

POLICY BRIEF

Gender and Development in Chhattisgarh: Some Policy Prescriptions



ऑक्सफैम इंडिया
OXFAM
India

NO. 27 | NOVEMBER 2017

Gender development and women's empowerment is now acknowledged as the core of the inclusive growth policies and overall economic prosperity of a state/country. Chhattisgarh has seen rapid growth since its formation, yet sluggish decline in poverty leading to pockets of extreme deprivation. A fallout of this development paradigm, which ignored the needs and aspirations of the marginalised communities, has been the rise in violence against women. There is urgent need for the government of Chhattisgarh to put in place an updated State Women's Policy, adopt appropriate policy measures for ensuring land rights to women and bring back its focus on gender budgeting.

I. SETTING THE CONTEXT:

Carved out of Madhya Pradesh in 2000, Chhattisgarh is located in the centre-east of the country. It consists of 28 million people. It is a resource rich state—a source of steel and electricity for the country—and accounts for 15 percent of total steel produced in the country. The state is also rich in natural reserves and forests with a 44 percent forest cover, which is home to many indigenous/tribal communities who are dependent on forest produce for their livelihood. Chhattisgarh is home to 10 percent of the total tribal population in the country.¹ According to the Census of India 2011, the tribal population in Chhattisgarh is 30.62 percent.

Since its formation in 2000 it scripted a 10 percent growth rate making it one of the fastest developing states in the country. The growth rate since 2009 has slowed down to 7 percent. Yet, it is one of the poorest states (10 million poor) in the country despite its impressive growth trends.² The story of Chhattisgarh is one of a development paradigm that has led to large-scale destruction (of culture, identity, livelihoods) and displacement of the marginalised communities namely Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs). Naxalism is a growing menace, particularly affecting SCs and STs in the state. Data analysed by the erstwhile Planning Commission shows that 69 percent of SCs and STs reside in Naxal affected areas in Chhattisgarh.³ The Planning Commission attributes the increase in left-extremism in the state to a faulty development paradigm which has been forced on tribal communities without addressing their needs and concerns. It is also a paradigm that has been largely usurped by dominant communities and disregarded the plight of the poor and marginalised.³

In terms of economic performance, as per Table 1, revenue deficits of Chhattisgarh are significantly higher than the all states' average as of 2016-17; however, Gross Fiscal Deficit is more or less at par with the average of other states. It is a positive sign that expenditure by Chhattisgarh towards development initiatives in 2016-17 was higher than the average of all states combined at 18.8 percent as compared

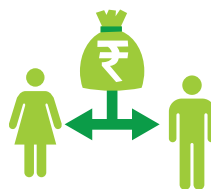
RECOMMENDATIONS



GOVERNMENT OF CHHATTISGARH MUST PUT IN PLACE AN UPDATED STATE WOMEN'S POLICY



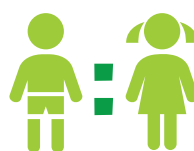
GOVERNMENT OF CHHATTISGARH MUST TAKE APPROPRIATE POLICY MEASURES AND EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION PLAN FOR ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN BY ENSURING LAND RIGHTS AND LIVELIHOODS.



GOVERNMENT OF CHHATTISGARH MUST BRING BACK THE FOCUS ON GENDER BUDGETING AND INCREASE PERCENTAGE SHARE FOR WOMEN SPECIFIC PROGRAMMES AND EXPENDITURES IN STATE.



GOVERNMENT MUST ADDRESS THE ILL EFFECTS OF UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT AND TAKE STRICT POLICY MEASURES FOR ENDING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS (EVAWG).



GOVERNMENT OF CHHATTISGARH HAS TAKEN COGNISANCE OF DECLINING CHILD SEX RATIO AND INTRODUCED THE NONI SURAKSHA YOJANA TO CHECK THE DECLINE.

to 12.5 percent. The state's health expenditure is almost one percentage point higher at 5.7 percent than the average expenditure on health by all states combined which is at 4.9 percent. Similarly, expenditure on education in 2016-17 by Chhattisgarh was 19.7 percent as compared to all states' average of 15.6 percent.

This has manifested itself in reducing the gender gap in schooling in the state. At the 6 to 8 years age group, the difference in enrolment in educational institutions between boys and girls is merely 4 percentage points (85 percent male and 81 percent female). Similarly, at the age group of 9 to 11 years, the difference is 6 percentage points (93 percent male, 87 percent female).² However, on matters of health, as we will discuss further, gender indicators of human development such as Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and Maternal Mortality Rate (MMR) have scope for improvement.

This paper looks at why despite high growth rate violence against women and girls (VAWG) has been increasing in Chhattisgarh. Unlike, most other states in India, **Chhattisgarh has seen an increase in domestic violence by 6.8 percentage points between National Family Health Survey-3 (NFHS-3) in 2005-06 to NFHS-4 in 2015-16.** This is worrisome, especially in light of the fact that other states have performed much better at reducing domestic violence. For example, its neighbouring state of Bihar, which was one of the poorest states in the country, has seen a 15.8 percentage point reduction in domestic violence during the same period. **In Chhattisgarh, between 2005-06 (NFHS 3) and 2015-16 (NFHS 4), percentage of ever-married women who have ever experienced spousal violence went up from 29.9 percent to 36.7 percent. The state capital of Raipur ranks fourth across the country in crimes against women.**⁴

This is cause for much concern and we argue in this paper that VAWG has to be seen within the broader rubric of women's landlessness, uneven development pattern of the state and a lack of commitment to gender mainstreaming in government schemes and budgets. The issue of tribal population will also be discussed as violence has manifested among them as well.

The Government of India approaches women's empowerment as a socio-political issue. India is signatory to a number of progressive global commitments such as the Convention on Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform for Action and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Recently, the Government of India has also pledged its commitment to achieving Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5 by addressing the key challenges such as poverty, inequality and violence against women. In consonance with that commitment, as of 2016, the Government of India released the draft National Policy for Women 2016 after more than a decade since the release of the National Policy for the Empowerment of Women (NPEW) in 2001. While the central government has shown its commitment to reducing discriminations and violence against women, in a federal structure, it is the responsibility of states to bring about that transformation. This paper focusses on Chhattisgarh to see how far it has achieved gender justice and women's empowerment.

Chhattisgarh has witnessed mixed progress on account of gender: while on the one hand, child sex ratio in the state is



TABLE 1: FISCAL SITUATION OF CHHATTISGARH

	CHHATTISGARH	ALL STATES' AVERAGE
REVENUE DEFICITS (%) IN 2016-17 [DEFICITS (+) & SURPLUS (-)] (% OF GSDP)	-1.7	-0.1
GROSS FISCAL DEFICIT (GFD) IN 2016-17 (IN %) (% OF GSDP)	2.8	3.0
DEVELOPMENT EXP. IN 2016-17 (% OF GSDP)	18.9	12.5
EXP. ON HEALTH IN 2016-17 (% OF AGGREGATE EXP. OF STATE/S')	5.7	4.9
EXP. ON EDUCATION IN 2016-17 (% OF AGGREGATE EXP. OF STATE/S')	19.7	15.6

Source: State Finances: A Study of Budgets 2016-17, RBI

higher than several other states in the country, it is, however, declining over time. On the other hand, over all, maternal health is poor, but has been improving with time. In terms of education and literacy, adult women have fewer years of schooling than adult men. A high point is the fact that gender gaps in elementary schools are closing. At a time when the country's female labour force participation rate is declining sharply, Chhattisgarh's female labour force participation rate is among the highest in the country.⁵ It is also a positive trend that, 90.5 percent women are participating in household decisions, which is significantly higher than the national average of 84 percent.⁶

II. KEY HIGHLIGHTS OF CHHATTISGARH'S DEVELOPMENT TRAJECTORY WITH RESPECT TO GENDER INDICATORS:

HIGHLIGHTS:

- Between 2012-13 and 2016-17, the Gross State Domestic Product - GSDP (at constant prices) grew annually at 7.2 percent. This is marginally higher than the national economy, which is at 6.7 percent. Overall, Chhattisgarh has scripted impressive growth rate since its formation. However, a study of growth rates over the years shows wide fluctuations from year to year. It is also a fact that growth and poverty reduction have not matched in pace. Women face the brunt of this developmental trajectory and are among the poorest in the state.
- The Sex Ratio of Chhattisgarh is higher than the national average. Overall, this is a more balanced scenario as compared to the national figure. There is some cause for worry however, for the sex ratio for children between 0-6 years of age. While as of 2011, it looks healthy at 969 per 1000 males and is the fourth highest in the country after Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, and Mizoram; and much higher than the national ratio of 918; within Chhattisgarh, the child sex ratio has been on the decline. The child sex ratio in Chhattisgarh was 984 in 1991 and 975 in 2001.⁵

TABLE 2: SOME INDICATORS OF ECONOMIC & SOCIAL PROGRESS IN CHHATTISGARH

	CHHATTISGARH	ALL INDIA
AVERAGE GROWTH RATE OF GSDP/ GDP (%) DURING 2012-13 TO 2016-17 [ECONOMIC SURVEY 2016-17, CHHATTISGARH]	7.23	6.75
PER CAPITA GSDP/ GDP IN 2016-17 (INR) AT CURRENT PRICES [ECONOMIC SURVEY 2016-17, CHHATTISGARH]	103870	116888
SEX RATIO – FEMALES PER 1000 MALES [CENSUS 2011]	991	943
SEX RATIO (0-6 YEARS) – FEMALES PER 1000 MALES [CENSUS 2011]	969	918
LITERACY RATE 7+ YEARS (%) [CENSUS 2011]	70.3	73.0
DECLINE IN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ¹¹ (IN PERCENTAGE POINTS) DURING 2005-06 TO 2015-16	6.8 (INCREASED)	8.4
MOTHERS WHO RECEIVED FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE UNDER JANANI SURAKSHA YOJANA (JSY) FOR BIRTHS DELIVERED IN AN INSTITUTION (%) IN 2015-16	66.2	36.4
INCREASE IN INSTITUTIONAL BIRTHS (IN PERCENTAGE POINTS) DURING 2005-06 TO 2015-16	55.9	40.2

Source: Census of India and National Health and Family Welfare Survey (NFHS), SRS Bulletin, Dec. 2016.

- The overall state literacy rate (70%) of seven or more years of schooling is more or less at par with the national literacy rate (73%). If we look at tribal literacy rate though, this is 11 percentage points lower than overall literacy rate in the state at 59 percent.⁷ While overall literacy rate has improved from 65 percent in 2001 to 70 percent in 2011, it is a positive sign to note that women have seen a higher improvement from 52 percent in 2001 to 60 percent in 2011, compared to men who moved from 77 percent in 2001 to 80 percent in 2011. However, much of the progress is seen at the primary education level. At higher levels of education, gender discrimination persists and female dropouts are high: Secondary educational attainment among adult women in Chhattisgarh is one of the lowest in the country at 16 percent; where the national rate is 26 percent as of 2012.⁷ Studies have shown that female literacy helps to improve MMR and IMR figures.⁸ Better-educated women are more empowered and have the ability to take independent decisions, which in turn makes them less vulnerable to violence.
- Compared to the national figure of 36.4 percent women who received financial assistance under Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSY) for institutional deliveries, Chhattisgarh has fared much better at 66 percent.
- In terms of institutional births, Chhattisgarh has witnessed a massive jump of 55.9 percentage points in institutional births from 14.3 percent in 2005-06 (NFHS 3)⁹ to 70.2 percent in 2015-16 (NFHS 4).¹⁰ Figures show that IMR has improved (discussed below).
- Another commendable feat achieved by the Government of Chhattisgarh is the re-privatisation of the Public Distribution System (PDS) and making it a means of women's empowerment. The government has been successful in removing middlemen and upper caste people from control of PDS shops and delivery processes and handed the operation of PDSs to self-help groups, gram panchayats and van suraksha samitis. This has led to empowerment of local population especially women. Chhattisgarh government is the first state in the country to make Right to Food a law. Efficient, corruption-free PDS is a means to achieving this right.

LOWLIGHTS:

Other areas where the state is falling behind are:

First, is the issue of persistent poverty in the state, which makes women more vulnerable than men and in turn exposes them to violence. Women's control over economic resources is significantly less than men. Moreover, women receive less wage than men and of course there is the issue of unpaid carework and housework which is the sole prerogative of women. Following a patriarchal system, women inherit less asset and property than men and have little or no control over family resources including their own. Women are given less food and come under more stress to make ends meet as they are primarily responsible for looking after the young and old.¹²

Chhattisgarh infamously boasts of the highest poverty rate at 47.9 percent in the country.¹³ While poverty has declined in the state since 2005, the pace of decline is slow compared to other Low Income States such as Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. Chhattisgarh's growth story has ebbed and flowed with the times and have left pockets of extreme poverty, especially in the remote parts of the state. These also happen to be areas of forest cover and tribal inhabitation.¹⁴

Poverty breeds a vicious cycle as these areas lack in social and physical infrastructure facilities such as roads and connectivity, schools, hospitals, the lack of sanitation, and safe drinking water. These have negative impact on women's health and wellbeing and consequently further impoverish them.

Second is the issue of MMR in Chhattisgarh. The state has seen a steady decline in the MMR figures over the years from 379 in 2003 to 269 in 2009 to the current figure of 221 in 2013.⁵ Nevertheless, the current MMR figure of 221 is still significantly higher than the national MMR figure of 167 and Chhattisgarh needs to make concerted efforts to improve this situation.

Third is the issue of IMR. Similar to MMR, Chhattisgarh has seen a steady and sharp decline in IMR over the years from 60 in 2004 to 41 in 2015. While the difference between IMR in Chhattisgarh

and the national figure is not major; when compared to some of the progressive states such as Kerala whose IMR in 2015 was 11,¹⁵ there is much scope for improvement for Chhattisgarh. Female literacy and availability of health facilities play a major role in reducing IMR figures.

III. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS:

We argue that for achieving better gender outcomes and reduced VAWG, growth per se is not a sufficient condition. Rather, the state government should focus on achieving inclusive growth through gender equality and women's empowerment. While we acknowledge significant improvements in certain aspects of achieving gender equality such as IMR and MMR, gender equality in school education, sex ratio, etc., there is still scope for further improvement. Against this backdrop and drawing on existing research and policy debates, Oxfam India recommends to intervene, among others, in the following areas for removing gender gaps and economic empowerment of women in Chhattisgarh.

A. ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN THROUGH ENSURING LAND RIGHTS AND LIVELIHOODS:

Regressive social norms that place women in a secondary position to men in society prevents them from access to critical and important resources including land and livelihoods. The lack of financial resources and economic independence is one of the prime reasons behind why women are subject to physical, sexual and emotional violence. Women's landholding in general in India is very low with an average of 12.8 percent of operational landholding nationally. In Chhattisgarh, 12.6 percent of women have operational landholding.¹⁷ Only 26.4 percent women in Chhattisgarh own house or land (alone or jointly), whereas the national average for the same is 38.4 percent.¹⁰

We examine the reasons behind women's landlessness in Chhattisgarh. With 44 percent of the state under forest cover, women who earn their livelihood from the forest and practice agriculture, form a major part of the female population in the state.¹⁸ Access to land will be a major source of income security and empowerment of women.

The issue of women's empowerment through land rights and livelihoods in Chhattisgarh has to be seen within the broader rubric of tribals in the state and their growing alienation from the land and forests due to mining and other development projects. Chhattisgarh is rich in forests and natural resources and this is both a source of opportunity and challenges for the tribal population. Tribal community and other traditional forest dwellers (OTFDs) are entirely dependent on the forests for their livelihood and food requirements. This situation however is changing, ostensibly for the worse for the tribals. Mining and other development projects undertaken in these mineral-rich forest areas, coupled with the weak implementation of Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act (PESA) 1996 and Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act passed in 2006 (in short FRA 2006) make the tribal community vulnerable to displacement.

The extent of displacement is extensive: Chhattisgarh has the second highest number of forest diversion cases and a majority



TABLE 3: GENDER DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS WHERE CHHATTISGARH COULD IMPROVE

	CHHATTISGARH	INDIA
POVERTY RATIO IN 2011-12 <i>Source: Planning Commission</i>	47.9	29.5
MMR (IN 2011-13) <i>Source: Special Bulletin on Maternal Mortality in India, SRS, RGI</i>	221	167
IMR <i>Source: SRS Report (2015)¹⁶</i>	41	37

of them were for mining activities. The Chhattisgarh government has been proactively trying to enter into agreements through Memorandum of Understandings (MOUs) with a large number of private players: Between 2001 and 2011, it has formalised 133 MOUs with private companies most of whom have coal mining or captive coal based thermal power related component.¹⁹

Forest clearance for mining projects and industrialisation is often justified on the basis that it will generate employment and benefit the region. However, the irony is that despite being a resource rich state, its tribals are largely illiterate, suffer food insecurity and low economic development. They are unable to capitalise on new industrial processes and get jobs in mines and factories. Experts have argued that since colonial times, coal mines and coal producing areas have led to urbanisation which did not necessarily stimulate socio-economic development of the immediate hinterlands.²⁰ This trend continued into modern India where it was witnessed that urbanisation of coal producing areas did not benefit local communities.²¹

While Chhattisgarh has passed some state-specific Acts with regard to FRA 2009, it is yet to pass state-specific law related to PESA 1996. The state has not taken any step to include women's voices in local governance structures such as Gram Sabhas as has been done by Maharashtra. There is much to be said about the lack of implementation and political will to deliver justice to tribal and OTFD communities affected by largescale deforestation and displacement due to mining and other development projects. These communities are often denied adequate compensation and suffer other discriminations and disadvantages, forcing them to protest against the government and private sector companies. The State has been tardy in constituting District Level Committees (DLCs) and Sub-divisional Level Committees (SDLCs) entrusted with the responsibility to hear affected communities' grievances and compensation issues. In three districts—Raipur, Durg and Bemetara—DLCs have not been formed; and overall in the state, 56 SDLCs are yet to be formed.

Tribal women are suffering the twin effects of first, the transition from traditional shifting cultivation to settled cultivation; and second, from land alienation and displacement. Traditionally tribal men and women had equal access to land and they complemented each other in their labour relations with the land. With the shift from traditional land and forest related livelihoods to mining livelihoods, labour relations are changing and so are gender relations. It is also becoming more individualised. Men get jobs as unskilled workers in mines. There are stark differences in wages between men and

women. Women neither have land at their disposal nor modern industrial jobs to help them substantiate their loss of income from traditional livelihoods. The introduction of patriarchal system by mainstream Hindu society into tribal communities has led to loss of status and prestige for women: women are increasingly barred from owning land without a male member of her family involved.²²

The practice of witch-hunting, common among tribals, Other Backward Castes (OBCs) and Dalits is also a social menace and cause for violence on women. There is an intrinsic link between witch-hunting and access to land. A study²³ conducted in Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh revealed that most of these cases are closely linked with family property, where family members find it convenient to declare her a 'Tonhi/dayan' or a witch for the rest of the community to drive her away or beat her to death, primarily to dispossess her of her land. This is especially true for older women and young widows.

Studies²⁴ have shown that women with financial independence, or those who possess assets like land, face less gender violence, both within the home and outside. Further, various research studies found that economic empowerment of women have additional positives towards women's empowerment and gender equality through improved sex ratio, reduced IMR and MMR etc.

There is perhaps some hope in the midst of all this bleak alienation rhetoric. Since 2012, the government of Chhattisgarh has introduced a scheme where one percent of stamp duty is waived in case land and property is owned by a woman.²⁵ This is a drive by the state government to empower women in Chhattisgarh. As of December 2012, 40,309 land registrations had been registered in the name of women accounting for the waiver of INR 22.21 crore of stamp duty. In the state of Gujarat, stamp duty and transfer fees of purchase of property or land in the name of the woman has been wholly exempted. Chhattisgarh could move towards the Gujarat model in a phased manner.

Against the above background, Oxfam India strongly advocates for the following changes:

- The Chhattisgarh Government should raise awareness and facilitate implementation of Hindu Succession Act (HSA) 2005, and Forest Rights Act (FRA) 2006 equally for men and women so that women get their fair share from ancestral property.
- The Chhattisgarh government should monitor how far joint forest rights claims are truly including women as right holders of land.
- At the State level, collection of sex-disaggregated data on women's land ownership of all kinds of land should be carried out to inform appropriate policymaking.

B. PUTTING PRIMACY TO GENDER RESPONSIVE BUDGETING:

The Union Government, in the year 1985-86, set up the Ministry of Women and Child Development realising the importance and scale of operation of programmes/schemes related to women and children. During the Eighth Plan (1992-97) empowerment of women was recognised and accepted as a distinct strategy for the first time. Later, Women Component Plan (during 1997-

TABLE 4: GENDER BUDGET IN CHHATTISGARH: TOTAL RESOURCES EARMARKED FOR WOMEN

	2015-16 (BE)	2017-18 (BE)
OUTLAY FOR WOMEN (INR CRORE)	9564	8498
SHARE (%) OF OUTLAY FOR WOMEN IN THE STATE BUDGET OF CHHATTISGARH	14.7	11.2
OUTLAY FOR WOMEN AS PERCENT (%) OF GSDP	3.7	2.9

Source: Estimated from the data available in the Budget Documents, Govt. of Chhattisgarh, http://finance.cg.gov.in/budget_doc/Budget.asp

2002) for overall economic, social and cultural empowerment of women and Gender Budgeting (since 2005-06) were introduced for better monitoring and implementation of women related schemes. Following the centre and a few other states, Government of Chhattisgarh is also doing a gender-budgeting exercise, since 2007-08. In fact, unlike some other states such as Bihar, the government of Chhattisgarh has already set up a separate Department of Women and Child Welfare to coordinate and supervise all schemes related to women and children in the state. This is a positive development.

Our analysis shows that in the budget of 2017-18, 18 departments (129 schemes) out of 34 departments have adopted gender-specific expenditure. Out of a total budget of INR 76,032 crores, INR 8,498 crore or 11.2 percent is earmarked for women specific schemes. It is worrying however, to note that the percentage share of outlay for women in state budget has gone down by 3.5 percentage points between 2015-16 and 2017-18. Similarly, outlay for women as percent of GSDP has also gone down from 3.7 percent in 2015-16 to 2.9 percent in 2017-18. Table 4 shows the resources earmarked exclusively for the women.

An expenditure report prepared by the Comptroller and Auditor General in 2017 for Government of Chhattisgarh²⁶ shows that overall social sector spending of which gender budgeting is a part, has been going down over the years.

FIGURE 1: EXPENDITURE (%) ACROSS VARIOUS SECTORS OUT OF THE TOTAL REVENUE EXPENDITURE IN 2011-12

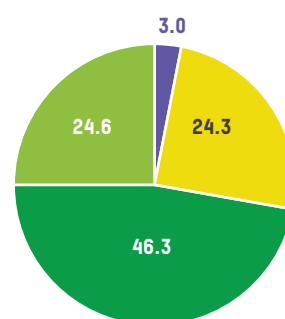
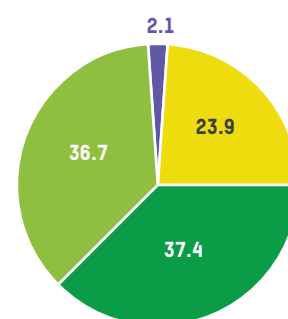


FIGURE 2: EXPENDITURE (%) ACROSS VARIOUS SECTORS OUT OF THE TOTAL REVENUE EXPENDITURE IN 2015-16



● General Services
 ● Social Services
 ● Grants-in-aid & Contribution
 ● Economic Services

**TABLE 5: LIST OF GRANTS HAVING PERSISTENT SAVINGS BETWEEN 2011 AND 2016**

CHHATTISGARH	INR CRORE				
	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16
EXP. PERTAINING TO WOMEN & CHILD WELFARE	141.6	156.44	115.87	229.2	286.11
SHARE OF GRANTS (%) REMAINED UNUTILISED	20.7	21.1	17.7	28.0	31.5

Source: CAG Report 2017, Government of Chhattisgarh.

The expenditure on social sector has gone down from 46.3 percent of total revenue expenditure in 2011-12 to 37.4 percent in 2015-16. Further, we observe that of the existing social sector budget, there has been an increasing underspent each year amounting to a massive INR 286.11 crore in 2015-16.²⁶ This is a vicious cycle where the inability to spend funds leads to further budget cuts for the social sector year by year.

What guides budgetary allocation for women and child schemes is the Chhattisgarh State Policy for Women. While it is a forward-looking document, which recognises most of the issues related to women's empowerment and gender equality in the state and espouses progressive policies to improve the condition of women; there is no mention or plan of adopting gender budgeting in the policy. Further, the policy was first formulated in 2005 and later extended to 2010. In the light of rapid socio-economic changes in the state, there is urgent need to update and release a new state policy on women in Chhattisgarh.

Based on the discussion above, Oxfam India makes the following recommendations:

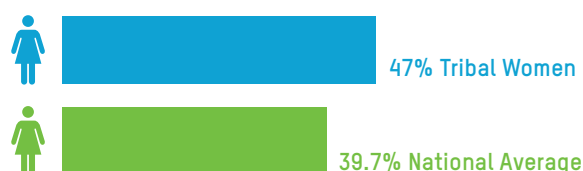
- Bring back the focus on gender budgeting and increase percentage share for women specific programmes and expenditures in state. It should be mandated for every department to provide for gender budget and the same should be utilized for women only.
- There should be special provisions in the budget for the women of SC, ST, OBC and Minority classes.
- The Department of Women and Child Development of the Chhattisgarh government should take up the responsibility of monitoring budget allocations and push for greater social sector spending on women's issues, especially promoting schemes to curb the rising incidence of domestic violence.
- Officers of all the departments should be given proper training to prepare gender-based budget.
- The gender budget should be reviewed and audited at the end of the financial year.
- Gender budget should be allotted for the fulfilment of the provisions made in the State Women's Policy.
- The process for the gender budget preparation should be publicized and suggestions should be sought from the NGOs.
- The State must put in place a new State Women's Policy.

C. ENDING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS (EVAWG):

It is important to note that Chhattisgarh is one of the few states where incidence of domestic violence has gone up. Table 6, places Chhattisgarh in comparison to other states.

According to the NFHS-3 data, incidence of violence including sexual and physical violence and domestic violence is highest among Dalits (SCs) and tribals.


Thirty-nine percent tribal women have ever experienced physical violence since the age of 15 years. On incidence of domestic violence specifically, against the national average of 39.7 percent, 47 percent tribal women experience domestic violence.



According to experts, violence against women within the tribal community has always existed. What was different from mainstream Hindu society was that tribal women had greater mobility and freedom to choose their husbands, walk out of abusive marriages and had a say in income generating activities. With their exposure to Hindu society over time, certain Brahminical practices have crept into their customs and curtailed tribal women's freedom and mobility within society.¹² For example, tribal women before their exposure to Hindu society never practiced the custom of purdah. However nowadays, tribal women have restricted access to public spaces, face restrictions in owning land and restrictions on practising agriculture. This coupled with the traditional lack of education makes them especially vulnerable to poverty and violence.

At the same time, the inter-household gender dynamics is altering. From a predominantly egalitarian society, tribal communities are adopting patriarchal practices. Tribal men today therefore, have an overarching dominance in terms of political power, status, access, and control of natural resources, privileges and decision-making than tribal women. There is now an unequal distribution of power and resources between men and women and an unfair and burdensome allocation of labour to women. This in turn reinforces women's subordination within the household over and above her subordination within society. Domestic violence appears to be a natural precursor to this economic and political subordination of tribal women.

TABLE 6: TRENDS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE FROM NFHS-3 (2005-06) AND NFHS-4 (2015-16) SURVEYS

	NFHS3 (2005-06)	NFHS 4 (2015-16)	TREND
	EVER-MARRIED WOMEN WHO HAVE EVER EXPERIENCED SPOUSAL VIOLENCE (%)	EVER-MARRIED WOMEN WHO HAVE EVER EXPERIENCED SPOUSAL VIOLENCE (%)	PERCENTAGE POINT CHANGE DURING NFHS-3 & NFHS-4 (%)
	A	B	C = B-A
SIKKIM	16.3	2.6	-13.7
HIMACHAL PRADESH	6.2	5.9	-0.3
JAMMU & KASHMIR	12.6	9.4	-3.2
UTTARAKHAND	27.8	12.7	-15.1
NAGALAND	15.2	12.7	-2.5
GOA	16.8	12.9	-3.9
KERALA	16.4	14.3	-2.1
MIZORAM	22.1	17.0	-5.1
KARNATAKA	20.0	20.5	0.5
PUNJAB	25.4	20.5	-4.9
MAHARASHTRA	30.7	21.4	-9.3
ASSAM	39.4	24.5	-14.9
RAJASTHAN	46.3	25.1	-21.2
TRIPURA	44.1	27.9	-16.2
MEGHALAYA	12.8	28.7	15.9
GUJARAT	27.6	30.2	2.6
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	38.8	30.6	-8.2
HARYANA	27.3	32.0	4.7
WEST BENGAL	40.1	32.8	-7.3
MADHYA PRADESH	45.7	33.0	-12.7
JHARKHAND	36.9	34.0	-2.9
ODISHA	38.4	35.2	-3.2
UTTAR PRADESH	42.4	36.7	-5.7
CHHATTISGARH	29.9	36.7	6.8
TAMIL NADU	41.9	40.6	-1.3
TELANGANA	NA	43.0	NA
ANDHRA PRADESH	35.2	43.2	8.0
BIHAR	59.0	43.2	-15.8
MANIPUR	43.8	53.1	9.3
INDIA	37.2	28.8	-8.4

Source: Compiled & calculated by author from NFHS 3 & NFHS-4 factsheets.

Another factor for domestic violence is alcoholism. As per the NFHS-3,²⁸ 52 percent of men in Chhattisgarh consume alcohol. With the exception of Arunachal Pradesh, the consumption of alcohol among men in Chhattisgarh is the highest in the country. NFHS claims that women with husbands who consume alcohol and get drunk very often are much more likely to experience domestic violence than women whose husbands do not drink. However, according to the NFHS 3, 19 percent of women in Chhattisgarh have experienced physical or sexual violence by husbands who do not consume alcohol. This information however, from NFHS and National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) are not confined to tribal community alone but reflective of the entire population of Chhattisgarh.

It is to be noted that land alienation and witch-hunting, alcoholism, early marriage and illiteracy are not the only reasons behind VAWG in these areas. Naxalism leads to increased VAWG, and trafficking, an off-shoot of left-extremism/naxalism is also a form of violence against women and girls.

Increase in domestic violence is also partly because of greater awareness among tribal women and therefore higher reporting of cases of domestic violence. The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (PWDVA), which came into effect from 2005, has also had a positive influence in increased reporting of cases of domestic violence. Specifically a 24-hour Women's Helpline number (181) is now available since 2013 and a total of 363 cases have been received by the number. The establishment of One Stop Centres (OSCs) for women has been a remarkable feature of the implementation of PWDVA in Chhattisgarh since 2015. The Centre is expected to provide access to integrated range of services under one roof including medical aid, police assistance, legal aid/case management, psychosocial counselling, and temporary support services to women affected by violence.²⁹ However, field reports are also indicating that in a number of cases, OSCs are only mentioned on paper with nothing on the ground. Similarly, there are only three shelter homes in the entire state²⁹ while demand for these from women and girls affected by violence are much higher. The state needs to improve infrastructure and service provision to make these facilities effective for affected women and girls.

Chhattisgarh has not allocated a separate budget for the implementation of the PWDVA. This reflects poor intent of the State. Absence of separate budget reflects non-accountability on the part of the staff recruited for the implementation of the Act. Dissemination, holding trainings, conducting workshops etc. is left to the initiative of the Protection Officers who would require to draw budget from other programmes of the WCD.

Given the overall scenario, it is recommended that:

- Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (PWDVA) must be implemented. Specifically, the government of Chhattisgarh should put in place, dedicated staff backed by adequate infrastructure and quality services for effective implementation of the law. Training on feminist ideology and gender sensitive orientation should be provided to recruiting staff.
- For effective implementation of the laws related to violence against women and women's protection against domestic violence, the women and child development department should release protocol and guideline; specially containing strategies for convergence of different departments.
- To control domestic violence, a monitoring committee should be formed on village/habitat level consisting of Anganwadi workers, teachers, local bodies, organizations, NGOs and women from the community. There should be short stay and long stay shelter homes for women in every city, where, in case of any problem, women victims and their children can stay until alternative arrangements are made available.
- Immediate action should be initiated against the government and non-government departments, institutions, companies, industries, media which have not formed a valid internal complaints redressal committee as per Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013 to check women's harassment at workplace, or if the said committee is inactive.
- More state specific initiatives must be introduced to address the root causes of domestic violence by promoting positive social norms, providing justice and fair compensation to tribal populations from land acquisition, improving access to education, health, water and sanitation in remote and poor areas; and in general improving living standards to counter rising and high levels of violence.

D. CHECK DECLINING CHILD SEX RATIO:

Experts feel that reporting of domestic violence alone is not an accurate indicator of status of women within society. A better indicator of the position of women in society is child sex ratio of 0-6 years of age. Low child sex ratio indicates the preference of male child and discrimination of girls in the society/community. In Chhattisgarh, we observe that child sex ratio is consistently going down over the years:



TABLE 7: DECLINING CHILD SEX RATIO IN CHHATTISGARH

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
CHHATTISGARH	1046	1039	1041	1043	1032	1024	1008	998	996	984	975	969
INDIA	972	964	955	950	945	946	941	930	934	926	933	943

Source: Census of India 2011

Compared to India, Chhattisgarh started on a healthier and more balanced child sex ratio in 1901. However, while nationally, in the last 10 years between the Census of 2001 and 2011, India has made an improvement of 10 points, which is the highest since census was first recorded; Chhattisgarh continues its downward trend. It would be important to unpack the reasons behind this continued disempowerment of women and girls in the state, despite a robust growth trajectory and provisions in place to address and support women and girls affected by violence.

If there are fewer girls to start with, then women are disadvantaged all through: the trend continues into adulthood and there are fewer women than men in society.¹ Sex selective abortion, female infanticide, under nutrition/malnutrition of the girl child³⁰ and abuse of girls within society lead to lower child sex ratio.

Despite a healthier child sex ratio than the national average, the Government of Chhattisgarh has taken cognisance of the fact that child sex ratio in the state is declining over time. In response, it introduced the Noni Surakhsha Yojana since 2014. This is an insurance scheme for girl children where girls born since April 1, 2014 will be insured under Life Insurance Corporation of India until the age of 18 years. INR 5000 will be deposited by the government per year for the first three years and a sum of INR one lakh will be deposited in the bank for a girl child once she attains 18 years of age. This scheme is especially targeted for families who are listed in the poverty line survey. This is a commendable initiative by the Government of Chhattisgarh to curb the trend of declining child sex ratio.

NOTES

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AUTHOR: DIYA DUTTA

DATA COMPILATION: SAKTI GOLDER

INPUTS: RANU KAYASTHA BHOGAL, NISHA AGRAWAL, SULAKSHANA NANDI, JULIE THEKUDDAN, RAJINI MENON, URMIMALA SENGUPTA AND ANAND SHUKLA

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Oxfam India | 4th and 5th Floor, Shriram Bharatiya Kala Kendra, 1, Copernicus Marg, New Delhi 110001

Tel: +91 (0) 11 46538000 | Web: www.oxfamindia.org

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