

AN AGRICULTURAL PROFILE

OF THE PAHARI KORWAS OF RAIGARH DISTRICT, CHHATTISGARH

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of Raigarh District, Chhattisgarh



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Cover Photo: Bewara sowing being carried out in Amanara village, Dharamjaygarh Block, Raigarh District,

Chhattisgarh.

NOTE FROM THE AUTHOR

The food systems of indigenous communities across the world have historically been characterised by a high degree of self sufficiency with regards to procuring and/or producing food in the regions that they inhabit. In India, many indigenous communities across the country continue to have a rich and diverse diet. They procure a variety of wild and uncultivated food from the forest and other ecosystems in which they live. Several of these communities still carry out a variety of traditional agricultural practices, uniquely attuned to their environments, which provide them with a rich diversity of crops. This diverse diet has helped ensure the health and nutritional security of these communities. The traditional food systems and traditional knowledge of the forest and other ecosystems they live in, has enabled many indigenous communities to overcome, cope with and adapt to harsh and challenging environmental and climatic conditions and events.

The Using Diversity (UD) Network was established in 1996 to promote agricultural biodiversity and stress the importance of uncultivated foods for Adivasi people. The UD network enables civil society groups and community leaders to revive and promote uncultivated foods and traditional mixed cropping systems in different parts of India. The

UD Project (2017-20) was aimed at promotion, conservation and sustainable use of traditional agriculture, indigenous crops, crop genetic resources and uncultivated foods for enhanced food and nutritional security of marginalised Adivasi communities across India. The project was implemented through partner NGOs, CBOs and individuals in different parts of India.

Alongside implementation of a variety of different initiatives like the promotion and establishment of community seed banks, revival of cultivation of traditional crops and planting of uncultivated food plant and trees; the project has undertaken participatory research focussing on the principal thematic areas of the UD network. This series of papers is aimed at sharing the findings of the research carried out in different areas, long term research of partners and experiences working and learning from these indigenous communities.

This Agricultural Profile of the Paharia Korwa was developed based on experiences working with the Pahari Korwa people of 11 villages of Dharamjaygarh Block of Raigarh District, Chhattisgarh; interactions with farmers and observing the variety of agricultural activities carried out throughout the year; participatory research carried out with the Pahari Korwa

community by me and community fellows; the knowledge and experience of Naresh Biswas, the Chief Functionary of Nirman (UD partner NGO).

The aim of this Agricultural Profile is to provide an insight into the traditional agricultural practices of the Pahari Korwa, the multitude of benefits these practices provide indigenous communities like the Pahari Korwa and their continued significance especially in the wake of Climate Change. The paper also explores current changes and challenges being experienced by the Pahari Korwa and presents and encourages discussion on potential mitigation strategies and initiatives to address issues being faced. Most of the themes covered here are applicable to many other indigenous communities who still carry out similar agricultural practices. Our objective is to highlight the benefits of traditional agricultural systems to the communities engaged in them, as well as the larger ecological and environmental benefits in terms of their sustainability and ability to help communities cope with Climate Change; and promote safeguarding, revival and adaptation of these practices in the face of modern challenges.

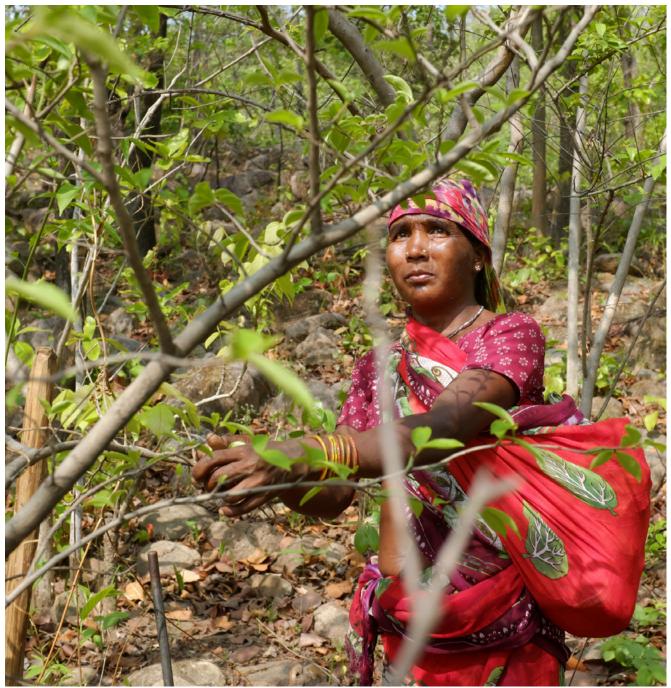
Rohan Mukerjee

Introduction

The Hill or Pahari Korwas are a sub group of the Korwa tribe. The Korwas are considered to be a branch of Munda tribe, which comes under the Austro-Asiatic family as per the Anthropological description of family. The Korwas were situated in the Chota Nagpur region which forms one of the principal centers of aboriginal tribes in India (Sirvastava, 2007). According to Russell and Hiralal (1916) the Korwa are a Kolarian tribe with two distinct territorial groups. The inhabitants of the hilly areas are called the Pahari Korwa and those of the plains Dihariya Korwa.

The Pahari Korwas continue to inhabit hilly forested areas of Chhattisgarh. Currently the Hill Korwa population is spread over five Districts, namely Sarguja, Jashpur, Balrampur, Shankargarh, and Korba. Dharmajaigarh Block of Raigarh District, bordering Sarguja District is also home to 22 Pahari Korwa villages.

The Pahari Korwas' had a typical settlement pattern, with each farm yard traditionally having the habitation perched at an inaccessible part of the adjoining hillside. The topographical situation of the Khudia plateau is quite unique in nature, the natural elevation has ensured that the region receives good rainfall which has resulted in rich forests with abundant wildlife. The



Collection of Saroti Bhaji, an uncultivated leafy vegetable

covered hill passages or Ghats has also helped the Pahari Korwas' safeguard and preserve their traditional livelihoods for a considerable period of time. Their livelihoods have historically been based on hunting, gathering a variety of wild and uncultivated food from their surrounding forests and shifting cultivation.

In recognition of the greater vulnerability of the Pahari Korwas even among tribal groups they have been designated as one of the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) of Chhattisgarh along with the Abujhmaria, Birhors, Baigas and Kamars. The Using Diversity Project is working with 11 Pahari Korwa villages in Dharamjaigarh Block of Raigarh District. Six of these villages under Kenda Panchayat are located on a relatively inaccessible forested hill called Chui Pahar bordering Sarguja District.

Currently agriculture constitutes an integral part of the lives of the Pahari Korwas. Pahari Korwa households have historically depended considerably on agricultural practices largely to meet their subsistence needs. However, the Pahari Korwas have been gradually shifting from a subsistence-oriented livelihood system to increased market dependence. As they are being increasingly integrated into the market-based economy agriculture has been proving to be a major source of revenue and economic returns.

Most Pahari Korwas still practice Bewara or Ahal, a traditional form of shifting cultivation which involved a variety of millets, pulses, beans and vegetable crops, which made a vital contribution to their nutritional security. Unfortunately, the practice of Bewara has been steadily declining and the crop diversity has also been reducing with farmers focusing on only a few select crops of commercial value like Jhunga/Cowpea and Rahar/Pigeon pea. The villagers also carry out mixed cropping of millets, maize, pulses and vegetables in their Badis (habitation plots). They are also increasingly carrying out Ekal Kheti or mono cropping of a few crops like paddy, little millet and pigeon pea in fields in plain areas.

Methodology

This Agricultural Profile was developed based on participatory research carried out in 11 villages in Dharamjaygarh Block of Raigharh District, Chhattisgarh. The research involved field visits to the villages in different seasons, community consultations, informal interviews with village elders and men and women farmers; surveys and questionnaires on different aspects of the agricultural practices of the Pahari Korwas, current status of these practices, crop diversity and challenges being faced.

The Agricultural Profile will provide a detailed overview of the 3 major cultivation practices of the Pahari Korwas – Bewara, Badi and Ekal Kheti. The overviews are accompanied by Seasonal Activity Calendars of the respective practice. Details of principal crops cultivated by the Pahari Korwas is provided in Annexure 2. After an overview of the festivals of the Pahari Korwas associated with Agriculture the profile

then explores the challenges currently being faced by Pahari Korwa households with regards to their agricultural practices. In conclusion we explore current interventions aimed at mitigating the challenges and the way forward.

The Agricultural Practices of the Pahari Korwas

I naccordance with the importance of a griculture In the lives of the Pahari Korwas, they devote a substantial portion of their time and energy annually to a variety of different agricultural activities. Mixed cropping agricultural practices of the Pahari Korwas include Bewara, their traditional shifting cultivation based agricultural practice, and cultivation of a variety of crops in their Badi (Homestead plot). Pahari Korwa households have also been increasingly adopting Ekal Kheti or mono cropping cultivation practices whereby the are cultivating different rice varieties, little millet varieties, pulses and oil seeds. A detailed description of the different agricultural practices of the Pahari Korwas is as follows.



Harvesting of Mandia/Finger Millet in a Bewara plot in Ganeshpur village

Bewara

As Baccha Ram, from Sirdahi village in Chui Pahar, shared Bewara has aptly been described as an elephant's stomach for the Pahari Korwas, as they grow a huge variety of crops which include different varieties of millets, beans, pulses and vegetables in their Bewara plots contributing to the rich diversity of the traditional Pahari Korwa diet and ensuring nutritional security.

Bewara cultivation has been historically carried out on the Pahari Korwas' forested hill slopes. The first stage involves clearing of undergrowth and felling of trees in the chosen plot in the beginning of the year. The dried trees and vegetation are burnt prior to the arrival of the Monsoons. Sowing is carried out prior to the first rains in order to prevent the ash from burning of trees and shrubs from being washed away, which in turn ensures healthy growth of the crops once the rains commence. Historically, a rich diversity of millet, legume and vegetable seeds were sown. Currently with increased market integration most Pahari Korwa households are focusing on commercially important species like Lal Rabang/Lal Jhunga/Cowpea (red), Sane/ Rahar/ Pigeon Pea and Toher/ Sutru / Rice Bean. As a result there has been a marked reduction in the cultivation of a variety of subsistence crops especially different millet varieties, resulting in a subsequent reduction in crop diversity.

The villagers live at their Bewara plots for around three months to protect the crops from wild animals. When the crops ripen in October birds (a bird locally known as Suhera being the main culprit), monkeys and wild boar pose a serious threat to the survival of the crops. Some crops like Bajura/Jowar/Sorghum are planted specifically to attract birds away from other crops. As Bajura is taller than other crops, birds target it first enabling survival of other crops.

	Pu-Ma	Ma-Ph	Ph-Ch	Ch-Ba	Ba-Je	Je-As	As-Sa	Sa-Bh	Bh-Ku	Ku-Ka	Ka-Ag	Ag-Pu	
Bewara (Traditional shifting cultivation practice)	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Notes
Land preparation													
Felling of trees													Trees are cut using Oke (Axe) and left to dry on the land. Those suitable for firewood are taken away. Men do the cutting and mostly women take the firewood home.
Clearing with fire													The owner of the plot will burn all the dried foliage and wood on the land. Mostly done by men.
Clearing with tools													They use a sickle - <i>Datrom</i> (Pahari Korwa)/ <i>Hiswa</i> (Hindi)to clear undergrowth prior to felling trees. The cleared vegetation is left to dry in the plot.
Ploughing													This does not happen in Bewara
Seeds													
Sowing							ı						Timing of this activity is decided based on the onset of the monsoon. Pulses and vegetable seeds are dibbled mostly by the women using a spear like tool called Budi (Pahari Korwa) / Khunti (Hindi). Millets are broadcast mostly on the same day as the dibbling. This is Mostly done by the men. Seeds are tied in a cloth like a gamcha or saree end.
Seed collection													During the harvest which starts around October, some produce are left on the plant (mostly pulses) to dry and harvested later for seed. Mostly done by the women. For millets some seeds are set aside for future sowing.
Seed drying and storing													For pulses the pods are left to dry on the plant and then dried in the sun before storing mostly in Suti Bora (Jute sacks). Millet seeds that are set aside for future sowing are dried in the sun and stored in Pura (Leaf containers) or Suti Bora (Jute sack)
Weeding													This is usually done 20 days after sowing. Both women and men take up this activity. They use a sickle - Datrom (Pahari Korwa)/ Hiswa (Hindi) for weeding
Harvesting													Usually starts in the month Kunwar (mid October). Mostly done by the women. Pulses and vegetables are hand picked while the millets are harvested with Datrom (Pahari Korwa)/ Hiswa (Hindi).
Processing													
Sorting,winnowing , threshing etc.													Occurs along with the harvesting. Mostly women do this activity. For pulses the pods are beaten with a stick to extract seeds and special winnowing baskets made of bamboo - Hata (Pahari Korwa) or Supa (Hindi) are used. For millets threshing of seeds are done with the feet or a threshing stick.
Storing and /or sale													The different crops are either kept open or stored in plastic bora (sack) for consumption. The pulses like Rabang/Jhunga, Toher/Sutru, Sane/Rahar are sold. Millets and other crops grown in Bewar plots are primarily for subsistence.

The villagers also erect scarecrows to scare away the birds and make a moving scarecrow mechanism to scare away monkeys. However, at times the scarecrows are not sufficient, and they have to guard their fields during the day to chase away birds and monkeys. In the night wild boars feed on the grains and men and women guard the field all night long to chase away the wild boar and at times even kill them.

Harvesting is carried out in the last quarter of the year after which the land is left fallow for the regrowth of vegetation. While in the past the land was left fallow for a considerable period currently it has reduced considerably due to increasing populations and reduced access to traditional forest areas as a result of increased restrictions on Bewara imposed by the forest department. The average fallow period is roughly 3 to 5 years. In the interim they cultivate other lands before returning to this plot.

The different activities associated with Bewara are often carried out with the support of other villagers. When the family whose Bewara plot it is are unable to carry out an activity like felling of trees and clearing the plot, sowing, weeding or harvesting on their own, they get men and women villagers to jointly carry out the activity with them. In return the villagers are given Kosna (local liquor that was earlier made from bede/little millet but is now made from rice).

Mixed Cropping in Badis

The Pahari Korwas have traditionally carried out mixed cropping in their Badi (habitation plot). Badicultivation is carried out in two phases. In the first phase the Pahari Korwas use bullocks to plough the plots 3 times after which a variety of different seeds are sown. The primary crops include Jinhor/Makka/Maize, and Sane/Rahar/ Pigeon Pea with Bajura/Jowar/ Sorghum grown along the borders of the plots. Jinhor/ Maize was traditionally an important part of the Pahari Korwas diet often serving as a staple in the form of rotis and a rice like preparation. Several crops cultivated in Bewara are also cultivated in Badis. A variety of vegetables are also grown in the badis. The badis also have fruit trees like banana and papaya in and around them. In addition, a few wild foods are also being grown in badis:

• Van Karela – the seeds are boiled 7 times and then they grind and eat them. They are very beneficial in combating kamjori (weakness) and also used to prepare medicine for chechak (chest related illness).



Harvesting of Amari from a Badi in Amanara village

	Pu-Ma	Ma-Ph	Ph-Ch	Ch-Ba	Ba-Je	Je-As	As-Sa	Sa-Bh	Bh-Ku	Ku-Ka	Ka-Ag	Ag-Pu	
Badi (Homestead	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	
olot) Cultivation													Notes
Land preparation													
Felling of trees													This doesnot happen in badi cultivatio
Clearing with fire													This doesnot happen in badi cultivatio
Clearing with tools													This doesnot happen in badi cultivatio
Ploughing													Ploughing is carried out by men. As plo are dry there is no need for clearing. Ti plot is ploughed 3 times prior to sowin The plots are ploughed again in <i>Kunwa</i> for cultivation of Sarso.
Seeds													
Sowing													Sowing is carried out mosty by women The principal crops are Maize, Piegon pea, Sorgum, Semi (beans) and Amari (Amaranthus). Piegon pea and Sorgum are sown along the border. A variety or vegetable seeds are also sown. The second cycle of sowing involves musta Sarso which is sown in Kunwar.
Seed collection									The second			7	Some produce is set aside for seeds.
Seed drying and storin	ng												Millet pannicles are left to dry on the plant and then hung indoors in cooking areas. Taher/Khera fruit is alowed to d on the plant and then the seeds are pasted on walls, to be retrieved at time of sowing. Other seeds are stored in Bora (sack), cloth or polythene bags.
Weeding									_				
Harvesting													Harvesting of the first crop commences with Jinhar/Makka/ Maize in Bhado an continues in Kunwar with the harvestir of Bajura/Jowar/Sorghum, Mahan/Semi, Amari and other vegetable crops. Harvesting of sarso is carried out in Aghan and completed in Pus.
Processing													
Sorting, winnowing													Maize and vegetables do not require a processing. <i>Bajura</i> threshing is carried out with a stick.
Storing and /or sale													Vegetables are consumed immediately Pulses and Bajra are stored in a Bora (sack) or in the open.

Seasonal Activity Calendar for Badi Cultivation

- Karu Bhaji Leaves are used as a leafy vegetable and are considered good for preventing malaria.
- Koilar Bhaji The leaves are consumed as a leafy vegetable.
- Kareli they eat the leaves and fruit as vegetable preparations. During fever it helps clear sourness of the mouth.

After harvesting the crops in September and October the land is ploughed once again in preparation for the second phase of cultivation.

In October after the second round of ploughing Sarso/Mustard is sown. Sarso is harvested is December and January. While a portion of the mustard seeds are sold villagers set aside a portion of the harvest for oil extraction to meet their subsistence requirements.

The Pahari Korwas Badis are a vital source of a variety of different food items that are essential for meeting their subsistence and nutritional needs and have contributed to their self-reliance in meeting their dietary needs.



Ekal Kheti or Mono Cropping

The Pahrari Korwas also carry out mono cropping mostly in plain areas near their habitation. The main crops in this regard are Serale/Bede/ Little Millet, Sane/ Rahar/ Pigeon Pea and several rice varieties. Some households also carry out mono cropping of Jadgi an oil seed though it is mostly cultivated along with Hirwa a pulse crop. Jadgi cultivation is primarily for commercial purposes though currently only a few households reported Jadgi cultivation.

In the more isolated villages of Chui Pahar and Barghat villagers still carry out Ekal Kheti of two varieties of Little millet – Safed Serale and Kathika Serale. The harvest caters to both subsistence and commercial needs with around half the harvest being sold to generate much needed cash income.

With a shift away from traditional diets in favour of rice the region has been experiencing an expansion in the cultivation of rice locally known as Hurru. Currently, paddy cultivation still involves mostly local rice varieties like:

- Sanjeri which is cultivated in the villages of Chui Pahar under Kendha Panchayat.
- Charai Godi which is cultivated in the villages of Chui Pahar and Barghat.

Paddy harvesting in Amanara village

- Hatwa which is cultivated in Barghat.
- Danigoda which is cultivated in the villages of Ganeshpur, Amanara, Jokpani and Amanara.
- Rahra Sona which is cultivated in Ganeshpur and Amanara.

The paddy harvest is largely utilised to meet subsistence needs and only excess production is sold. The local rice varieties are cultivated using organic inputs like Gobar.

Only a few households in Amanara village were reported to be cultivating Hybrid rice varieties. In Chui Pahar some of the non-Pahari Korwa farmers like the Yadavs and Uraons are cultivating hybrid and other rice varieties sourced from the market.

Ekal Kheti (Mono Pu-Ma Ma-Ph Ph-Ch Ch-Ba Ba-Je Je-As As-Sa Sa-Bh Bh-Ku Ku-Ka Ka-Ag Ag-Pu cropping) in fields in plain areas Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec Notes Land preparation Felling of trees This does not happen in Ekal Kheti Clearing with fire This does not happen in Ekal Kheti Clearing with tools This does not happen in Ekal Kheti Ploughing Ploughing of the land by men using bullocks. The land is ploughed 3 Seeds Sowing The men sow the seeds by broadcasting them across the land. Local rice varieties, Little millets -Safed Serale/Safed Serale and Kathika/Jhiqri Serale, Sane/Rahar, Jadgi (an oil seed) Seed collection They separate the seeds for future sowing after threshing. Remaining grains are stored for consumption and the additional grains are sold. Seed drying and storing They dry the seeds twice and store them in a Suti bora/jute sack or Puwal. Weeding Women carry out the weeding. arvesting Harvesting is carried out by both men and women. Paddy is harvested in Kunwar and Kartik; Little millet/Serale/Bede in Kartik; Piegon pea/Sane/Rahar in Aghan and Jadgi in Aghan and Pus. rocessing Sorting, winnowing, Threshing of paddy and threshing Serale/Bede using bullocks by both men and women. Storing and /or sale Produce is stored for consumption mostly in Bora (sack) and the additional grains are sold. Rice is primarily for self consumption. In the villages of Chui Pahar and Barghat Little Millet/Serale is sold. Piegon pea/Sane/Rahar is also sold. Jadgi is currently only cultivated in Amanara where a majority of the crop is sold.

Seasonal Activity Calendar for Ekal Kheti

Festivals associated with agriculture

While many Pahari Korwas now follow mainstream Hinduism and some have converted to Christianity, several households still follow traditional religious practices of the Pahari Korwas which involves the celebration of a number of festivals associated with agriculture.

Kathori Twahar – in this festival they offer dry fried mahua flowers, arwa chawal, naryal, mahua liquor, murgi, dhup, anaj as offerings to the Sarna (Deity) for puja. After the puja is conducted by the village baiga (priest), he mixes all the grains and distributes to all village households and they then sow them. This is celebrated in Baisakh (around May).

Hareli Bhaji Twahar – The villagers offer mahua liquor, arwa chawal, murgi as offerings to the Sarna and do puja. Then they celebrate by eating and drinking in their houses. This is celebrated in Sawan (around August).

Nava Twahar – They offer arwa chawal, naryal, murgi, mahua liquor, anaj ka bali/ panicles of paddy at the Sarna and perform puja. Then they return home and celebrate. This is celebrated in Kunwar (around September October).



Dethun Twahar – They offer urad dal, arwa chawal, naryal, murgi and bakra at the Sarna and do puja. Then they return home and celebrate. They offer bakra/goat once in three years. This is celebrated in Aghan (harvesting season around

December).

Nawa Twahar being celebrated in Amanara village

Challenges

In the last few decades the Pahari Korwas have been experiencing an increase in interactions with other communities as well as the state, greater integration into the market based economy and a gradual shift from subsistence based livelihood systems to greater market dependence. These changes have resulted in changes in lifestyle, diets and have brought about major changes in the Agricultural systems of the Pahari Korwas.

Increased conflict with the Forest Department with regards to access to forests especially with respect to carrying out the traditional practice of Bewara is a major challenge facing most Pahari Korwa villages. As Somari Bai from Ganeshpur village shared there has been a steady decline in the practice of Bewara largely due to Forest Department restrictions on burning and Bewara. Somari Bai pointed out that Forest officials harass them when they carry out Bewara and tell them that felling of trees for Bewara is prohibited. The Forest Rights Act (2006) has provisions for the recognition of community forest rights (CFR), special provisions for recognition of Habitat Rights of PVTGs and also provisions for carrying out of traditional agricultural practices. However, there has been limited implementation of FRA in the region and none of the Pahari Korwa villages in Dharmjaigarh Block have received CFR titles. In fact, there is very little awareness among most Pahari Korwas about the provisions of FRA and rights that they can claim as per the act.

In addition, the very nature of Bewara has been witnessing a cataclysmic change. The crop diversity has reduced significantly and most villagers are largely focusing on a handful of commercially important crops like Lal Rabang/Lal Jhunga/Cowpea (red), Sane/Rahar/Piegon Pea and Toher/Sutru/Rice Bean. Currently Lal Jhunga is one of the major crops of the villages with more market accessibility like Amanara, Ganeshpur, Kawa Dahi and Jokpani, with around 75% traded commercially and only around 25% used for subsistence needs. Rahar is another

crop of increasing commercial importance, and villagers in Chui Pahar, Amanara, Ganeshpur and Kawadahi reported that they are growing Rahar both in Bewara and in their Badis and they sell around 75% of the produce. Out of the 60 households in Amanara only 4 households are carrying out the traditional form of Bewara and sowing a variety of millets in addition to Jhunga, Sutru and Rahar, with the remaining 56 households focusing on Jhunga, Sutru and Rahar mostly for commercial purposes. In Kawadahi none of the 20 households are currently



Somari Bai working in her Bewara plot in Ganeshpur village.



Cultivation of Lal Rabang / Lal Jhunga in Kawadahi village

cultivating the traditional millets and they only focus on the commercial crops. The villages of Chui Pahar, which are relatively isolated and cut off from the market, still largely practice the traditional form of Bewara with a considerable crop diversity. While they cultivate Jhunga, they use it mostly for subsistence, only selling it if there is excess. They still cultivate several other millets like Madia/Finger Millet, Erbo/ Kang/Foxtail Millet, Lewit/Sikiya Millet, Sarale/ Bede/Little Millet. However, even here the crop diversity is slowly diminishing with more focus on commercial crops like Sane/Piegon pea and Serale/Bede/Little Millet. As a result of increasing crop depradation by elephants in the last few years the villagers of Barghat have been

finding it difficult to carry out Bewara and are focusing more on Badi cultivation and Ekal Kheti where they largely grow Serale/Little Millet. As a result of the increased focus on a handful of commercial species a majority of subsistence crops like traditional varieties of millets and legumes are disappearing both from Bewara and the diets of the Pahari Korwas. This is resulting in increasing dependence on a handful of food items from the market and through government channels like PDS and Mid Day Meal. Most of these external food items are cultivated using chemical inputs and as a result these inorganic food items are gradually dominating the diets of the Pahari Korwas at the expense of the diverse, natural and nutrition rich traditional food items.

The increased commercialisation of Bewara combined with increased restrictions from the Forest Department on burning and felling for Bewara are some of the major reasons driving a reduction in fallow period. This is preventing effective regrowth of natural trees and vegetation and promoting the growth of invasive and weedy species like Sikta Puchi and Alu Ban which are further supressing native species of trees and plants. This is resulting in reduced diversity of forest fallows and forests, poor soil quality and soil erosion which then impacts overall productivity of Bewara and the ecosystem as a whole.

The exposure to food items from the outside especially rice, both from the market and through government schemes like PDS, is resulting in a shift away from traditional diets which focussed on Maize, Millets and

traditional pulses and vegetables. Children who are exposed to a rice based diet through the Mid Day Meal or through hostel food are no longer willing to eat traditional food items like millets. The labour-intensive processing and preparation of traditional food items like millets is also motivating villagers to switch to items with relatively easier processing like rice. This is also impacting choice of crops being cultivated. Households across all project villages are reporting a steady decline in area under Badi mixed cropping cultivation as people are shifting towards Ekal Kheti (Mono cropping) with a focus on rice which is fast becoming the new staple. This is reducing the availability of the rich mix of food items previously available to Pahari Korwas diets. Maize was an important part of the Pahari Korwas diet often serving as a staple in the form of rotis and a rice like preparation. However, with an increase in mono cropping mostly of paddy there is a decline in Maize and an increase in dependence of rice which often fails to meet all their nutritional needs. In many cases villagers are exchange produce from their Badi like Maize and vegetables for rice.

The increasing reliance on paddy cultivation is posing a serious threat to the food security of the Pahari Korwas. In the absence of irrigation facilities, the paddy crops are completely dependent on the monsoons which are becoming increasingly erratic. Unlike millets and other traditional crops, rice is more susceptible to crop failure as a result of inadequate or erratic rains. Because of reduced cultivation of most of their traditional crops, failure of paddy can often be devastating for the Pahari Korwa farmers

as this results in severe food shortage for the year ahead. The increased dependence on rice, both through PDS and cultivated by them, has resulted in a reduction in the diversity of food items consumed by the Pahari Korwas. This reduction in dietary diversity can have serious negative impacts on the health and nutrition of the Pahari Korwas, especially among children.

The increased reliance on Paddy cultivation is also slowing introducing chemical inputs into the Agricultural System of the Pahari Korwas. While traditional agricultural practices only involved natural and organic inputs the cultivation of Hybrid Rice varieties is resulting in the use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides. In Amanara 4 out of the 60 households are using Urea and pesticides. In Chui Pahar some of the non-Pahari Korwa farmers like the Yadavs and Uraons are cultivating hybrid and market bought rice varieties for which they use some amount of urea and pesticides. If not addressed this trend will spread across all villages and hasten the erosion of traditional systems that were in tune with the ecology of the region.

Another major challenge facing the Pahari Korwas today is Climate Change, which is bringing with it far reaching environmental and ecological change which includes unpredictable and erratic monsoons, greater water scarcity and increased incidence of droughts floods. Their traditional agricultural system and traditional crop varieties had tremendous potential to mitigate the threats of Climate Change to a great extent. Traditional crops like Millets, Legumes and Maize provided the Pahari



Roasting of maize in Amanara village

Korwas with multiple securities - food, nutrition, fodder, fibre, health, livelihood and ecology. By any nutritional parameter, millets are miles ahead of rice and wheat. Millets are a storehouse of dozens of nutrients in large quantities and include major and micro nutrients needed by the human body. Pulses are also a critical and inexpensive source of plant-based proteins, vitamins and minerals. These traditional crops can also be grown in poor quality and low fertility soils which are widespread in the region. They are also low water consuming crops and can adapt well to drought conditions. This in built

resilience of the traditional agricultural system of the Pahari Korwas and their traditional crops would have helped them meet the challenges posed by Climate Change. However, with an erosion of traditional agriculture and a shift away from traditional crops the Pahari Korwas are increasingly exposed to the threats posed by Climate Change especially in the context of their Food, Health and Nutritional security.

Way Forward

With regards to addressing the challenges being faced by the Pahari Korwas in the context of the erosion of their traditional agricultural practices there is a need to explore and implement a variety of different strategies and initiatives.

In order to strengthen and revive the traditional practice of Bewara there is a need to work towards ensuring secure land tenure for the Pahari Korwas especially with regards to access and right to their traditional community forests as envisaged by the Forest Rights Act (FRA) 2006. Where applicable, like in the case of the villages of Chui Pahar there is a need to spread awareness and provide villagers with necessary support to apply for and follow up Habitat Rights claims under FRA. In other villages the villagers can be supported to claim Community Forest Rights (CFR). Alongside this, villagers can be supported to secure rights to carry out their traditional agricultural practice of Bewara in their traditional habitats and forests. Side by side there is a need to work towards increasing the sustainability of Bewara especially with regards to increasing the fallow period, combating weedy and invasive species and promoting regeneration of native trees and plants. Lessons could be learnt from initiatives in other parts of the country like the Forest Gardens of the Paharias in Sundar Pahari. Jharkhand where shade tolerant species are being planted in fallows to increase the fallow period by generating additional revenue in the fallow period. Strategies to supress invasive

species and promote native vegetation can also be explored.

With regards to reviving traditional crop diversity there is a need to spread awareness about the benefits of traditional crops and the need to revive them. These awareness program can also focus on knowledge exchange between village elders and the youth with regards to cultivation, processing as well as preparation of traditional crops. Innovative new recipes can also be explored aimed at encouraging

the younger generation to include these crops in their diet. Alongside this, traditional seeds need to be provided to Pahari Korwa farmers and community initiatives like community seed banks can be promoted whereby seed exchange between farmers as well as in between different communities can be facilitated to ensure cultivation and revival of these traditional crops. Technology and strategies to reduce the drudgery involved in processing and preparing traditional crops also need to be explored.



Distribution of seeds of traditional crops in Ganeshpur village

Severalinitiativesaimedataimedatstrengthening and reviving traditional agricultural practices and food systems are already being implemented by different individuals, civil society organisations and institutions. The Using Diversity Network and its partner organisation Nirman have also been implementing several initiatives along these lines. However, there is a need for all stakeholders namely the community, civil society and concerned government departments and officials to come together to address the issue. This will help facilitate implementation of broad based, holistic strategies like the incorporation of traditional crops and food items in government schemes such as PDS and MDM, and also facilitate smoother implementation of existing schemes and acts.

Acknowledgements

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Annexure 1

List of Pahari Korwa villages in Dharmjaygarh Block, Raigarh District, Chhattisgarh where research was carried out:

S.No.	Name of Village	Name of Panchayat	No. Of PVTG hh	No. Of other hh	Total Population (M and F)
1	Chui Pahar	Kenda	17	0	70
2	Kohni Jampara	Kenda	12	0	51
3	Uraon Dihar	Kenda	8	0	32
4	Kadam Dand	Kenda	4	0	7
5	Amli Dand	Kenda	7	6	57
6	Sirdahi	Kenda	14	32	219
7	Barghat	Umarta	43	2	186
8	Amanara	Sajapali	50	3	244
9	Ganeshpur	Sisringa	32	18	328
10	Jokpani	Kadamdhodi	14	3	81
11	Kowadahi	Paremer	29	0	120
			230	64	1395

Annexure 2

Principal Crops of the Pahari Korwas of Raigarh District, Chhattisgarh

Rabang/Jhunga

Pahari Korwa Name: Lal Rabang

Hindi Name: Lal Jhunga English Name: Cowpea (Red)

Use (Subsistence, Commercial or Both): Mostly commercial in villages close to the market. In villages of Chui Pahar only excess

production is sold.

Status of Cultivation: Major crop Where it is cultivated: Bewara plots

Seed collection and storage: The first fruit is set aside for future sowing. Pods are left to dry on the plant. Feet or a stick are used to extract the beans/seeds. They dry the seeds three times





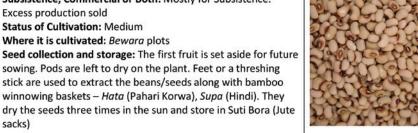
Hindi Name: Safed Jhunga English Name: Cowpea (White)

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Mostly for Subsistence.

Excess production sold Status of Cultivation: Medium Where it is cultivated: Bewara plots

Seed collection and storage: The first fruit is set aside for future sowing. Pods are left to dry on the plant. Feet or a threshing stick are used to extract the beans/seeds along with bamboo winnowing baskets - Hata (Pahari Korwa), Supa (Hindi). They

sacks)



Toher/Sutru

Pahari Korwa Name: Toher

Hindi Name: Sutru English Name: Rice bean

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Mostly for Subsistence.

Excess production sold. Status of Cultivation: Medium Where it is cultivated: Bewara plots

Seed collection and storage: The first fruit is set aside for future sowing. Pods are left to dry on the plant. Feet or a threshing stick are used to extract the beans/seeds along with bamboo winnowing baskets - Hata (Pahari Korwa), Supa (Hindi). They dry the seeds three times in the sun and store in Suti Bora (Jute sacks).



Sane/Rahar/Pigeon Pea

Pahari Korwa Name: Kartik/Bewar Sane, Badi Sane (Two

varieties)

Hindi Name: Rahar English Name: Pigeon pea

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Mostly commercial

Status of Cultivation: Medium to Major

Where it is cultivated: Bewara plots, Badi/ habitation plots,

plain areas ekal kheti / mono cropping

Seed collection and storage: The first fruit is set aside for future sowing. Pods are left to dry on the plant. Feet or a threshing stick are used to extract the beans/seeds along with bamboo winnowing baskets - Hata (Pahari Korwa), Supa (Hindi). They dry the seeds three times in the sun and store in Suti Bora (Jute sacks).



Khursa

Pahari Korwa Name: Khursa

Hindi Name: Khursa

English Name: Grass Pea (needs verification) Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Minor crop in Chui Pahar villages and

disappeared from other villages.

Where it is cultivated: Bewara and Badi / habitation plots Seed collection and storage: The first fruit is set aside for future sowing. The pods are dried in the sun which facilitates extraction. They dry the seeds three times in the sun and store in Suti Bora (Jute sacks).



Hirwa

Pahari Korwa Name: Hirwa

Hindi Name: Hirwa English Name: Horse gram

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Mostly for subsistence.

Excess production is sold.

Status of Cultivation: Minor and has disappeared from some

Where it is cultivated: Fields in plain areas usually along with

Jadgi and Badi / habitation plots.

Seed collection and storage: The first fruit is set aside for future sowing. Pods are left to dry on the plant. Feet or a stick are used to extract the beans/seeds along with bamboo winnowing baskets - Hata (Pahari Korwa), Supa (Hindi). They dry the seeds three times in the sun and store in Suti Bora (Jute sacks).



Jadqi

Pahari Korwa Name: Jadgi Hindi Name: Jadgi English Name: Niger

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Primarily for commercial

purposes. Sold for oil extraction.

Status of Cultivation: Minor and has disappeared from most villages. Only Amanara reported cultivation of Jadgi

Where it is cultivated: Fields in plain areas usually along with

Hirwa and Badi / habitation plots.

Seed collection and storage: They separate some seeds for future sowing after extraction by beating with a threshing stick.

They dry the seeds and store in Suti Bora (Jute sacks).



Jinhor/Makka/Maize

Pahari Korwa Name: Jinhor

Hindi Name: Makka English Name: Maize

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Mostly for subsistence Status of Cultivation: Major but declining with greater reliance

Where it is cultivated: Badi / habitation plots

Seed collection and storage: Some ears are left to dry on the plant for future sowing. They are then hung indoors over

cooking areas.



Serale / Kutki / Bede / Little Millet

Pahari Korwa Name: Safed Serale

Hindi Name: Safed Bede English Name: Little Millet

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: It is a commercial crop in Barghat, Sirdahi and villages of Chui Pahar. In the other lower

elevation villages it is a subsistence crop.

Status of Cultivation: Major crop in Barghat, villages of Chui Pahar. In other villages it is a minor crop or close to

disappearing.

Where it is cultivated: Ekal kheti or mono cropping in fields in

plain areas.

Seed collection and storage: Seeds are set aside for future sowing after threshing with bullocks. Seeds are dried 3 times in the sun and stored in Pura (leaf container) or Suti Bora (Jute

sacks).



Pahari Korwa Name: Kathika/Jhirgi Serale

Hindi Name: Kathika Bede English Name: Little Millet

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: It is a commercial crop in Barghat, Sirdahi and villages of Chui Pahar. In the other lower

elevation villages it is a subsistence crop.

Status of Cultivation: Major crop in Barghat, villages of Chui Pahar. In other villages it is a minor crop or close to

disappearing.

Where it is cultivated: Ekal kheti or mono cropping in fields in

Seed collection and storage: Seeds are set aside for future sowing after threshing with bullocks. Seeds are dried 3 times in the sun and stored in Pura (leaf container) or Suti Bora (Jute sacks).

Pahari Korwa Name: Karia Serale

Hindi Name: Kala Bede English Name: Little Millet

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence crop Status of Cultivation: Medium in villages of Chui Pahar and Barghat. In other villages it is a minor crop or close to

disappearing.

Where it is cultivated: Bewara plots

Seed collection and storage: Seeds are set aside for sowing after threshing with their feet. Seeds are dried 3 times in the sun and stored in Pura (leaf container) or Suti Bora (Jute sacks).



Pahari Korwa Name: Ahal Serale

Hindi Name: Ahal Bede **English Name:** Little Millet

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence crop Status of Cultivation: Medium in villages of Chui Pahar and Barghat. In other villages it is a minor crop or close to

disappearing.

Where it is cultivated: Bewara plots

Seed collection and storage: Seeds are set aside for sowing after threshing with their feet. Seeds are dried 3 times in the sun and stored in Pura (leaf container) or Suti Bora (Jute sacks).



Erbo/ Kang/ Foxtail Millet

Pahari Korwa Name: Bhursa Erbo Hindi Name: Bhursa Kang English Name: Foxtail Millet

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Minor and is disappearing from some

areas

Where it is cultivated: Bewara plots and Badi (homestead

plots)

Seed collection and storage: Seeds from first fruit are set aside for future sowing after threshing with their feet. Seeds are dried 3 times in the sun and stored in *Pura* (leaf container) or



Pahari Korwa Name: Kariya Erbo

Hindi Name: Kala Kang English Name: Foxtail Millet

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Minor and is disappearing from some

areas

Where it is cultivated: Bewara plots

Seed collection and storage: Seeds from first fruit are set aside for future sowing after threshing with their feet. Seeds are dried 3 times in the sun and stored in *Pura* (leaf container) or

Suti Bora (Jute sacks).

Pahari Korwa Name: Lal Erbo Hindi Name: Lal Kang English Name: Foxtail Millet

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Minor and is disappearing from some

areas

Where it is cultivated: Bewara plots

Seed collection and storage: Seeds from first fruit are set aside for future sowing after threshing with their feet. Seeds are dried 3 times in the sun and stored in *Pura* (leaf container) or

Suti Bora (Jute sacks).







Pahari Korwa Name: Kawri Erbo

Hindi Name: Kawri Kang English Name: Foxtail Millet

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Minor and is disappearing from some

areas

Where it is cultivated: Bewara plots

Seed collection and storage: Seeds from first fruit are set aside for future sowing after threshing with their feet. Seeds are dried 3 times in the sun and stored in *Pura* (leaf container) or

Suti Bora (Jute sacks).



Lawri / Sokra / Pearl Millet

Pahari Korwa Name: Sokra Hindi Name: Bajra English Name: Pearl Millet

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Minor and is disappearing from some

area

Where it is cultivated: Bewara plots and Badi plots (habitation

plots

Seed collection and storage: Seeds are set aside for future sowing after threshing with a stick. Seeds are dried 3 times in the sun and stored in *Pura* (leaf container) or *Suti Bora* (Jute

sacks).



Mandia / Madia / Finger Millet

Pahari Korwa Name: Sikyajyoti Mandia

Hindi Name: Ragi

English Name: Finger Millet

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Medium in Chui Pahar villages. Rare and

disappeared in other villages.

Where it is cultivated: Bewara and Badi

Seed collection and storage: The first fruit is set aside for future. Whole panicle is pounded in mortar and pestle. Seeds are dried 3 times in the sun and stored in *Pura* (leaf container)

or Suti Bora (Jute sacks).



Pahari Korwa Name: Chawar Mandia

Hindi Name: Raii

English Name: Finger millet

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Medium in Chui Pahar villages. Rare and

disappeared in other villages.

Where it is cultivated: Bewara and Badi

Seed collection and storage: The first fruit is set aside for future. "Bali samet musar men kut te hain" (help translate). Seeds are dried 3 times in the sun and stored in Pura (leaf

container) or Suti Bora (Jute sacks).



Lewit/Sikiya

Pahari Korwa Name: Lewit Hindi Name: Sikher/Sikiya (Baiga) English Name: Crab Grass Millet

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Minor crom in Chui Pahar villages. Rare

and disappeared in other villages.

Where it is cultivated: Bewara plots, grows on its own along

with Serale/Bede in Bewara.

Seed collection and storage: First fruiting is set aside for future sowing. Threshing is carried out with their feet and seeds are stored in Pura (leaf container) or Suti Bora (Jute Sack).



Bajura/Bajra/Sorgum

Pahari Korwa Name: Bajura

Hindi Name: Jowar English Name: Sorghum

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Mostly for subsistence.

Excess production is sold. Status of Cultivation: Medium

Where it is cultivated: Primarily in Badi / habitation plots along the border. In Bewara plots it is planted to attract birds away from other crops. As it is higher than other crops, birds target it

first enabling survival of other crops.

Seed collection and storage: First fruit is set aside for future sowing. After threshing with a threshing stick seeds are dried 3 times in the sun and stored in Suti Bora (Jute sacks).



Supplementary vegetable crops

Pahari Korwa Name: Amari Hindi Name: Lal Amari

English Name/Scientific Name: Roselle hibiscus sabdariffa

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Supplementary Where it is cultivated: Badi and Bewara plots

Seed collection and storage: They dry it in the to extract seeds

which are stored in a bora (sack).



Pahari Korwa Name: Lakra

Hindi Name: Lakra

English Name: To be verified

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Supplementary

Where it is cultivated: Badi

Seed collection and storage: They dry it in the to extract seeds

which are stored in a bora (sack).



Pahari Korwa Name: Cheench

Hindi Name: Cheench

English Name/Scientific Name: Chorchorus olitorius Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence Status of Cultivation: Supplementary crop

Where it is cultivated: Badi

Seed collection and storage: They dry it in the to extract seeds

which are stored in a bora (sack).



Pahari Korwa Name: Lal Malhan

Hindi Name: Lal Semi

English Name: Hyacinth bean, Lablab

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Supplementary

Where it is cultivated: Badi (along the border) and Bewara

plots

Seed collection and storage: The pods dry on the plant and the seeds are extracted and stored in a bora (sack) for future

sowing.



Pahari Korwa Name: Safed Malhan

Hindi Name: Safed Semi

English Name: Broad beans, Vicia faba

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Supplementary

Where it is cultivated: Badi (along the border) and Bewara

plots

Seed collection and storage: The pods dry on the plant and the seeds are extracted and stored in a bora (sack) for future

sowing.



Pahari Korwa Name: Taher Hindi Name: Khera English Name: Cucumber

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Supplementary

Where it is cultivated: Badi

Seed collection and storage: First fruit is set aside for future seeds. The dry the fruit and extract the seeds and paste them

on walls to be removed at time of sowing.



Pahari Korwa Name: Tuma

Hindi Name: Lauki

English Name: Bottle gourd

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Supplementary Where it is cultivated: Badi and Bewara

Seed collection and storage: The first fruits are set aside for seeds. In the ripe fruit they make a hole and pour ash water into it. Once the fruit is rotten they open it, extract the seeds

and keep them in a cloth or polythene.



Hurru/Dhan/Rice

Pahari Korwa Name: Sanjeri Hurru

Hindi Name: Sanjeri Dhan English Name: Sanjeri Paddy

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Medium in villages of Chui Pahar, not

cultivated in other villages.

Where it is cultivated: Ekal Kheti / Monocropping

Seed collection and storage: They set aside some seeds for future sowing after threshing with bullocks and store in *Suti*

Bora (Jute Sack).



Pahari Korwa Name: Charai Godi Hurru

Hindi Name: Charai Godi Dhan English Name: Charai Godi Paddy

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Medium in villages of Chui Pahar and

Barghat, not cultivated in other villages.

Where it is cultivated: Ekal Kheti / Monocropping

Seed collection and storage: They set aside some seeds for future sowing after threshing with bullocks and store in *Suti*

Bora (Jute Sack).



Pahari Korwa Name: Hatwa Hurru

Hindi Name: Hatwa Dhan English Name: Hatwa Paddy

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Medium in Barghat, not cultivated in

other villages.

Where it is cultivated: Ekal Kheti / Monocropping

Seed collection and storage: They set aside some seeds for future sowing after threshing with bullocks and store in *Suti*

Bora (Jute Sack).



Pahari Korwa Name: Raharsona Hurru

Hindi Name: Raharsona Dhan English Name: Raharsona Paddy

Subsistence, Commercial or Both: Subsistence

Status of Cultivation: Major in villages of Amanara, Ganeshpur.

Where it is cultivated: Ekal Kheti / Monocropping

Seed collection and storage: They set aside some seeds for future sowing after threshing with bullocks and store in *Suti*

Bora (Jute Sack).



DEFINITIONS:

Status of Cultivation:

- Major More than 2/3 of households are cultivating it on 2/3 or more area of their plots.
- Medium 1/3 or more of households are cultivating it on 1/3 to 2/3 of the area of their plots.
- Minor Less than 1/3 of the households are cultivating it on less than 1/3 of the area of their plots.
- Supplementary mostly vegetable crops grown in Bewara or Badi to meet short term self consumption needs.

Sr. No.	Short Form	Hindi Month (Name used locally in Pahari Korwa Areas)	Hindi Month (As per Hindu Lunar Calendar)	Number of Days	Corresponding English Calender dates		
1	Ma	Mang	Magha	30	January 21 to February 19		
2	Ph	Phagun	Phalguna	30	February 20 to March 21 / 20*		
3	Ch	Chaith	Chaitra	30/31*	March 22 / 21* to April 20		
4	Ba	Baisakh	Vaisakha	31	April 21 to May 21		
5	Je	Jeth	Jyaistha	31	May 22 to June 21		
6	As	Asad	Asadha	31	June 22 to July 22		
7	Sa	Sawan	Shravana	31	July 23 to August 22		
8	Bh	Bhado	Bhadra	31	August 23 to September 22		
9	Ku	Kunwar	Asvina	30	September 23 to October 22		
10	Ka	Kartik	Kartika	30	October 23 to November 21		
11	Ag	Aghan	Agrahayana	30	November 22 to December 22		
12	Pu	Pus	Pausa	30	December 22 to January 20		
	Note - * Le	ap year					

Annexure 3

Hindi Months and corresponding dates of English Calendar



