (per sq km)	174	208	Female Literacy Rate	18.9	57.9
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	35.7	68.3
Infant Mortality Rate**	91	70.6	Male Literacy Rate	54.8	81.8
Under 5 Mortality Rate	137	81.83	Female Literacy Rate	17.2	55.1
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	34.49	16.65	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	2	2	Households with <i>Pucca</i> Houses	27.47	32.10
PHCs	15	11	Households with semi- <i>pucca</i> houses	70.38	66.18
Sub-centres	-	139	Households with <i>kutchra</i> houses	2.15	1.71
Community Health Centres	2	3	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds	156	212	Electricity	36.66	68.34
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe Drinking Water	53.90	66
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	-	1.286	Toilet Facilities	10.73	10.16
Cropping Intensity (%)	-	157	All of the three given above	7.24	7.73
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	-	0.278	None of the three given above	29.79	4
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	122	DNA
Rural	50.9	51.9	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	138	DNA
Urban	31.9	38.5	Total Fertility Rate	4.33	1.97
All	47.1	50.1	Sex Ratio (no. of females per 1000 males)		
Share of Primary Sector	85.7	DNA	Rural	1011	1006
Share of Secondary Sector	5.6	DNA	Urban	993	991
Share of Tertiary Sector	8.7	DNA	Total	1009	1004
Total Employment in Agriculture	85.6	79.6	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	1004	1021
Agricultural Labour	33.3	40	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	1029	1022
			Female Work Participation Rate	47.52	46.2

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because only the current area has been taken into consideration.

** The IMR in Dhamtari in 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, because the 2001 data refers to the new district.

DNA - Data Not Available.

Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003

ranked at third place in the State. However, certain areas continue to have low levels of literacy and limited education facilities. The tribal dominated Nagari block, for example, is an area with low literacy and education, and special efforts are required to address the problems of such regions. The reports say that most villages lack school buildings and adequate teachers. In order to improve education, the people are willing to contribute labour and material.

In many places the people have offered to give an honorarium to young people who are educated but unemployed, and can work as teachers. People want to contribute to the development of education. The *Kabirpanthi* community, the Satnami community and voluntary organisations like the Gayatri Parivar, are already contributing to this effort. People believe that the development of education and knowledge will lead to the development of the village.

Health and well-being

Close to half the Village Reports in the district say that health services are inadequate. About a fifth of the villages are extremely dissatisfied with the medical facilities and many do not have any health services at all. Many villages are keen to promote ayurvedic medicine and the research and use of medicinal plants. Malaria and diarrhoea are the most common diseases in the district. People suggest that young people who are educated but unemployed can be trained as health workers, in order to provide basic services to the villagers where there are no health centres. They express a need for health camps. Good all-weather roads are a must, so that people can take advantage of medical facilities outside the village. The people say that it is important to keep basic medicines in the *anganwadi* centres and

the schools, so that they can be used in an emergency.

Society and institutions

A large number of Government institutions operate under the different departments in the district. People's groups have been constituted under many departments. People's committees for forest protection and watershed management need strengthening. The *Gram Sabha* needs to be more participatory and active. Most meetings are not well attended, leading to the impression that the *Gram Sabhas* are not interested in the development of the village. There are some voluntary organisations working in the area and a few local groups that are engaged in social, religious and cultural activities.



Korea

The district of Korea, located at the north-western tip of the State, was carved out of undivided Surguja district in 1998. Together with Surguja, Jashpur and Raigarh, Korea forms the northern region of the State. The district is rich in forest resources and has substantial coal reserves.

Natural resources

The district faces a water shortage – both of drinking water and water for irrigation. The groundwater level in the villages situated near the various coal mines in the district has decreased. Problems of maintenance have led to the malfunctioning hand pumps and tube wells. Korea is thickly forested and a high proportion of the people are dependent on the forests for a living. The people say that those who stay in forest villages should be given the base of the forest land. Attempts should be made to ensure that the forest villages get as much benefit of development work as the other villages. People suggest that people's committees be assigned a role in the sale of forest produce. Korea faces the problem of coal dust in places that are near coal-holding plants. The health hazards that arise due to coal mining need to be examined and appropriate measures taken to prevent long-term damage to the people. Another suggestion that has been made is the promotion of tourism in Guru Ghasidas National Park, which is located in Korea district.

Income and livelihoods

Most people in the district depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Some also earn a living by working in the coal mines, by working as agricultural labour, or by collecting and selling forest produce. The lack of sufficient irrigation facilities and the dependence on rainfall means that most farmers do not find employment all year round. However, migration outside the district is not very high. People say that small and cottage industries based on forest produce should be encouraged in order to increase employment opportunities. Technical and other employment related training should be given to local youth and the State should make a conscious effort to employ local men and women for all development work in the

village. Transportation facilities to *haats* and other market places need improvement.

Education, knowledge and information

There has been a positive change in the people's attitude towards education but the education of girls is not considered a priority. People say school education helps in developing the intellectual capacities of children but fails when it comes to providing practical knowledge required to make a living. The reports are critical of the kind of education provided by most schools in the districts. Absenteeism of teachers is a problem that is widely prevalent. People say that technical and business related education should be made available and every village must have the entire infrastructure required for education. They are willing to cooperate, both financially and by providing assistance in construction work. Many people offered to help in building awareness regarding the importance of education.

Health and well-being

The health infrastructure is insufficient in the district, especially in the forested areas. While there is some infrastructure, it is not equitably distributed. The diseases which are prevalent in the district are malaria, diarrhoea, jaundice and meningitis. Leprosy is prevalent in some blocks of the district. People have a lot of faith in the traditional system of medicine and the traditional practitioners like the *dewar* or *guniya*. The primary health care system is weak both in terms of infrastructure and quality of service. Creating awareness and providing training to people are two important programmes that need to be undertaken. The training will help to provide health workers and *dais* in the villages. In about 30 villages of block Sonhat, people volunteered to bear the expenses of transporting pregnant women to the district

Table 7.11 **District profile - Korea**

Human Development Indices	2004		DISTRICT INFORMATION	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.391		Number of Inhabited Villages	-	650
HDI RANK	13		Number of Blocks	-	-
Alternate Human Development Index	0.307		Number of Towns	-	6
Alternate HDI Rank	15				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	2.84	2.81	Literacy Rate (%)	38.79	63.1
Area (sq km)	5978*	5978	Male Literacy Rate	51.78	75.7
Urban Population (%)	33.10	29.81	Female Literacy Rate	24.53	49.7
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	7.87	8.22	Scheduled Castes	25.2	61.7
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	44.00	44.35	Male Literacy Rate	36.8	74.5
Density of Population (per sq km)	76	89	Female Literacy Rate	12.9	48.4
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	19.5	51.9
Infant Mortality Rate**	76	103.2	Male Literacy Rate	29.6	65.8
Under 5 Mortality Rate	113	—	Female Literacy Rate	9.0	37.5
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	33.44	20.73	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	-	-	Households with <i>Pucca</i> Houses	8.38	23.0
PHCs	20	21	Households with Semi- <i>pucca</i> Houses	90.44	76.57
Sub-centres	-	106	Households with <i>Kutch</i> Houses	1.19	0.43
Community Health Centres	3	5	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds	132	162	Electricity	21.95	44.36
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe Drinking Water	27.66	41.0
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	-	2.018	Toilet Facilities	7.72	21.70
Cropping Intensity (%)	-	113	All of the three given above	5.51	18.01
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	-	0.418	None of the three given above	60.49	17
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	95	DNA
Rural	50.03	56.9	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	112	DNA
Urban	26.5	26.2	Total Fertility Rate	4.28	2.53
All	47.4	47.7	Sex Ratio (no. of females per 1000 males)		
Share of Primary Sector	83	DNA	Rural	965	971
Share of Secondary Sector	3.6	DNA	Urban	850	890
Share of Tertiary Sector	13.4	DNA	Total	926	946
Total Employment in Agriculture	66.6	71.94	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	939	959
Agricultural Labour	11.3	21.9	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	954	971
			Female Work Participation Rate	49.5	39.3

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because only the current area has been taken into consideration.

** The IMR in Korea in 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, because the 2001 data refers to the new district.

DNA - Data Not Available.

Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003

hospital, located at the district headquarters, in order to ensure safe deliveries.

Society and institutions

Most people feel that *Gram Panchayats* and *Gram Sabhas* should be made more effective and transparent. The role of women in these institutions should be given importance. The *Gyanodaya Kendras* that have opened in every village of Chhattisgarh should have facilities like a telephone, a television, books and newspapers. Cultural institutions should be provided with the required assistance in terms of money, accommodation and other resources. The State should also look into establishing economic institutions such as banks in the more remote villages. Efforts should be made to ensure that information regarding various Government programmes and schemes reaches every village of the district.

Surguja

The district of Surguja, which lies in the north of Chhattisgarh, has a distinct lifestyle and culture, enriched as it is with dense forests and a very



diverse Population comprising to a number of tribes.

Natural resources

The district has adequate water. The people want the irrigation capacity and efforts to conserve rainwater to be increased and say that drinking water facilities should be made available in all habitations. They are willing to support any initiative in this regard. The district is rich in forest resources and the people living in forest areas are completely dependent on them. People are aware of the need to protect forests, promote plantations and develop pasture lands. The participation and involvement of the people in the protection, conservation, use and management of forests should be increased. The reports maintain that Forest Committees should be given more powers, and the participation of women in these committees should also increase. As far as land is concerned, the felling of trees is leading to soil erosion. While production has increased, with the use chemical fertilisers the natural productivity of land has fallen. Government and community lands are being encroached upon. The reports suggest that undulating land, which is not usually cultivated, be made fit for cultivation. People also want to be trained in the use of organic fertilisers and in plantation management.

Income and livelihoods

Earlier, the main sources of livelihood were agriculture, collecting forest produce, labour work and animal husbandry. There has been considerable change in the livelihood pattern in recent times. Due to the use of modern techniques, there has been an increase in agricultural production and hence the dependence on forests has decreased. Paddy is the main crop of the district. Corn and oilseeds are also cultivated. The people see fisheries,

Table 7.12 **District profile - Surguja**

Human Development Indices	2004		DISTRICT INFORMATION	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.418		Number of Inhabited Villages		1769
HDI RANK	11		Number of Blocks	24	-
Alternate Human Development Index	0.393		Number of Towns		7
Alternate HDI Rank	11				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	8.98	9.47	Literacy Rate (%)	27.34	54.8
Area (sq km)	16034*	16034	Male Literacy Rate	39.01	67.6
Urban Population (%)	5.40	6.96	Female Literacy Rate	15.21	41.6
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	4.70	4.81	Scheduled Castes	25.2	51
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	56.72	54.60	Male Literacy Rate	36.8	63.8
Density of Population (per sq km)	101	125	Female Literacy Rate	12.9	37.9
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	19.5	48.3
Infant Mortality Rate**	76	56.1	Male Literacy Rate	29.6	60.8
Under 5 Mortality Rate	113	79.37	Female Literacy Rate	9.0	35.6
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	33.44	30	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	2	2	Households with <i>Pucca</i> Houses	8.38	6.04
PHCs	74	65	Households with Semi- <i>pucca</i> Houses	90.44	92.57
Sub-centres	594***	488	Households with <i>Kutch</i> a Houses	1.19	1.39
Community Health Centres	8	18	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds	344	766	Electricity	21.95	28.36
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe Drinking Water	27.66	27.24
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	2.230	1.920	Toilet Facilities	7.72	7.95
Cropping Intensity (%)	115	115	All of the three given above	5.51	4.11
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	0.704	0.524	None of the three given above	60.49	22
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	95	DNA
Rural	50.03	51.5	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	112	DNA
Urban	26.5	27.6	Total Fertility Rate	4.28	3.6
All	47.4	49.8	Sex Ratio (no. of females per 1000 males)		
Share of Primary Sector	90.7	DNA	Rural	970	977
Share of Secondary Sector	2.5	DNA	Urban	894	904
Share of Tertiary Sector	6.8	DNA	Total	966	972
Total Employment in Agriculture	89.2	86.19	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	967	979
Agricultural Labour	18.4	34.9	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	979	987
			Female Work Participation Rate	49.5	44.0

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because only the current area has been taken into consideration.

** The IMR in Surguja in 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, because the 2001 data refers to the new district.

*** The sub centres shows a decline because this refers to the new district of Surguja.

DNA - Data Not Available.

Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003

animal husbandry and small industries as additional income-generating activities and are keen to take these up. However, the situation of the landless has not changed very much. People say that modern techniques of cultivation should be promoted, so that production improves. Irrigation facilities must be increased and transport facilities should be made available. Employment-oriented training is needed as a large number of people want to form self-help groups and start their own enterprises. The people want to support the Government in its effort to generate employment.

Education, knowledge and information

There has been a marked increase in awareness regarding education in the tribal communities of Surguja. Training institutions and resources for vocational education have expanded substantially. Today, there is a lack of teachers in the far-flung areas. In these areas, people feel that education should be promoted through *ashram* schools, which are largely boarding schools. While preserving traditional knowledge and skills, it is also essential to provide vocational training, which will provide a means of livelihood. People are willing to strengthen the Government's efforts at promoting education, by providing land and their homes for setting up schools. They say that the educated youth can be put to work in the education sector. Local employees such as teachers and officials should be answerable to the *Gram Sabha*. People say that they should be paid their salaries only after their performance are checked by the *Gram Sabha*. The people suggest better publicity of Government schemes and programmes so that more people can benefit from them.

Health and well-being

Earlier, faith healers and traditional medicines made from herbs and roots were used to treat

illnesses. Due to this the death rate was very high. Today, health awareness as well as the spread of Government facilities for treatment has increased. The use of traditional roots and other natural methods of treatment, however, continues. People want an extension of Government health facilities. Doctors and health personnel should be available at the hospitals and health centres. People want to adhere to Government directives related to health. They stress, however, that the importance of medicinal plants and herbs must be recognised and their use promoted. Adequate transport facilities are essential, so that people can access hospitals. They say that the health centres at the block level should be equipped with modern equipment, so that they do not have to travel to the sub-divisional headquarters or the district headquarters.

Society and institutions

While traditional institutions of the villages still have an influence on society, this is decreasing. People do not have a very favourable opinion of the Government agencies working in the villages. They say that there is a need for more dedication, sensitivity and transparency in the working of the Government and its various agencies. The people are also not conversant with the working of the *Gram Sabha* and the *Panchayat*. It is important that adequate training be imparted, so that people can participate in the meetings of these organisations.

Jashpur

Situated in the north-eastern part of the State, this district was part of Raigarh district till 1998. It is rich in forest resources and the majority of its Population belongs to the Scheduled Tribes.



Natural resources

People want to conserve surface water (rivers and rivulets) and rain water. People in the rural areas have been utilising the natural resources (including water) for agricultural and domestic use and other purposes related to livelihood. Now they want to use modern techniques to optimise the use of these resources and they require training to be able to do this. The forests in Jashpur are essentially *sal* forests, interspersed with a few other varieties. The people are active in the forest protection committees, and have prevented the illegal felling of trees. An area that needs exploration is the extraction of medicinal plants from the forests. This can provide local livelihood opportunities. The district has some deposits of bauxite but these are not being adequately exploited. A strategic plan is required for the extraction of this metal.

Income and livelihoods

The absence of industrial activity in the district makes livelihoods dependent on agriculture

and forest produce. The main crop is paddy but pulses and oilseeds are also grown. In the plain areas, potato and groundnut is grown. However, most of the Population does not get employment all year round. This is a disturbing phenomenon, because there is adequate land in the district. Most farmers say they require irrigation facilities and the adoption of modern techniques in agriculture. Some people want to practise animal husbandry. A fourth of the Village Reports feel that more Government jobs are required. They also suggest vocational training in order to enhance livelihood opportunities.

Education, knowledge and information

Almost all (98 percent) of the Village Reports say that the people consider traditional knowledge useful, but they also realise the value of modern education and want their children to be educated. The people say that they require school buildings, *anganwadi* centres and teachers. Seventy-one percent of the Village Reports say that the people are willing to cooperate with the Government in any initiatives for education and they promise to participate in these activities. The people express the view that education is beneficial for employment, business and agriculture and also for the development of the individual.

Health and well-being

With regard to health, superstitions and local medical practices are widely prevalent. Even though people find traditional knowledge useful, they also consider modern medicine beneficial. From May through August, malaria, diarrhoea, vomiting and fever are *rampant* in the villages of Jashpur. People express the need for medicines and personnel to be adequately available in the PHCs. They voice a demand for primary health care at the village

Table 7.13 **District profile - Jashpur**

Human Development Indices	2004		DISTRICT INFORMATION	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.455		Number of Inhabited Villages	-	764
HDI RANK	7		Number of Blocks	-	-
Alternate Human Development Index	0.455		Number of Towns	-	2
Alternate HDI Rank	7				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	3.73	3.57	Literacy Rate (%)	38.33	63.8
Area (sq km)	6457*	6457	Male Literacy Rate	51.02	75.20
Urban Population (%)	3.92	4.60	Female Literacy Rate	25.67	52.4
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	7.16	4.90	Scheduled Castes	34.1	58.9
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	65.38	63.24	Male Literacy Rate	50.8	72
Density of Population (per sq km)	112	127	Female Literacy Rate	17.5	45.7
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	32.8	61.9
Infant Mortality Rate**	88	45.4	Male Literacy Rate	46.1	73
Under 5 Mortality Rate	131	68.51	Female Literacy Rate	19.8	51
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	32.10	25.95	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	1	1	Households with <i>Pucca</i> Houses	8.28	4.73
PHCs	34	27	Households with Semi- <i>pucca</i> Houses	85.15	94.98
Sub-centres	-	195	Households with <i>Kutcha</i> Houses	6.57	0.28
Community Health Centres	2	7	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds	205	321	Electricity	36.22	19.97
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe Drinking Water	40.20	40
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	-	2.614	Toilet Facilities	3.89	4.71
Cropping Intensity (%)	-	106	All of the three given above	2.66	1.97
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	-	0.717	None of the three given above	47.85	22
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	87	DNA
Rural	51.1	54.7	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	129	DNA
Urban	30.7	29.3	Total Fertility Rate	4.03	3.32
All	49.2	53.5	Sex Ratio (no. of females per 1000 males)		
Share of Primary Sector	88.8	DNA	Rural	1006	1003
Share of Secondary Sector	4.2	DNA	Urban	863	919
Share of Tertiary Sector	7	DNA	Total	1001	999
Total Employment in Agriculture	88.8	88.14	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	990	992
Agricultural Labour	15.6	25.1	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	1020	1016
			Female Work Participation Rate	44.7	49.6

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because only the current area has been taken into consideration.

** The IMR in Jashpur in 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, because the 2001 data refers to the new district.

DNA - Data Not Available.

Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003

level, and say that at least one health worker should live in each village. Another aspect that is highlighted is the poor infrastructure. Roads should be functional all year round. Travel becomes a problem during the monsoon and it is impossible to go to the health centre with a patient. The people are willing and eager to participate in Government's efforts to promote better health practices. They want to initiate a campaign for health education and suggest the holding of health camps to tackle specific diseases, and to increase awareness regarding prevention and cure.

Society and institutions

There are various Government institutions functioning in the district. While the people have some information regarding the departments of education, forests, *Panchayats* and health, they do not have any information about the other departments. This is primarily due to inadequate interaction between the department personnel and the people. Three-fourths of the villages of the district have a favourable opinion of Government institutions and feel that Government employees are doing good work. More than half the people have only 'average' information on Government schemes and programmes. In Jashpur, three-fourths of the villages of the district say that the *Panchayats* are working well and are successful institutions. People want to improve the functioning of the *Gram Panchayat* and want it to become more active and aware. They stress the need for transparency in the working of the *Gram Sabha*.

Raigarh

Raigarh lies in the eastern part of the State and borders Orissa. Rich in natural resources, this district is well-known for its *kosa* silk production.



Natural resources

The rural population of the district feels that traditional knowledge helps the people in protecting natural resources. Most of the Village Reports have discussed forest resources in the context of natural resources. Low participation is visible in the forest committees. The tribal communities say that the Government should be more compassionate regarding their activities in the forests. They maintain that the destruction of forests is not due to them but due to the activities of businessmen. People are willing to help in developing ways to utilise

resources better. However, they want the relevant departments to be sensitive to their needs.

Income and livelihoods

Seventy percent of the rural population is dependent on agriculture-related traditional occupations for their livelihood. However, due to the inadequacy of irrigation facilities, most villagers are able to get employment only for about four months in the year. The villages near the mines and forests are slightly better off in this regard. While traditional crafts are practised, they are not able to compete in the market. People express the need for training in the use of modern techniques and the protection of traditional occupations. People say that employment should be available all year round in their villages. In order to make optimum use of employment opportunities, people are eager to adopt modern techniques. The problems in earning a livelihood arise due to the unequal sizes of landholdings, illiteracy and the limited skills of the workers. Given the present scarcity of resources, new opportunities of employment will have to be found.

Education, knowledge and information

Traditional knowledge is useful even today and in most villages agriculture and craftsmanship is still dependent on traditional knowledge. However, education has its own place. Thirty-five percent of the Village Reports are of the opinion that the existing educational facilities in the village are below standard. Due to growing awareness regarding education, the number of school-going children has increased. In keeping with this, there is a need for school buildings, teachers, playgrounds, clean drinking water and toilet facilities. In order to fulfil their expectations, the people are willing to do things on their own. They do not want to remain dependent on the

Government alone. The report stresses that education leads to employment.

Health and well-being

While health facilities have improved in Raigarh, malaria, vomiting and diarrhoea are common in rural areas. Epidemics like cholera and smallpox no longer occur. The people say that the standard of health related facilities is very poor. Buildings and medicines are inadequate and health workers are seldom found at the headquarters. Due to the absence of transport facilities during the monsoon, there are problems in accessing treatment. The reports say that traditional healers, who use roots and herbs, are useful, but those who practise witchcraft are not. Socio-political fragmentation, addictions and superstitions have to reduce, and health and education need to be promoted in order to improve the health status of the population. The people are also interested in growing medicinal plants, and see this as a livelihood option. In order to fulfil their health related expectations, people are willing to cooperate with the Government.

Society and institutions

Most people are satisfied with the working of the *anganwadi* centres, the primary schools and the rural banks in villages. There are also various committees in the village, which the people benefit from. The traditional institutions in the village are useful both socially and culturally. The people's impression of Government officials and Government programmes is mixed. People have a positive view of the *Panchayats*, but the low attendance in *Gram Sabhas* is a cause for concern. The number of *Panchayats* where there is a sizeable presence of women is quite low. However, self-help groups are helping women in some areas. People want to be involved in the development programmes and are willing to cooperate in every way.

Table 7.14 **District profile - Raigarh**

Human Development Indices	2004		DISTRICT INFORMATION	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.430		Number of Inhabited Villages		1433
HDI RANK	10		Number of Blocks	17	4@
Alternate Human Development Index	0.418		Number of Towns		5
Alternate HDI Rank	9				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	6.05	6.07	Literacy Rate (%)	42.96	70.2
Area (sq km)	6528*	6528	Male Literacy Rate	59.05	82.7
Urban Population (%)	12.89	13.39	Female Literacy Rate	26.93	57.6
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	17.72	14.20	Scheduled Castes	34.1	66.7
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	36.81	35.38	Male Literacy Rate	50.8	80.3
Density of Population (per sq km)	150	179	Female Literacy Rate	17.5	53.4
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	32.8	60.3
Infant Mortality Rate**	88	84.5	Male Literacy Rate	46.1	74.9
Under 5 Mortality Rate	131	48.58	Female Literacy Rate	19.8	45.9
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	32.10	14.6	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	3	3	Households with <i>Pucca</i> Houses	8.28	17.20
PHCs	42	40	Households with Semi- <i>pucca</i> Houses	85.15	78.90
Sub-centres	382***	250	Households with <i>Kutchha</i> Houses	6.57	3.88
Community Health Centres	3	5	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds	262	389	Electricity	26.22	60.66
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe Drinking Water	40.20	69
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	2.485	1.864	Toilet Facilities	3.89	11.62
Cropping Intensity (%)	107	107	All of the three given above	2.66	8.16
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	0.360	0.397	None of the three given above	47.85	9
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	87	DNA
Rural	51.1	50.2	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	129	DNA
Urban	30.7	30.5	Total Fertility Rate	4.03	1.86
All	49.2	47.5	Sex Ratio (<i>no. of females per 1000 males</i>)		
Share of Primary Sector	83.8	DNA	Rural	1011	1003
Share of Secondary Sector	5.9	DNA	Urban	930	941
Share of Tertiary Sector	10.3	DNA	Total	1000	994
Total Employment in Agriculture	83.7	79.84	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	1003	1011
Agricultural Labour	29	38.9	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	1016	1012
			Female Work Participation Rate	38	39.2

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because only the current area has been taken into consideration.

** The IMR in Raigarh in 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, because the 2001 data refers to the new district.

*** The sub centres shows a decline because this refers to the new district of Raigarh.

@ The number of blocks shows a decline because this refers to the blocks in the new district of Raigarh.

DNA - Data Not Available.

Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003



Korba

Rich in coal, bauxite and electricity, this district, which was formed in 1998 (it was originally a part of Bilaspur district), is the power hub of Chhattisgarh.

Natural resources

In terms of water resources, the rivers in the district and the dams built on them are adequate. All the villages have cultivable land, but due to the inadequacy of irrigation facilities, the *kharif* crop is not sown. The people say that the construction of a stop dam will be useful in checking the wastage of water and degradation of the soil. This is a contentious issue and there is need for debate on this matter. A large number of villages (62 percent) are dependent on the collection of forest produce and forest work for their income. Thus the people recognise that they need to protect the forests, as this will lead to their development. The reports emphasise the strengthening of forest committees, the plantation and the promotion of *kosa* breeding, and lacquer production.

Income and livelihoods

The main source of livelihood in the district is agriculture and the main crops are paddy, maize and *urad*. Agriculture is based on traditional knowledge even today. The other source of income is collection and sale of forest produce. More than half the villages (54 percent) in the district declare that their economic status is not good. A high proportion (93 percent) cannot generate employment in the village all year round. Most Village Reports say that the extension of irrigation facilities, promotion of animal husbandry, expansion of the *kosa* industry and small industries can help to improve employment opportunities.

Education, knowledge and information

Traditionally, knowledge and skill is passed down from one generation to another in society. Traditional skills are considered useful even today and the people want traditional knowledge to be combined with modern education. This they feel will help in finding employment. People agree that education has helped to improve the atmosphere in the village by reducing superstition and discrimination. The district has adequate educational institutions, but there is need for better school buildings and teachers, and a demand for vocational education. Sports facilities also need expansion. The District Report suggests that local people be given employment as teachers at the primary level to ensure regularity and accountability. Another suggestion is that *anganwadi* centres be upgraded into education centres. The report also demands greater emphasis on education for girls. More than half the villages believe that education will facilitate development and are willing to participate in every way possible.

Health and well-being

The district continues to rely on traditional

Table 7.15 **District profile - Korba**

Human Development Indices	2004		DISTRICT INFORMATION	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.625		Number of Inhabited Villages	-	710
HDI RANK	1		Number of Blocks	-	-
Alternate Human Development Index	0.497		Number of Towns	-	4
Alternate HDI Rank	5				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	4.69	4.86	Literacy Rate (%)	45.3	61.7
Area (sq km)	7145*	7145	Male Literacy Rate	61.52	75.9
Urban Population (%)	19.55	36.27	Female Literacy Rate	28.15	47.0
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	9.99	9.98	Scheduled Castes	39.6	63.7
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	43.13	41.50	Male Literacy Rate	59.4	77.9
Density of Population (per sq km)	125	153	Female Literacy Rate	18.8	49
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	29.9	49.7
Infant Mortality Rate**	87	84.9	Male Literacy Rate	46.4	65.7
Under 5 Mortality Rate	123	155	Female Literacy Rate	13.4	33.7
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	35.33	27.5	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	1	1	Households with <i>Pucca</i> Houses	24.28	31.42
PHCs	18	29	Households with Semi- <i>pucca</i> Houses	73.27	67.15
Sub-centres	-	194	Households with <i>Kutchha</i> Houses	2.46	1.43
Community Health Centres	2	3	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds	184	208	Electricity	30.31	4973
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe Drinking Water	53.59	45
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	-	1.362	Toilet Facilities	12.49	21.53
Cropping Intensity (%)	-	107	All of the three given above	9.06	17.6
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	-	0.426	None of the three given above	34.80	16
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	84	DNA
Rural	47.6	50.6	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	118	DNA
Urban	30.5	28.5	Total Fertility Rate	4.79	2.69
All	44.7	42.6	Sex Ratio (no. of females per 1000 males)		
Share of Primary Sector	75.7	DNA	Rural	968	992
Share of Secondary Sector	8.7	DNA	Urban	899	917
Share of Tertiary Sector	15.6	DNA	Total	952	964
Total Employment in Agriculture	70.7	64.38	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	940	962
Agricultural Labour	20.7	30.9	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	989	996
			Female Work Participation Rate	32.2	33.0

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because only the current area has been taken into consideration.

** The IMR in Korba in 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, because the 2001 data refers to the new district.

DNA - Data Not Available.

Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003

methods of treatment for various illnesses. Sixty-five percent of the villages still use and trust traditional means for treatment. Fifty-five percent of the villages say that the lack of adequate facilities and poor transport makes it difficult for patients to get treatment, even in an emergency. Almost all the villages (95 percent) have information about Government health programmes. The problem of respiratory infections caused by ash from the industries in Korba is cited by 20 percent of the villages in the district. Another 40 percent say that unclean drinking water is the cause of illnesses. Four out of five Village Reports in Korba mention malaria as their biggest problem. Forty-three percent of the villages express the need for a Sub-Health Centre in their village. The Reports suggest that educated youth belonging to the villages be trained and appointed as health workers.

Society and institutions

Every caste-group and community in the district has its own organisation, which ensures that social activities are carried out according to the norms of society. Traditional festivals and groups are useful in fostering good relations across classes. Government institutions, cooperative and other committees have their own role to play in society, and wherever possible, people participate in their activities. People say that giving more resources and training to the various committees will strengthen them. The reports emphasise that the people are willing to cooperate in all efforts made by the Government.

Kabirdham

Kabirdham district was formed in 1998, and comprises of the Kawardha *tehsil* of the old Rajnandgaon district and Pandariya *tehsil* of the old Bilaspur district. Surrounded by the Maikal hills of the Satpura range, this district is



associated with Kabir, who according to local legend, once came here.

Natural resources

Twenty-five percent of the villages in the district are situated alongside rivers, 54 percent are along rivulets, and 43 percent have forest resources. Thus, water is considered an extremely important resource for the lives and livelihood of the people. Other than the Saliha *nallah*, none of the rivers in the district are perennial. During the monsoon, the water in these rivers gets dirty and in the summer it dries up, leading to a scarcity of drinking water. The reports say that dams should not be built on the rivers but that these sources of water should be developed, so that there is water for irrigation and for domestic needs. People in the forest areas want to play an active role in the conservation and management of forests through the forest committees. They also want to encourage forest-based industries and plantations. Seventy percent of the villages are willing to give free labour in order to utilise

the available natural resources in a sustainable manner.

Income and livelihoods

All the villages in the district consider traditional knowledge useful, in relation to livelihoods. A little more than half of the villages in the district feel that the status of their livelihoods is average. Three-fourths of the villages feel that the available livelihood resources are inadequate. Only one out of four villages of the district is able to provide opportunities for employment all year round. About 70 percent of the people practise agriculture as their primary occupation. Hence, they are keen that irrigation facilities are extended and advanced implements and methods be adopted in agriculture. Forest dwellers want to undertake apiculture, sericulture and the cultivation of medicinal plants. With regard to small forest-based industries, the District Report says that the availability of raw materials will help to set up these enterprises. Women are eager to take loans from the Government and start their own enterprises and the people are supportive of these plans.

Education, knowledge and information

Ninety-five percent of the villages in the district consider traditional knowledge and education useful in their lives. The report stresses the need to impart traditional knowledge and education related to agriculture, as well as the need for technical and vocational education. Seventy percent of the villages in the district consider the level of education to be average, while a larger number consider the level of educational resources to be inadequate. The people articulate the need to ensure the adequacy of educational resources and call for a change in teaching methodology. However, only one-third of the villages are willing to provide any support to these initiatives.

Health and well-being

Three-fourths of the villages in the district recognise the close link between health and livelihood. Close to a third of the villages consider their health status inadequate, while another one-third feel their health status is just average. A high proportion (80 percent) of the villages are of the view that traditional knowledge in the health sphere is useful. Two-thirds of the villages feel that the existing Government resources are inadequate. Malaria, indigestion and diarrhoea are the main illnesses prevalent in the district. Stagnant water, dirt, lack of nutritious food and pure drinking water, and ignorance are factors that are considered to be responsible for the poor health status in the district. The monsoon is the most difficult period as far as health is concerned. The report expresses the need for an increase in health facilities, the training of *dais* and the organisation of regular health camps.

Society and institutions

Social and cultural groups, voluntary organisations, and various committees are active in Kabirdham and these are considered to be useful by all the villages. Public institutions like *Gram Panchayats*, *anganwadi* centres, cooperative societies and fair price shops also exist in the rural areas. While caste-based institutions are active even today, most people want to see a change in these traditional institutions. A little more than half the villages in the district have some basic information about Government programmes. Most people want to support the *Panchayats*, and they suggest that there be a training for *Panchayat* representatives so that they can perform their duties better. The *Gram Panchayats* themselves need to be strengthened and granted more rights. In this district too, the women have little information about the *Gram Sabha* and the participation of women in the *Panchayat* is low. This is an area that needs strengthening.

Table 7.16 **District profile - Kabirdham**

Human Development Indices	2004		DISTRICT INFORMATION	1991	2001
Human Development Index (HDI)	0.326		Number of Inhabited Villages	-	956
HDI RANK	15		Number of Blocks	-	4
Alternate Human Development Index	0.326		Number of Towns	-	2
Alternate HDI Rank	14				
POPULATION	1991	2001	EDUCATION	1991	2001
Share of State's Population (%)	2.92	2.81	Literacy Rate (%)	29.78	55.2
Area (sq km)	4347*	4347	Male Literacy Rate	45.42	71.0
Urban Population (%)	6.68	7.68	Female Literacy Rate	14.16	39.5
Scheduled Caste Population (%)	13.86	12.71	Scheduled Castes	44	55.2
Scheduled Tribe Population (%)	20.24	20.86	Male Literacy Rate	60.7	72
Density of Population (per sq km)	122	138	Female Literacy Rate	27.7	38.4
HEALTH	1991	2001	Scheduled Tribes	35.6	44.2
Infant Mortality Rate**	97	96.9	Male Literacy Rate	61.8	59
Under 5 Mortality Rate	150	-	Female Literacy Rate	20.1	29.7
Crude Birth Rate (per 1000 population)	34.16	23.49	HOUSEHOLD STATUS (%)	1991	2001
Number of Hospitals	-	-	Households with <i>Pucca</i> Houses	14.42	20.24
PHCs	7	12	Households with Semi- <i>pucca</i> Houses	82.82	77.60
Sub-centres	-	96	Households with <i>Kutch</i> a Houses	2.76	2.16
Community Health Centres	0	2	Households with Access to:		
Number of Beds		96	Electricity	37.39	43.90
AGRICULTURE	1991	2001	Safe Drinking Water	51.91	55
Average Land Holding Size (in ha)	-	2.038	Toilet Facilities	6.17	7.33
Cropping Intensity (%)	-	125	All of the three given above	4.48	4.98
Per Capita Forest Area (ha)	-	0.474	None of the three given above	31.6	12
EMPLOYMENT (%)	1991	2001	GENDER	1991	2001
Work Force Participation Rate			Infant Mortality Rate (girls)	114	DNA
Rural	55.9	51.4	Child Mortality Rate (girls) up to 5 yrs	145	DNA
Urban	33.7	32.1	Total Fertility Rate	4.23	3.67
All	52.4	49.9	Sex Ratio (no. of females per 1000 males)		
Share of Primary Sector	92.2	DNA	Rural	1000	1008
Share of Secondary Sector	2.4	DNA	Urban	951	935
Share of Tertiary Sector	5.4	DNA	Total	996	1002
Total Employment in Agriculture	92.2	87.2	Scheduled Castes (sex ratio)	990	994
Agricultural Labour	24.2	31.8	Scheduled Tribes (sex ratio)	1008	1015
			Female Work Participation Rate	49.2	47.6

* The area of the district in 1991 and 2001 is the same because only the current area has been taken into consideration.

** The IMR in Kabirdham in 1991 and 2001 is not comparable, because the 2001 data refers to the new district.

DNA - Data Not Available.

Note: The IMR figure for 2001 refers to estimates made for 2003

Technical Note on District Profiles

The district profiles have been prepared from information from various sources. Data on population, literacy, household status, gender, employment and district information have been prepared by using the Census 2001 data as base information. Important Census tables used are listed below:

- Primary Census Abstract
- Statement 3 Ranking of districts by density of population: Census of India, Chhattisgarh Series 23 Provisional population totals, Paper 1 of 2001
- Table 2: Total Population, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes population and their proportion to total population
- Table 3: Population and Sex Ratio among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Census of India 2001
- Table 13(a): Distribution of total workers by category of workers in percentage, Census of India 1991, 2001
- Census of India, Town codes of Chhattisgarh
- Table: Number of literates, literacy rates by sex, Census of India 1991, 2001
- Table: Distribution of households by source of water, availability of electricity and latrine, Household Amenities and Assets
- Female Work Participation Rate

Data on the health sector was obtained from the Directorate of Health and Family Welfare.

Data regarding the share of different sectors in

the economy of Chhattisgarh was provided by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Chhattisgarh, Raipur. The Directorate of Agriculture, Government of Chhattisgarh provided data on land holdings and forest areas in the districts.

The District Statistical Handbooks (DSH) for the year 2001 and the DSH for the seven original districts for the year 1991 have been used to get information about geographical area, number of villages, blocks, etc. Data about geographical area of the districts have been obtained from the Commissioner, Land Records, Chhattisgarh through the Directorate of Economics and Statistics.

The Human Development Reports of Madhya Pradesh for the year 1995 and 1998 have been used for data on district-wise IMR. For IMR for the year 2001, please refer to the technical note. Directorate of Health Services provided information about the health infrastructure in the district.

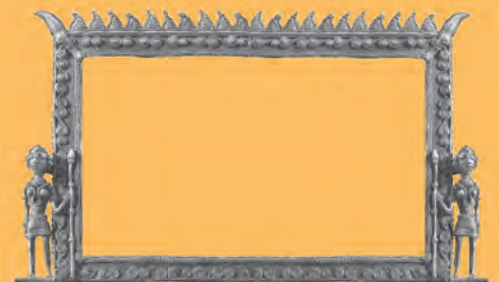
The State of Chhattisgarh was constituted on 1 November 2000 with 16 districts and 146 development blocks. These 16 districts were carved out from seven original districts of erstwhile Madhya Pradesh. The details are:

Original districts	New districts after the reorganisation
Raipur	Raipur, Dhamtari and Mahasamund
Rajnandgaon	Rajnandgaon and Kabirdham
Durg	Not divided in 1998
Surguja	Surguja and Korea
Raigarh	Raigarh and Jashpur
Bilaspur	Bilaspur, Korba and Janjgir-Champa
Bastar	Uttar Bastar-Kanker, Bastar and Dakshin Bastar-Dantewada

Because of the change in the geographical boundaries, the area, the number of blocks and villages has changed substantially over the 1991-2001 period, and in many cases is not comparable.



The Methodology and the Process





The Methodology and the Process

The first steps towards the process of the preparation of the *Jan Rapats* were taken on the eve of the first anniversary of the creation of the State, in October 2001.

Away from the Drawing Board: NGOs Go to the Field

A broad structure for the Village Reports was prepared, along with the contours of an implementation plan. Based on these, pilot studies were taken up in five villages, spread over four districts¹. Five NGOs² took up the task of preparing five pilot *Jan Rapats*.

Each NGO evolved its own methodology, a decision deliberately taken to enable a subsequent comparative assessment of the best method and process to capture the elements of human development, and take the process further.

These pilot studies and the experience gained from developing them formed the basis of planning, structuring and strategising all the subsequent exercises. The process itself was dynamic, open, discussion-oriented and determined by the people, rather than being pre-determined by the methodology itself.

The writing of the *Jan Rapats* began on 1 November 2001 and was completed by 1 December 2002 as described in the following section. District Reports were then prepared, a task that was completed by the end of December 2002. The analysis of the information and data generated by 19,128 *Jan Rapats* and the District Reports took a considerable amount of time.

Refining the Methodology

Pilot project in Mahasamund district

The pilot *Jan Rapats* and the methodology used by each NGO were analysed. Based on this analysis, a pilot project was prepared, implemented and validated in Mahasamund district. Three villages were selected by the Mahasamund district administration for the pilot project. A dry run was held in another village, and as a part of the exercise, the objectives of the exercise were explained to the people. *Sangwaaris* from the three selected villages of Mahasamund block were trained in the methodology. The volunteers from other villages then proceeded to implement the pilot in their own villages. Through this part of the exercise, NGO representatives³ were present to observe, oversee and facilitate the assigned tasks.

¹ Tikhra Lohnga and Ghat Lohnga of Bastar Block in Bastar district, Barni of Ambikapur Block in Surguja district, Karu Tola of Dongargarh Block in Rajnandgaon district and Loop of Borla Block in Kabirdham district.

² Sanket in Bastar district, Samarthan and Prabhaas in Surguja district, Vardaan in Rajnandgaon district and Eklavya in Kabirdham district.

³ Representatives from Sanket, Debate and CHiPS were present

In each village where the pilot project was implemented, an eight-person team (of which four were women) was selected by the village community and constituted into a task force. This task force was expected to function as catalyst and facilitator, a bridge between the *sangwaaris* and the people of that village.

The pilot teams of *sangwaaris* had many questions, and some answers as well. Some questions were raised during the dry run at Umarda village; others emerged when *sangwaaris* went back to their own villages and began the process there. Questions ranged from mundane queries to logistics and to complex issues of village dynamics, social disequilibrium, and the need to adequately address the concerns of the disadvantaged and underprivileged.

On completion of the exercise, the teams shared their experiences and it became clear that it was possible for the village communities to write their own reports.

The Umarda training experience and the Village Reports of the three villages made clear that:

- *Sangwaaris* should be literate because they needed to ensure that discussions are reported in writing
- They should be articulate and need to have some previous experience of community mobilisation
- It was necessary that between a pair of *sangwaaris* (who together covered an area of three Village *Panchayats*) at least one member belong to the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes, in order to ensure articulation of these relatively marginalised communities

- Only women *sangwaaris* were able to ensure the participation of women
- The conceptual understanding about the whole exercise was critical
- A basic understanding of the system of governance was important
- The *sangwaaris* were the most crucial link in the process of developing the *Jan Rapat*. They were not only scribes, but facilitators, coordinators and catalysts in the process; translating ideas and thoughts into coherent areas of action.

This field trial helped the State team to:

- Finalise the criteria for the selection of *sangwaaris*
- Prepare content for capacity building, which resulted in a reference manual (which was later used both as a reference manual for training and as a guideline for preparing the Village Level People's Report (*Gaon ki Jan Rapat*))
- Realise the importance of community mobilisation.

Discussions with people and their representatives

On completion of the Mahasamund pilot exercise, its objectives, results and experience were collated and shared with District and Block *Panchayats* across the State. *Panchayat* members were invited to offer their comments and suggestions, and their role and efforts in the larger State level exercise were discussed and elaborated. Impediments to the exercise and the possibility of disruption were also discussed.

These meetings served to build confidence regarding the purpose of the exercise, its objectives and utility. At these meetings the importance of an adequate system of monitoring and supervision, to ensure adherence to schedules, consistency and objectivity became apparent.

Another significant point which emerged from these meetings was the importance of creating awareness about the exercise, and making certain that it is inclusive in nature, and particularly sensitive to the concerns of the underprivileged. The role of people's groups and institutions was identified to be pivotal. It was felt that they could act as vehicles for social mobilisation and ensure participation of all members of village society.

Meetings with non-government organisations

Non-government organisations (NGOs) were seen as crucial stakeholders in the project, for their knowledge about issues of the State and for their experience in working with the people. Meetings were organised with several NGOs to discuss and strengthen the concept of the *Jan Rapat*. This helped to understand the strengths and opportunities that the Report would bring and the pitfalls that need to be guarded against during implementation. These meetings helped in placing issues of human development in the appropriate local contexts and in identifying the differences and commonalities across the various regions of the State.

Developing intellectual understanding and clarity

Rigorous discussions and structure building sessions were held with academics, NGO personnel and experts in research methods so as to:

- clarify the concept of the *Jan Rapat*
- formulate simple and realistic processes and methods
- undertake assessments of possible risks, and measures to counter and mitigate these risks
- prepare a format for the *Jan Rapat*
- design a structure of roles and responsibilities.

These meetings helped in building ownership, partnerships and networks across the State. This in turn helped in the assimilation of a vibrant structure and evolved a dynamic method for the implementation of the concept of the *Jan Rapat*.

Determining the process

In March 2002, a large number of academics, experts and public representatives met at Raipur to discuss the writing of the People's Report of Chhattisgarh (*Chhattisgarh ki Jan Rapat*). This seminar deliberated on the structure, process, content and methodology that the *Jan Rapats* should follow at the village, the district and the State level. A broad framework, which would capture and reflect issues dealing with human development in the State was tabulated. The experience of similar endeavours like the People's Campaign in Kerala and the *Janmabhoomi* Campaign in Andhra Pradesh was discussed. These ideas were contextualised by the experience of NGOs and individuals working with the people of Chhattisgarh.

Teams of people drawn from Government officials, journalists, social workers, experts, local citizens, NGO workers, and other volunteers were deputed for the collection

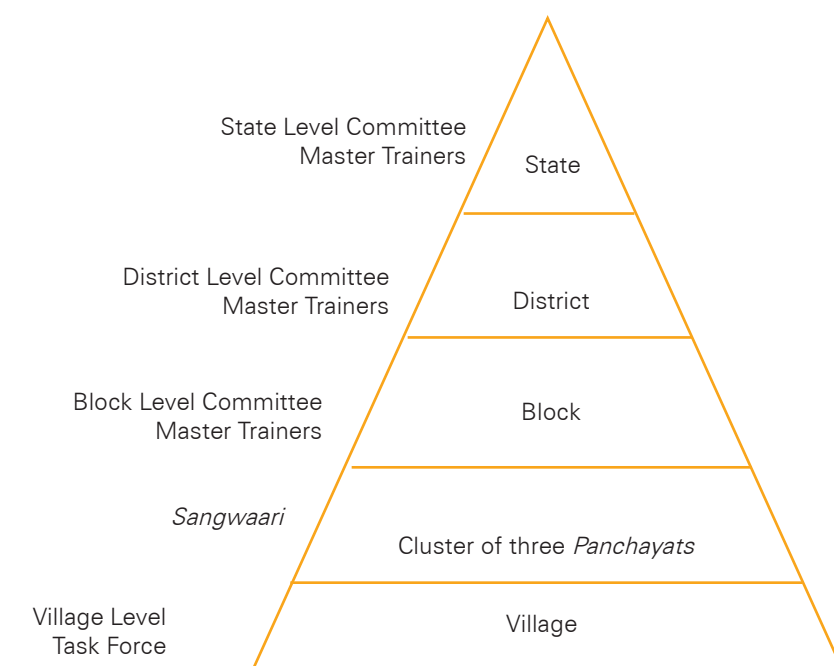
of primary information in all the villages. In the villages, the *Gyanodaya Kendras* (rural knowledge centres), established by the State Government, proved to be nodal points. These centres and the people (especially young people) involved in these centres were to assist the teams in the villages. The teams were to visit the villages and assist the *Panchayat* representatives and rural citizens to develop a *Jan Rapat* at the village level, called the *Gaon ki Jan Rapat* (People's Report for the Village), which would contain documentation of natural resources, livelihoods, health, education, and issues such as migration, land issues, forest issues and poverty.

Three sub-committees were formed at the State level to monitor the progress of the task. These were: the sub-committee on data collection, the sub-committee on social mobilisation, and the sub-committee on training and capacity building. These committees included NGO activists, academics, social activists, media and the Government.

The implementation set-up

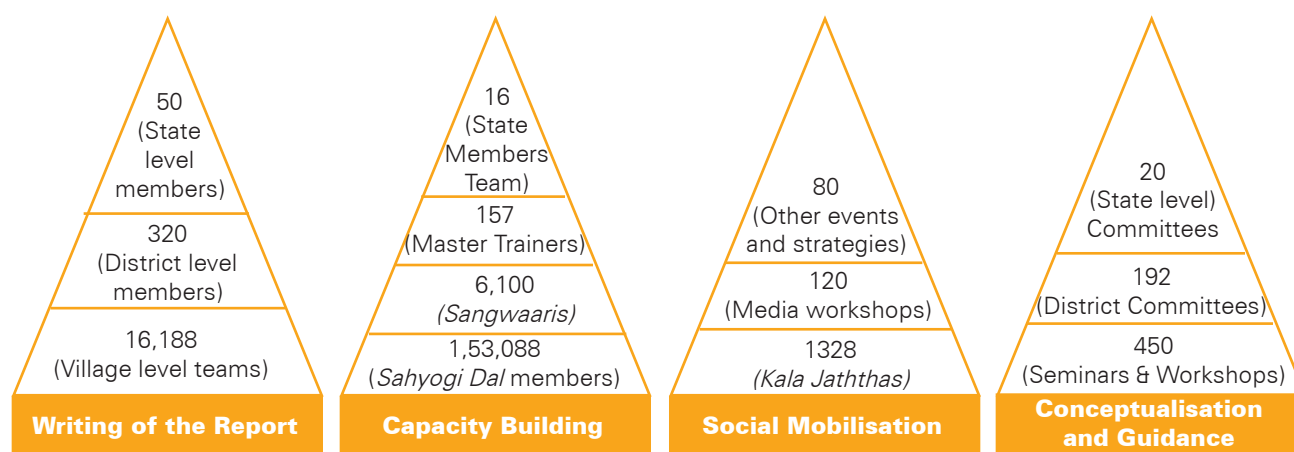
The State agency for promoting Information Technology and Biotechnology, the Chhattisgarh Infotech and Biotech Promotion Society, also known as 'CHIPS', was designated as the nodal agency for the *gaon dahar chalav* campaign. The guidance committees that were created at the State, district and village levels advised on the activities. To provide administrative support at the district level, a nodal officer was appointed by the District Collector to coordinate the *Jan Rapat* activities. The nodal officers, with the assistance of the various departments at the district level, coordinated the capacity building exercises, which included the selection and training of master trainers and *sangwaaris*, the collection and collation of information for Part I of the *Jan Rapats*, and the process of guiding the documentation of the reports at the village and the district level. The teams constituted by the District Level Guidance Committees developed the District Reports.

Figure 8.1 **Pyramid**



The participation pyramid below gives an idea of this process.

Figure 8.2 **Participation Pyramid**



The Structure of the Village Jan Rapat

The structure of the *Jan Rapat* was drawn from the deliberations of the workshop, which was conducted in Raipur in March 2002, and the feedback from the three committees that were constituted for different aspects of the process. The *Jan Rapat* consists of three parts.

Part I: A secondary database on the village, based on a pre-designed data format.

The data collection sub-committee developed a format for collection of village level information. The format was then concretised into a formal close-ended questionnaire. The database is Part I of the *Jan Rapat*, which was eventually developed without the active participation of the people. Officers of various Government departments collected the secondary information. Girls trained as computer operators by the *Soochna Shakti* Programme then entered this information on to computers.

Part II: A guideline for discussions with various groups within the village was developed.

A vast range of topics were discussed in every habitation and the compilation of these discussions form Part II of the Reports.

The discussions covered the following topics:

- Natural resources (water, forests and land)
- Livelihoods
- Education, knowledge and information
- Health and well-being
- Institutions
- Society, relationships and traditions
- Any other topic which the village/group wanted to discuss

Each of these was explored in terms of their definitions and scope. Besides these, the discussions attempted to lead the people to articulate their feelings, knowledge and perceptions on:

Box 8.1

Selection of *sangwaaris*

The district coordination teams selected the *sangwaaris*. Leadership qualities, communication skills, sensitivity to village realities, structures and issues, and an empathy with the requirements of the marginalised communities were important criteria for the selection of *sangwaaris*. By and large, current or past members of local government institutions, political functionaries and Government employees were not selected.

It was ensured that there was at least one woman in every group of *sangwaaris*, and that there was adequate representation from the people belonging to the Scheduled Tribes or Scheduled Castes resident in the village. An attempt was also made to ensure that at least one *sangwaari* in each group belonged to a family with an extremely low income.

- Looking back: Where did the village stand with regard to the subject being discussed?
- Current status: What is the current situation?
- Strategy for the future: Where would the village like to go from here?

The future strategy also looked into a brief plan:

- What can the village community contribute?
- What help is required from specific outside agencies like other villages, communities, Government departments and non-governmental organisations?

In all, about 6,100 *sangwaaris* (women and men) were selected and then trained to carry out this exercise. While the people of the village were to nominate the *sangwaaris*, an attempt was made to ensure that both the *sangwaaris*

did not belong to the same village. A detailed selection schedule was developed for the *sangwaaris*.

Over the period of the next five to six months, the two *sangwaaris* (at least one was a woman) who were selected to cover three Village *Panchayats* were to form and orient groups of volunteers into Village Level Task Forces (*Gram Stariya Sahyogi Dal*) in each village within the Village *Panchayats* of their area. There are a total of 9,139 Village *Panchayats*⁴ across the State.

The Village Level Task Force was to initiate and mobilise the village community to carry out discussions related to the *Jan Rapat* in their respective groups. This Village Level Task Force typically consisted of about eight to ten women and men, representing every habitation in the village. They facilitated, and recorded the group discussions in each habitation, separately for men and women, which when collated, would form the *Gaon ki Jan Rapat*. Discussions were initiated according to predesigned formats, which were introduced by the *sangwaaris*.

Table 8.1 **Category of village-level groups**

General Group	Marginalised Group 1 ⁵	Marginalised Group 2
Women	Women	Women
Men	Men	Men

At the village level, discussions were held in groups that were formed in one of three ways – a general group, a marginalised group, and a second group that was more marginalised. There were a minimum of four to six group discussions in each village, so that everyone had an opportunity to articulate their concerns.

⁴ A village *panchayat* may cover more than one village, depending on the population.

⁵ Marginalised groups refer to sub-groups within the usually accepted disadvantaged groups of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes, and naturally vary from village, to village, depending on the population composition. Group 1 and 2 only refer to two sub-groups.

These discussions form Part II of the *Jan Rapat*.

Part III: Discussions were facilitated and completed by the *sangwaaris* and they were collated and documented with the help of the Village Level Task Forces into Part II of the reports. Once this was complete, the *sangwaaris*, in collaboration with the Village Level Task Forces, drew out the essential points from these discussions, and presented the report to the Village Assemblies in every village. The Village Assemblies could modify, change, reject or ratify the draft reports. The final reports were considered, adopted and ratified by the Village Assemblies. This ratified document forms Part III of the *Jan Rapat*.

Thus the Village *Jan Rapat* consists of three parts – the first is a database, the second a report of the discussions of village groups and the third a formal collated report based on the discussions and combined with a possible action plan drawn up by the people, adopted and ratified by the Village Assembly.

Capacity Building and Training

The *gaon dahar chalav* campaign for formulating the *Jan Rapats* was carried out over a five-month period, between June and November 2002. The process detailed above required a well-trained cadre of trainers. The sub-committee on training and capacity building assisted in designing a training plan and schedule for the people involved in the *Jan Rapat* exercise. The committee at the State level and Debate, an NGO, assisted in designing the training modules and schedules for the State level training of Master Trainers. Among other participatory exercises, training on PRA based tools and small group methods were planned to facilitate the writing of the *Jan Rapats*. Specific training

for this, together with communications and attitude building was imparted.

The State-level training of Master Trainers was held over five days from 28 May to 1 June 2002. This intensive training programme was implemented by a team of 14 resource persons consisting of experienced trainers from NGOs and training institutes from Chhattisgarh and elsewhere, and from the State-level Implementation Committee. A total of 157 Master Trainers were trained. The district administrations nominated these Master Trainers from NGOs, semi-Government bodies, Government departments, and included persons with appropriate backgrounds such as those having experience in District Institutes for Education and Training, Joint Forestry Management, *Panchayats*, Literacy Campaigns and Watershed Programmes.

The criteria for selection of Master Trainers included good communication skills, prior experience in participatory training methods, experience of working in rural areas and in social sectors like education and health. The training was conducted simultaneously at three separate venues, in four batches of about forty participants each, at Raipur. The five-day training included three days of classroom training and two days of fieldwork. The Master Trainers went back to their respective districts to impart the training to *sangwaaris* at the block level. The training of *sangwaaris* was held from 4 June to 4 July 2002. Each batch underwent a five-day training course. Thus, a team of three Master Trainers trained a maximum of 150 *sangwaaris* each. Each team of trained *sangwaaris* facilitated the writing of the *Jan Rapat* in three Village *Panchayats* of the State, during the four-month period, from mid July to mid November 2002.

Social Mobilisation

Kala Jaththas

Kala jaththas are cultural/entertainment groups which are common across Chhattisgarh. They often network and coordinate with the Government and other public and social sector departments and programmes to implement Information, Education and Communication related activities. These groups were used as a medium for social mobilisation, to inform people about the concept of the *Jan Rapat* and to create an atmosphere for the writing of the report. The *kala jaththas* used street plays, dramas and skits to popularise the *Jan Rapat* in the State. *Kala jaththa* performances were used to:

- Convey information about the concept and content of the *Jan Rapats*
- Mobilise and inform as many people as possible about the *Jan Rapats* and its components
- Stress the importance of people's involvement and participation in the writing of the *Jan Rapats*
- Create a favourable environment for writing the *Jan Rapats*.

Kala jaththas were performed in public places, like the weekly markets and fairs. There are about 1,500 such fairs and markets in Chhattisgarh and the *jaththas* performed two or three times across a two-month period in these village *haats*. One director, one music director and one dancer each from the popular *jaththas* in each district participated in an eight-day State level training-cum-workshop at Durg. They in turn trained the rest of members of

their own group as well as members of other *kala jaththas* in similar training-cum-workshop sessions organised at the district level.

Sangwaari meets

Sangwaari meets were held over the months of September and October 2002 at Bilaspur, Raipur, Jagdalpur and Surguja. *Sangwaaris*, Master Trainers, *kala jaththas* and other stakeholders in the process gathered at these meets, to revisit and share the concept of the *Jan Rapat*. These meets proved to be critical for building the motivation of the *sangwaaris*. They were also important tools to:

- Discuss the concept of the *Jan Rapat* and to revisit the learning regarding the methodology
- Build the confidence of *sangwaaris*, and inspire and encourage them.

Media workshops

The media was an important partner in this endeavour. In an effort to build alliances with and involve media persons in rural areas, four media workshops were held at Durg, Jagdalpur, Bilaspur and Surguja in September 2002. These meetings were organised and coordinated by Public Relations Department, the State Government. The objectives of these workshops were to:

- Provide information on the process and the status of the *Jan Rapat* to media persons
- Identify the role of the media as stakeholders in this process
- Clarify and address concerns of the media regarding the exercise

About 40 media persons, district officials and people associated with the process from

⁶ Debate, an NGO, developed the methodology for the District Report.

Box 8.2

Campaigns for social mobilisation

The districts were innovative in their efforts to take the idea of the *Jan Rapat* to the people. In Korba district messages were telecast on the local television channels, Durg district made a short documentary film to explain the concept and detailed the process of training in the district. Surguja district broadcast messages on All India Radio using the medium of songs and snippets.

Rajnandgaon used the effective traditional technique of announcements by the village chowkidars (kotwaars) to publicise the idea of the *Jan Rapat* in its villages. The print media was also used. Rajnandgaon also used the *Ma Bambleshwari Samooh* newsletter to inform people about the *Jan Rapat*. Dantewada, which has a rich heritage of traditional folk song and dance, used this to popularise the concept and encourage the participation of its village communities.

Public meetings, gathering and *baithaks* were held in Korba and Surguja districts. To involve children in the process, Kabirdham initiated discussions, debates and other activities on the *Jan Rapat* in schools. In Janjgir-Champa, a cycle rally was initiated by a local NGO. This was instrumental in involving and stirring interest, especially among the young people.

In Bilaspur, Government and non-government functionaries developed mechanisms for the guidance and monitoring of *sangwaaris*, while Korea appointed animators for social mobilisation for a cluster of villages.

the Government and from non-government agencies attended each workshop.

District and block level social mobilisation

Other initiatives were undertaken at the district level to:

- Provide guidance and direction to the people involved in the process
- Mobilise more people in the district
- Make the process of the *Jan Rapat* more participatory and effective.

Songs and slogans were written and sung in local dialects in almost every district. *Sangwaaris*

and Village Level Task Force members wrote slogans on the walls of the houses in their area in order to tell the villagers about the process. Radio and local television channels were also used effectively in some districts.

Preparing the *Jan Rapats*

Workshops for the preparation of the District Report

Based on the basic structure of the Village *Jan Rapats*, a broad format for the District Reports was evolved⁶. A workshop was held at Raipur, which was attended by all the people involved in the preparation of the Village *Jan Rapats* in the 16 districts, and by members of the *Jan Rapat* project team at the State level, who were to write the State Report. At this workshop, a strategy for developing District Reports based on a select sample of village *Jan Rapats* was finalised.

The District *Jan Rapats* were written based on a sample of about 10-15 percent of Village *Jan Rapats*. The Village *Jan Rapats* were selected from every block, on the basis of 16 identified categories. Villages were categorised into one or more of these categories. Some districts selected one or two additional categories based on district-specific issues.

The 16 categories were:

- (i) Villages close to all-weather roads
- (ii) Villages far from all-weather roads
- (iii) Villages where a dominant caste or community are in majority
- (iv) Villages where the marginalised groups are in majority
- (v) Villages with mixed populations of dominant and weaker sections
- (vi) Forest villages, or villages close to forests
- (vii) Villages far from forests

- (viii) Large villages with a population of a thousand people or more
- (ix) Small villages with a population of less than a thousand people
- (x) Villages with a weekly *haat* (market)
- (xi) Villages close to large markets or industries
- (xii) Villages close to block headquarters
- (xiii) Villages close to mines
- (xiv) Villages with places of tourist or historic significance
- (xv) Villages near district or State boundaries
- (xvi) Villages experiencing substantial seasonal migration

These categories were identified to include villages with different characteristics that may be present in a block. A list of all villages in a block, falling into these categories was developed. These categories were not mutually exclusive and therefore a village could belong to more than one category. Once the lists were received from the block, villages in each category were randomly selected. At least one village was selected in every category in order to make the sample purposive and representative. Depending on the number of villages in a category (if the number was large), more than one village was often selected in order to ensure representation. Thus, a sample of about 15 percent of the villages was selected (2,869 Reports) from across the State, for the writing of the District Reports. In addition, about 10 percent of the Village Reports have been randomly selected from each district for further reading and to be used as reference material for the State Report.

A simple matrix was then designed to capture the qualitative content of each of the subjects taken up for discussion from each Village Report. From this, a qualitative scale categorising

people's perceptions on a variety of issues covering natural resources, employment and livelihood, access to health and education, and social institutions was evolved.

Day-long workshops were held at Raipur, Bilaspur and Jagdalpur to discuss the process and structure of the District *Jan Rapats* with the members of teams identified at the district level, in order to draft the District Reports. These teams had about 20 to 30 members each and included academicians from within the district or outside, practitioners from the field, members from NGOs, and relevant Government personnel. Based on the Village Reports and their experiences, this team contributed both descriptive and analytical information for the different sections of the report. Three to four people were identified to examine each of the topics of the Village *Jan Rapats*.

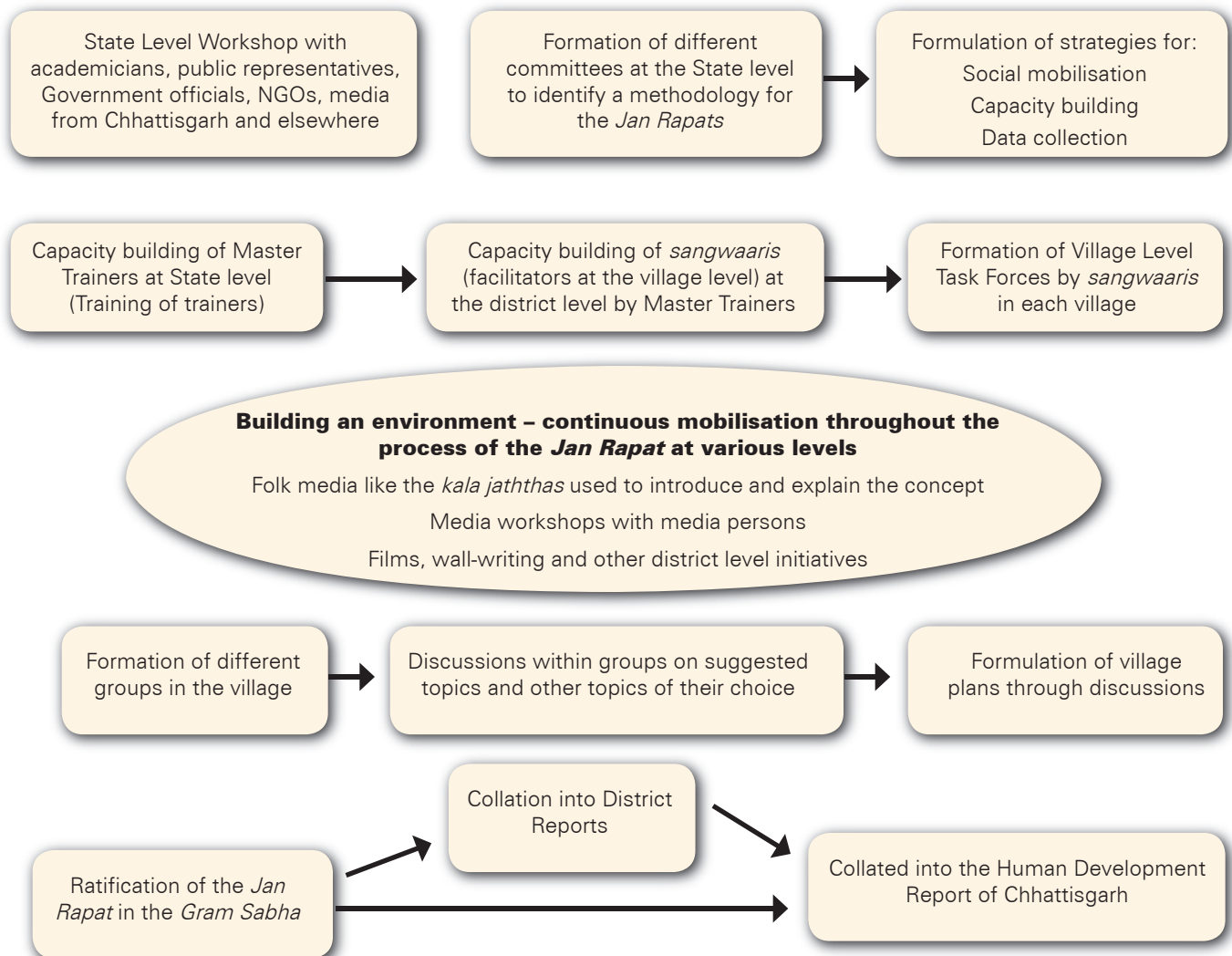
The Village *Jan Rapats* have been compiled at the district level into district *Jan Rapats* and then at the State level into the State Human Development Report or the *Jan Rapat*. This State Human Development Report views human development, as the people perceive it, using standards that they set, and measuring it against their aspirations.

The methodology of the State level *Jan Rapat*

The *Jan Rapat* at every level is a stand-alone report. Each higher level draws from the reports of the level(s) below but does not replace or undermine the others. The methodology of writing the *Jan Rapat* is substantive and descriptive, in that it builds from the Village and District Reports. It is analytical and prescriptive in that it highlights and translates issues and ideas from the village level to a higher level.

Figure 8.3

The process of Gaon Dahar Chalav Campaign



The State Report is the culmination of the *gaon dahar chalav* campaign. The flow diagram in Figure 8.3 attempts to illustrate the process.

Field studies by the State team

At the State level, issue-specific and locale-specific studies were carried out in order to understand and focus on micro and macro linkages between villages and the State. These studies were carried out simultaneously while the village level *Jan Rapats* were being written. They focused on the issues emerging at the

village level. They were conducted across the State and varied from group discussions to case studies, to open-ended interviews with individuals and groups.

Village Jan Rapats

The Village *Jan Rapats* are the most important source of information for the State level report. They present a challenge because they were both quantitative and qualitative in their description. What is most striking about the Reports is the richness and diversity of

experiential and intellectual thinking. Different patterns of presentation have emerged from the villages, each reflecting the capacity of people to contribute to the process of their own development, regardless of community, class or geographical divides.

District *Jan Rapats*

The District *Jan Rapats* are a collation of Village Reports selected on the basis of the 16 criteria mentioned earlier. These Reports mirror the villages against the backdrop of the district and portray by general occurrence and specific example, the status of human development in the villages and the district. The District Reports also attempt to form links between micro issues and macro realities and highlight the strengths and weaknesses in the districts. The District Reports capture the geographic and cultural specifics of their district that affect human life and development in the area, so as to form the basis for future interventions.

These Reports form an integral part of the State Report. Besides including one level of analysis they also summarise and highlight certain issues pivotal to the development of the district.

Though the State Report is built in an analytical framework, it retains the simple and lucid style of the Village and the District Reports. Since the Village and District *Jan Rapats* are the most important sources of information, all arguments and suggestions are supported by these documents. Care has been taken not to add any information to the report, which is not included in the Village or District Reports. This

may give the impression that the reporting is incomplete. Since the objective of the exercise is to reflect the voice of the people, the State Report refrains from filling gaps. However, the State Report does establish links as it moves between the State and the district, and the village and the State. It attempts to provide a wider perspective of the issues, which have been raised at the village level.

Secondary data

Secondary data forms a small section within each of the chapters. It has been included from various sources to reflect the status of Chhattisgarh with regard to different human development indicators. It helps to juxtapose objective reality with the perceived reality of the village communities. The Village and District *Jan Rapats* record perceptions. These are compared with secondary data in order to draw inferences, which seek to recognise the space that can be used for planning and policy interventions at the State level.

District profiles

A brief summary of the District Reports has been included at the end of the State Human Development Report to portray some of the primary concerns of districts and to record their specific problems and concerns. A profile of the district, with basic information pertaining to a range of indicators is also included.

The time grid in Table 8.2 illustrates the different activities and the time taken in the preparation of the Village *Jan Rapats*, the District Reports and the State Human Development Report.

Tabel 8.2
Event Chart

Event Chart																																				
Month	2001			2002												2003												2004								
	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	APRIL	MAY	SEPTEMBER	October		
Strategy formulation																																				
Pre-pilot studies																																				
Field visits																																				
Intermediate Panchayat meetings																																				
Meeting with NGOs and Government functionaries																																				
National level seminar																																				
Formation of state level sub-committees																																				
Pilot phase																																				
Master trainer's training (Training of trainers)																																				
Training of sangwaaris																																				
Training of kale jaththas																																				
IEC and social mobilisation																																				
Jan Rapat writing																																				
Ratification of village Jan Rapat																																				
Training for district Jan Rapat																																				
District Jan Rapat																																				
Ratification of District Rapats																																				
Preparation of Draft State Report																																				
Consultation meetings with NGOs																																				
Consultation on State Report																																				
Finalisation of Draft State Report																																				
Analysis of primary and qualitative data																																				
Compilation of perception of villages																																				
Comments from departments																																				
Editing and finalisation																																				
Approval by Cabinat Sub-Committee																																				
Approval by Cabinet																																				

Table 8.3 *Kala Jaththa shows*

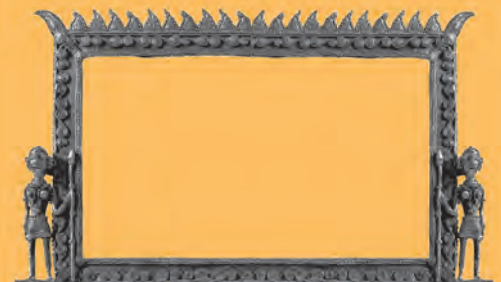
S. No.	District	Number of training sessions	Numbers of <i>sangwaaris</i>
1	Dakshin Bastar Dantewada	9	250
2	Bastar	13	390
3	Bilaspur	19	550
4	Durg	21	631
5	Janjgir-Champa	12	352
6	Mahasamund	11	317
7	Raigarh	15	449
8	Raipur	26	757
9	Rajnandgaon	14	422
10	Surguja	22	652
11	Korba	8	232
12	Jashpur	9	274
13	Korea	5	154
14	Dhamtari	7	200
15	Kabirdham	8	220
16	Uttar Bastar Kanker	9	250
	TOTAL	208	6,100

Table 8.4 *Number of training sessions*

S. No.	District	<i>Kala jaththa</i> shows
1	Dakshin Bastar Dantewada	95
2	Bastar	75
3	Bilaspur	110
4	Durg	80
5	Janjgir-Champa	60
6	Mahasamund	31
7	Raigarh	47
8	Raipur	227
9	Rajnandgaon	72
10	Surguja	200
11	Korba	43
12	Jashpur	90
13	Korea	46
14	Dhamtari	0
15	Kabirdham	50
16	Uttar Bastar Kanker	102
	TOTAL	1,328



Technical Note





Technical Note

Calculating the Human Development Index (HDI)

The HDI is a summary measure of human development. It measures the average achievements in a country in three basic dimensions of human development:

- A long and healthy life, as measured by life expectancy at birth
- Knowledge, as measured by the literacy rate (with two-thirds weight) and the combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio (with one-third weight)
- A decent standard of living, as measured by Net State Domestic Product (NSDP)

Before the HDI is calculated, an index needs to be created for each of these dimensions. To calculate these indices — the health, education and GDP indices — minimum and maximum values (goalposts) are chosen for each underlying indicator. Performance in each dimension is expressed as a value between 0 and 1 by applying the general formula:

$$\text{Dimension index} = \frac{\text{Actual value} - \text{Minimum value}}{\text{Maximum value} - \text{Minimum value}}$$

The income index is calculated using the following formula:

$$\text{Income index} = \frac{\log (\text{actual value}) - \log (\text{minimum value})}{\log (\text{maximum value}) - \log (\text{minimum value})}$$

Calculating the HDI for Chhattisgarh

The HDI is then calculated as a simple average of the dimension indices.

The following indicators have been used to calculate the HDI for Chhattisgarh.

- Infant mortality rate (IMR)
- Literacy rate (with two-thirds weight) and the combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio (with one-third weight)
- Per capita income

Maximum and minimum values for each dimension are predefined. These are explained in the table on next page.

Goalposts for calculating the HDI for Chhattisgarh

Indicator	Maximum value	Minimum value
Infant mortality rate (IMR)	120	0
Literacy rate (%)	100	0
Combined gross enrolment ratio (%)	100	0
Per capita DDP in Rs. (at 1993-94 prices)	35000	6000

Owing to data constraints, minor changes were made with respect to the indicators used in calculating the HDI for Chhattisgarh. The indicators used are:

- Infant mortality rate (IMR)
- Literacy rate (with two-thirds weight) and the combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio (with one-third weight)
- Per capita income

While the formula used for calculating the education and income indices is the same as explained above, since IMR is a deprivation indicator, the formula used is –

$$\text{Health Index} = \frac{1 - (\text{Actual value} - \text{Minimum value})}{\text{Maximum value} - \text{Minimum value}}$$

i) Estimation of Infant Mortality Rate

The Sample Registration System (SRS) provides State level data for IMR. As per the SRS 2003, the IMR of Chhattisgarh in 2002 was 73 per 1000 live births. In the absence of district level IMR data for Chhattisgarh, the primary data collected through Part 1 of the *Jan Rapat* has been used to arrive at district level IMRs while retaining the overall IMR figure given by SRS of 73 per 1000 live births.

ii) Calculating the Education Index

Data from the Census of India, 2001, on the literacy rate, and data from the Department of Education, Government of Chhattisgarh for the combined gross enrolment ratio has been used to compute the education index.

iii) Estimation of District Income

The methodology used to arrive at district-wise income estimates is described below:

A. Primary Sector

A.1 Agriculture (including livestock)

The district-wise area and production figures on agricultural product is available. However, district-wise price data was not available for all the districts. Hence, the weighted average price for the State was used to estimate the gross value of output for the districts, for which price data was not available.

A.2 Forestry and Logging

District-wise data on forest produce and its prices was available. Based on these, the State GDP was allocated among districts.

A.3 Fishing

In this sector also the district-wise data was available and it was utilised to estimate Gross Value Added (GVA) for the districts.

A.4 Mining and Quarrying

The Indian Bureau of Mines (IBM), Nagpur, provides data on production and value of major minerals. However, district-wise data on major minerals was not available. District-wise data on production and value of major minerals was obtained from the Directorate of Geology and Mining (DGM) and was utilised for estimating district-wise income from major minerals. The figures from DGM and IBM on the major minerals were not comparable, hence the DGM figure were normalised according to

proportion of different minerals as per IBM. In case of minor minerals, the figures published by the Directorate of Geology and Mining were available district-wise, which were used for estimation of GDP from this sector.

B. Secondary Sector

B.1 Manufacturing Registered

The State income from manufacturing registered sector was apportioned to the districts according to the relative work force as per 1991 Census (excluding house hold industries sector) in the total manufacturing sector.

B.2 Manufacturing Unregistered

The same methodology as for B-1 was adopted for this sector.

B.3 Construction

The State income was distributed among the districts according to the relative strength of the work force in the construction sector as per the 1991 Census.

B.4 Electricity Gas and Water Supply

District-wise wages and salaries of CGSEB were not available. However, district-wise consumption of electricity was available, which was used as an indicator to apportion State income among the districts. The GVA from the thermal power plant of NTPC situated at Korba was assigned to this district entirely.

For the gas sector, the number of bio-gas plants operative in the district was used for apportioning State income among districts.

For the water supply sector, district-wise number of workers in this sector according to the Census of Government employees was taken as an indicator.

C. Tertiary Sector

C.1 Railway

The length of railway tracks in different districts was taken as an indicator to distribute State income among the districts.

C.2 Transport by Other Means and Storage

State income from the storage sector is quite low and data on number of warehouse units are not available, hence, for this entire sector, district-wise indicators were generated from the number of registered motor vehicles in the respective districts.

C.3 Communication

For this sector the number of telephone connections in various districts was used to apportion State income among the districts.

C.4 Trade, Hotel and Restaurants

District-wise number of workers as per the 1991 Census in the trade and commerce sector was used to arrive at district-wise income for this sector.

C.5 Banking and Insurance

The State income was apportioned among the districts according to the number of bank branches operating in various districts.

A better indicator would have been district-wise wages and salaries but this data was not readily available.

C.6 Real Estate, etc

The State income from this sector was distributed among the districts as per the number of dwellings in the various districts as per the 1991 Census.

C.7 Public Administration

The State income for this sector was distributed among the districts according to the number

of Government employees in various districts in the State as per the 2001 Census by the Directorate of Economics and Statistics (DES), Chhattisgarh.

C.8 Other Services

The State income for this sector was distributed among the districts according to the number of Government employees in various districts, in various sub-sectors, as per the Census of Government employees carried out by the DES.

Recasting the Income Index and Estimating an Alternate HDI

As indicated, an alternate HDI has been estimated by recasting the income index for the State. The methodology used is similar to that followed for estimating the HDI as

explained earlier, except that the income from the mining and quarrying sector has not been taken into account while estimating district income.

The goalposts used are given in the Table below:

Goalposts for calculating Alternate HDI

Indicator	Maximum value	Minimum value
Infant mortality rate (IMR)	120	0
Literacy rate (%)	100	0
Combined gross enrolment ratio (%)	100	0
Per capita DDP Rs. (at 1993-94 prices)	35,000	6000

It is important to mention here that the same goalposts have been used to estimate the Alternate HDI for consistency.



Appendix

Table 1 **Rivers of Chhattisgarh**

River	Length (Km)	District (s)
Mahanadi	286	Dhamtari, Mahasamund, Raipur, Bilaspur, Janjgir-Champa, Raigarh
Indravati	264	Bastar, Dakshin Bastar Dantewada
Shivnath	200	Rajnandgaon, Durg, Bilaspur, Janjgir-Champa
Hasdeo	176	Korba, Korea, Bilaspur, Janjgir-Champa
Sabari	173	Dakshin Bastar Dantewada
Maand	155	Jashpur, Surguja, Raigarh, Janjgir-Champa
Rihand	145	Surguja
Kanhar	115	Surguja, Jashpur
Arpa	100	Bilaspur
Kharoon	96	Durg, Raipur
Haaf	88	Durg, Kabirdham
Eib	87	Jashpur

Table 2 **Different kinds of minor forest produce and the prices paid for them**

Fruits and flowers	<i>chaar, tendu, mahua, aavla, palaash, semal, pipal, banyan</i>
Vegetables	<i>keni, gangal, charauta, gumi</i>
Tubers	<i>anj, bhaumcheri, jimi</i>
Medicines	<i>ritha, mentki, aonla, palaash, mahua</i>
Fuel wood	<i>sal, dhawra, bhirha, tendu, dhenha, aonla</i>
Timber	<i>sal, teak, bija, tendu, karanj, timsha, sheesham</i>
Produce	Price paid
Sal seeds	Rs 5.00 per kg
Harra	Rs 2.50 per kg
Chaar	Rs 130.00 per kg

Contd...

<i>Tendu</i>	Rs 450.00 per standard bag
<i>Mahua</i>	Rs 4.80 per kg
<i>Imli</i>	Rs 4.50 per kg
<i>Kullo Gum</i>	Rs 5000 per quintal
<i>Dhwada Gum</i>	Rs. 2500.00 per quintal
<i>Khair and Babool gum</i>	Rs. 1500 per quintal
<i>Tendu leaves</i>	Rs 45 per 100 bundles

Table 3 **Different soil types and crops grown in Chhattisgarh**

Soil type	Suitable crops	Region
Red-Yellow	paddy	Surguja, Korea, Jashpur, Korba, Kabirdham, Bilaspur, Durg, Raipur, Mahasamund, Raigarh and Dhamtari districts
Red Sandy Loam	cereals, <i>kodu-kutki</i> , <i>jowar</i> , <i>bajra</i> , potato, oilseeds	Dakshin Bastar Dantewada, Bastar, Uttar Bastar, Kanker and Rajnandgaon districts
Red Soil	<i>kharif</i> crops	Dakshin Bastar Dantewada and Konta <i>tehsils</i>
Laterite	cereal crops	Baagicha, Saamri, Kawardha, Ambikapur, Chhuikhadan, saaja, Bemetara and Jagdalpur <i>tehsils</i>
Black Cotton	wheat, gram, cotton, chillies, coriander	Mungeli, Kawardha, Rajim, Raipur, Mahasamund, Kurud <i>tehsils</i>

Table 4 **District-wise availability of minerals in Chhattisgarh**

S. No.	District	Minerals found
1.	Raipur	limestone, diamond, alexandrite, garnet, dolomite, granite, gold
2.	Durg	limestone, iron ore, dolomite, quartzite
3.	Bilaspur	limestone, dolomite
4.	Uttar Bastar-Kanker	iron ore, bauxite and granite
5.	Mahasamund	gold and quartzite
6.	Rajnandgaon	limestone, iron ore, fluorite, quartz, granite
7.	Kabirdham	bauxite, Limestone
8.	Janjgir-Champa	limestone, dolomite
9.	Korba	bauxite and coal
10.	Raigarh	limestone, quartzite and coal
11.	Korea	coal, fireclay
12.	Dakshin Bastar-Dantewada	tin ore, iron ore, corundum
13.	Bastar	limestone, dolomite, quartzite, iron ore and bauxite
14.	Dhamtari	granite and miner minerals
15.	Jashpur	bauxite, gold and beryl
16.	Sarguja	bauxite and coal

Table 5 **Forest area by district**

	Forest area			Total
District	Reserved	Protected	Undemarcated	
Raipur	1908.55	1888.46	615.77	4412.78
Dhamtari	2056.32	69.22	0	2125.54
Mahasamund	756.92	322.4	423.65	1502.97
Uttar Bastar-Kanker	1583.97	733.549	1040.854	3358.37
Bastar	3359.35	2083.856	1669.192	7112.393
Dakshin Bastar-Dantewada	5179.79	3125.742	1711.769	10017.303
Durg	635.07	113.23	114.91	863.21
Rajnandgaon	943.17	1709.15	270.69	2923.01
Kabirdham	706.57	921.85	223.83	1852.25
Surguja	2473.14	6181.829	0	8654.968
Korea	2001.15	1528.143	0	3529.297
Raigarh	1597.62	580.998	1064.402	3243.015
Jashpur	1147.71	588.075	1016.504	2752.285
Korba	0	2834.968	1352.403	4187.371
Janjgir-Champa	151.46	59.303	39.302	250.066
Bilaspur	1281.39	1295.327	410.846	2987.56
Total	25782.17	24036.1	9954.122	59772.39

Source: www.cgforest.org. FMIS Division, Forest Department

Table 6 **Haat bazaar schedule for Korea district**

(46 haat bazaars are held weekly in Korea district)

S	Block	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
1	Baikuntpur	2	3	3	1	2	1	4
2	Manendragarh	3	1	0	0	1	2	1
3	Khargawah	0	0	1	2	1	3	2
4	Sonhath	1	1	1	1	1	0	1
5	Bharatpur	1	2	0	2	0	0	2
	TOTAL	7	7	5	6	5	6	10

Source : Korea District *Jan Rapat*

Table 7 **Diverse employment/livelihood sources in Surguja**

Duration	Activity in Surguja	Location
1 month	Replantation on own land and other land as labour	Village
1 month	Reaping and threshing	Village
2 month	NTFP collection and labour	Forest around village
8 months	Labour	Urban areas and mines outside the village

Source: District Report, Surguja

Table 8 **District-wise collection of minor forest produce**

District	Minor Forest Produce Collection			
	Tendu <i>patta</i> (Sack units)	Sal Seeds (Quintals)	Harra (Quintals)	Gum (Quintals)
Bastar	72373.309	76008.69	7478.31	5.59
Bilaspur	77920.902	0	398.84	0
Dakshin Bastar Dantewada	173550.032	10036.82	537.74	244.93
Dhamtari	41825.5	9519.61	2566.95	0
Durg	38179.365	0	1601.68	540
Janjgir-Champa	12252.56	0	0	0
Jashpur	42112.006	15028	228.4	0
Uttar Bastar Kanker	301594.282	5187.44	32794.365	156.075
Kabirdham	50225.517	0	519.32	0
Korba	151861.713	3174.15	353.67	0
Korea	79601.672	1892.93	2670.49	0
Mahasamund	121007.681	125	2717.6	110
Raigarh	181961.184	1630.9	1215.3	51.26
Raipur	154869.633	7095.28	697.91	165.7
Rajnandgaon	170998.466	0	5727.04	348.65
Surguja	287972.853	8909.8	726.93	0
Total	1958306.68	138608.62	60234.545	1622.205

Source: Department of Forests, Government of Chhattisgarh

Table 9 **Number of hospitals in Chhattisgarh**

Districts	Number of Development Blocks	District Hospitals	Civil Hospitals	Community Health Centre	Primary Health Centres	Sub-Health Centres	Civil Dispensaries
Raipur	15	1	1	11	47	461	10
Mahasamund	5	-	1	4	14	142	-
Dhamtari	4	1	1	2	12	139	-
Durg	12	1	2	10	46	353	1
Rajnandgaon	9	1	-	6	25	218	1
Kabirdham	4	-	-	2	12	96	-
Bilaspur	10	1	1	10	42	282	3
Korba	5	-	1	3	29	194	-
Janjgir-Champa	9	-	1	6	24	210	1
Raigarh	9	1	2	5	40	250	2
Jashpur	8	-	1	7	27	190	-
Surguja	19	1	1	18	65	488	-
Korea	5	-	-	5	21	106	-
Bastar	15	1	2	12	57	330	-
Dakshin Bastar Dantewada	11	-	-	9	34	204	-
Uttar Bastar Kanker	6	-	2	5	21	150	-
Chhattisgarh	146	8	16	115	516	3813	18

Source: Department of Health, Government of Chhattisgarh

Table 10 **Norms for health care**

Type of health centre	Number of beds	Number of doctors	Population size serviced	
			General	Tribal areas
Community Health Centre	30	5 (2 specialist PG doctors)	< 100000	< 80000
Block level Primary Health Centre	6	1-2	< 50000	< 40000
Primary Health Centre	6	1	< 30000	< 20000
Sub-Health Centre		Staffed by ANM	< 5000	< 3000

Source: Department of Health, Government of Chhattisgarh

Table 11 **Rural population per PHC and SHC**

Districts	Rural Population	Primary Health Centres	Rural Population per PHC	Sub-Health Centres	Rural Population per SHC
Bastar	1177122	57	20,651	330	3567
Bilaspur	1509923	42	35,951	282	5354
Dakshin Bastar Dantewada	666745	34	19,610	204	3268
Dhamtari	610006	12	50,834	139	4389
Durg	1734388	46	37,704	353	4913
Janjgir-Champa	1170826	24	48,784	210	5575
Jashpur	705536	27	26,131	190	3713
Uttar Bastar Kanker	619485	21	29,499	150	4130
Kabirdham	539799	12	44,983	96	5623
Korba	645115	29	22,245	194	3325
Korea	410534	21	19,549	106	3873
Mahasamund	762919	14	54,494	142	5373
Raigarh	1096060	40	27,402	250	4384
Raipur	2094434	47	44,562	461	4543
Rajnandgaon	1050150	25	42,006	218	4817
Surguja	1833595	65	28,209	488	3757

Source: Department of Health, Government of Chhattisgarh

Table 12 **Academic institutions in Chhattisgarh**

S No	Academic Institutions	Number of Institutions
1	Pre Primary School	839
2	Primary School	31907
3	Middle School	7098
4	High School	1176
5	Higher Secondary School	1386

Source: Director, DPI



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