



**TE|SF India**

Transforming Education  
for Sustainable Futures

RESEARCH REPORT | MARCH 2023

# REDEFINING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Co-Creation of Knowledge with the Bharia People

Principal Investigator: Yemuna Sunny

### Citation

Sunny, Y. (2023). Redefining sustainable development: Co-creation of knowledge with the Bharia people. TESF India, IIHS.

**Year of Publication:** 2023 | **DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.24943/TESF0706.2023>

### Acknowledgements

The support of the Economic and Social Research Council (UK) is gratefully acknowledged by TEF (award title 'UKRI GCRF Transforming Education Systems for Sustainable Development (TES4SD) Network Plus').



**Economic  
and Social  
Research Council**



This work is published under the CC BY-NC-SA International 4.0 License.



This license lets others remix, tweak, and build upon the text in this work for non-commercial purposes. Any new works must also acknowledge the authors and be non-commercial. Derivative works must also be licensed on the same terms.

This license excludes all photographs and images, which are rights reserved to the original artists.

### Research Team

Yemuna Sunny, Yogesh Diwan, Syed Moovin

### Acknowledgements

Editing: IIHS Word Lab

Design: Shashwati Balasubramanian | Reviewed by: Prachi Prabhu and Padma Venkataraman | IIHS Communications and Design

### Image Credits

Satellite images of Patakot: M. B. Rajani and Arya S. Pradeep  
All photographs are from the researcher's personal repository.

### Contact

yemunas@gmail.com

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                                                          |           |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| <b>Abstract</b> .....                                    | <b>4</b>  |
| <b>Introduction</b> .....                                | <b>5</b>  |
| <b>Rationale and Objectives</b> .....                    | <b>6</b>  |
| <b>Literature Review</b> .....                           | <b>6</b>  |
| <b>Methodology</b> .....                                 | <b>7</b>  |
| <b>Findings – Part A</b> .....                           | <b>8</b>  |
| Lived Experiences of Ecology and Society .....           | <b>8</b>  |
| Oral Traditions .....                                    | <b>10</b> |
| Food, Cultivation, Nutrition .....                       | <b>11</b> |
| Houses, Livelihoods .....                                | <b>12</b> |
| Healing through Medicinal Herbs .....                    | <b>14</b> |
| Collective Decision-Making .....                         | <b>15</b> |
| Forests, their Decline and Restoration .....             | <b>16</b> |
| Visioning a Future of Patakot .....                      | <b>17</b> |
| Discussion .....                                         | <b>17</b> |
| <b>Findings – Part B</b> .....                           | <b>18</b> |
| The Modern School, Bharia Knowledge and Alienation ..... | <b>18</b> |
| The Bhariati Language .....                              | <b>19</b> |
| The Gods .....                                           | <b>20</b> |
| The Gaze .....                                           | <b>21</b> |
| A School in Tamia .....                                  | <b>22</b> |
| An Ashramshala in Gaildubba .....                        | <b>23</b> |
| Discussion .....                                         | <b>24</b> |
| <b>Conclusions</b> .....                                 | <b>25</b> |
| <b>Recommendations</b> .....                             | <b>26</b> |
| <b>Postscript</b> .....                                  | <b>26</b> |
| <b>References</b> .....                                  | <b>27</b> |
| <b>Annexure A</b> .....                                  | <b>29</b> |

## ABSTRACT

---

This study examines the lived experiences of the Bharia people of Pataalkot with regard to ecology, society and the modern school. The research methodology, attempting to keep the agency of the Bharia at the centre, has helped to evolve knowledge that is at once embedded and questioning. At the interface of the tribal and the non-tribal existences, like the market and the modern school, there are undercurrents of exploitation, alienation and a sense of being undervalued. The thriving forests of Pataalkot enhance socio-cultural and ecological relationships of tribal society, and help rethink development in terms of ecological restoration and egalitarian relationships, both of which are in decline in the contemporary phase of capital through liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation.

*Keywords:* Ecological restoration, egalitarian relation, alienation, development, knowledge, education

## INTRODUCTION

---

Systems that are unjust to most people in the world and systems that through massive scale of operation and profit motives have waylaid ecological rejuvenation, have prevailed for a long time and continue to do so. Hence, the term “sustainable development” brings forth an ambiguity: What is to be sustained? Does it imply sustaining resources to sustain dominant capitalist development? While some scholars opine that reforms in the capitalist system would be enough to bring about some change, others disagree with the proposition as socio-ecological problems will continue to be generated through the economic system.

The term “sustainable development” becomes opaque as development is popularly understood as the progress brought forth through the capitalist mode of production. When that trajectory of development is at the base of ecological degradation and livelihood loss, sustainable development creates conceptual contradictions. For instance, Naidu et al. (2010) critiques the idea of free market environmentalism which gives way to imposition of capitalist property rights over natural resources in India as processes of primary accumulation. While such policies point out increasing growth, they do not effectively address issues of social, ecological and economic sustainability.

The close association between capital, trade and the development of the environmental regimes in the neoliberal era on the one hand and the appropriation of the sustainability logic by international actors on the other hand, as pointed out by Ramakrishnan (2001), necessitate a critical examination of the notion of sustainable development.

It is in such contexts that the present study examines the nuances of ecological and social relationships in a tribal<sup>1</sup> community where individual competition for capital is not considered the fulcrum of development. This worldview could help us reinterpret ecological sustenance and social relationships. The examination of such premises becomes crucial for a critique of “development” that lies at the root of climate change and global warming, and also for reflecting on the implications of ecological and social relationships for people living outside the active ambit of capitalist development but perpetually threatened by dispossession. So, the question is not only of environmental protection of the forests and ecologies in which the people live, but also of listening to their voices that represent a different worldview in human history, geography, culture and economics. Their agency at the local and global levels needs space that is always denied. This can lend a more balanced view to concepts like well being, that can hold ecological and social nuances, which the rhetoric of capitalist development is unable to do.

---

<sup>1</sup> In the context of this study, “tribe” is a more appropriate term than “indigenous”. Tribe as a term indicates the social structure or the organising principles of a social order that is distinct from caste, class and gender societies. This implies their relations with nature and with each other in society.



## RATIONALE AND OBJECTIVES

---

The rationale for choosing the Bharia tribal community in the Patakot valley of Central India for the study is that the Bharia lands have not been encroached upon by large-scale development projects. Hence, unlike huge dispossessions faced by most other tribal groups in Madhya Pradesh, the state with the largest number of tribal people in the country,<sup>2</sup> the practices of the tribal worldview are relatively more prevalent among the Bharia community. Very few in-depth studies have been done on the Bharia people, other than that of Kurup (1985).

The study seeks to examine the socio-ecological space of the Bharia along with its multidimensional links with the state and the dominant non-tribal society. It aims to:

- Co-create knowledge on sustenance with the Bharia through
  - Lived experiences of ecology and society
  - Lived experiences emerging from modern schooling
- Articulate development for well-being based on the above
- Take learnings back to the Bharia and to education at large.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

---

Available studies on the Bharia people are seen to focus on systematic documentation of the area and people through sample surveys (Shrivastav, 2017) to bring out the status of the valley and the socio-cultural practices of the Bharia. Others (Warrier, 2017) focus on the ecological threats faced by the people of Patakot with a plea to help them survive in the face of modern development. Dikshit (2003) has compiled an informative book on the historic, social, cultural and economic situations of the Bharia community. Pare (2020) brings out a visually-rich compilation on the beliefs, customs and healing of the Bharia people based on their relationships with nature.

The only full-fledged research work on the Bharia people by Kurup (1985) makes a concerted effort to gather and analyse changes in the community brought forth through the state and the impact of Hinduism. The latter is traced mainly through contacts with the Gonds, who are considered “superior” to the Bharia and who had historically evolved a class-society and been part of the ruling class in the region. The author refrains from extending a policy recommendation even as he emphasises that a blanket “policy for all people” would not suffice. It should be a “policy for a people”. The study Kurup conducted around 37 years ago, is very enriching and provides a good base for the present study.

The gaps identified with regard to research studies on the Bharia people are that a) no studies have been done in recent times; and b) there is a lack of cognizance of the agency of the Bharia people in existing studies. At the ground level this becomes more evident as the Bharia do not have any organisations of struggle.

---

<sup>2</sup> As per the 2011 Census, there are 1.5 crore tribal people in Madhya Pradesh, comprising 21.1 per cent of the total population of the state.

## METHODOLOGY

---

Co-creation of knowledge implies the coming together of the research team and the Bharia people to create knowledge through mutual sharing of information and reflections. The lived experiences of people that include everyday life, livelihoods and ecological relations, reflections on happenings across time and space, memories, as well as oral histories, form important bases of co-creation. These also include experiences of state policies and institutions. These are not just individual reflections and so, not a methodology that is solipsistic.

As researchers have theoretical positions embedded in them, through secondary readings, conversations build dialogues between these and the lived experiences of the Bharia people. These evolve knowledge that makes both sides reflect, ask more questions, and reach certain findings. Hence, these are distinguished from one-sided exercises of information gathering.

The rationale for the methodology is anchored in the fact that especially in studying subaltern peoples and ecologies, the need for decolonised methodologies become pertinent. Across the world, indigenous peoples develop methodologies that seek to tell stories from decolonised vantages. In the Indian context, decolonising of knowledge implies the lifting of the established gaze of not only West European colonialism, but also of the deeply ingrained traditions of caste, class and gender that continue to marginalise tribal society.

The study was conducted mainly in two settlements in Pataalkot: Rated and Gaildubba. Even as there were planned queries, we had opted not to have a questionnaire, but pose some questions and listen. The hope was that new questions would emerge leading to more conversations, all of which were audio-visually recorded with prior permission. We had also met and spoken to some persons from the Bharia community in Tamia town. A few teachers as well as persons involved in livelihood engagements with the Bharia people were also consulted.

## FINDINGS - PART A

---

### Lived Experiences of Ecology and Society



Figure 1: Forested valley of Patalkot | Source: Sunny, 2023

Patalkot, a valley in Chindwara district of Madhya Pradesh (MP), is gorge-like, surrounded by steep rocks, and situated at lower depth than the surrounding landscape. A deep valley of Doodhi River in the Satpura mountains, it spreads over 79 sq. km and is at an average elevation of 2750–3250 ft above mean sea level. Doodhi is part of the catchment of Narmada River. Patalkot is 78 km from Chindwara, the district headquarters. The nearest town, Tamia, is 21 km from both Rated and Gaildubba, the villages where the present study was conducted. The valley lies 400 m below the elevation of Tamia.

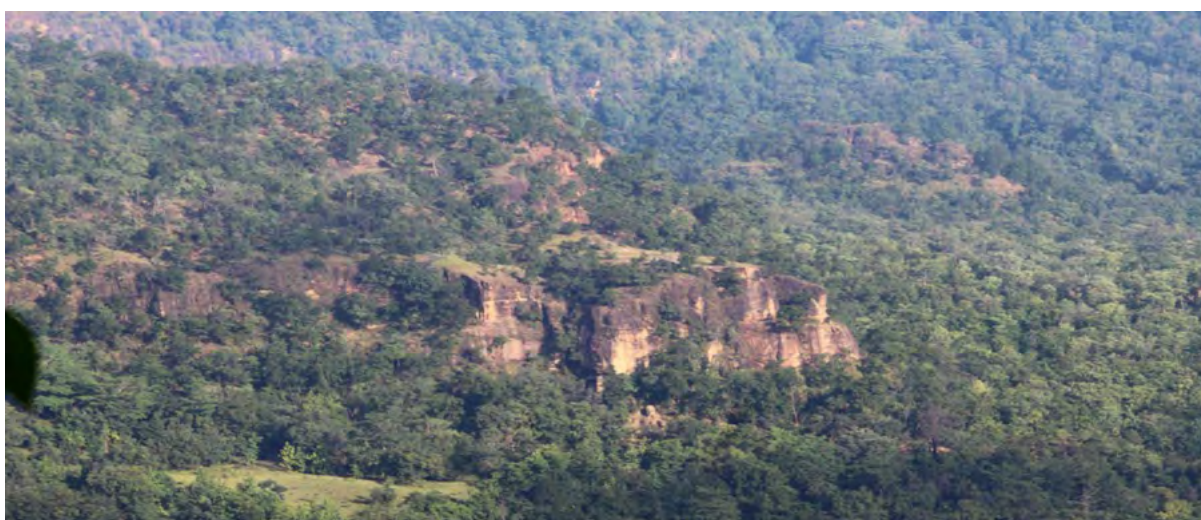


Figure 2: Vertical rocks of the Patalkot landscape | Source: Sunny, 2023



The vertical fort-like formations of rock from the Archaean era are nearly 2,500 million years old. The deep valley fringed by these rock formations perhaps lends it the name Pataalkot (*patal* means an abyss or the netherworld and *kot* means fort). Most of the villages of Pataalkot, totalling 12, can be reached only by foot while some can be reached by road. There are several pathways through which the Bharia people who live in Pataalkot climb to reach places like Chindi, the most prominent market place. Students often walk several kilometres to reach schools. The literacy rate in Pataalkot is 58.14 per cent (male: 65.12 per cent; female: 50.86 per cent), which is higher than the average literacy rates of tribal people in the state. There are 4,824 Bharia people living in Pataalkot (Census of India, 2011). The Bharia community is one of the particularly vulnerable tribal groups (PVTG)<sup>3</sup> of MP.



Figure 3: Pataalkot with its villages | Source: Rajani & Pradeep, 2023

<sup>3</sup> PVTG is a sub-classification within Scheduled Tribe, who are considered to be most vulnerable in certain parameters. This emerged from the Dhebar Commission (1960–1961), after which the Government of India created the PVTG list to enable the improvement of conditions of those communities.

## Oral Traditions



Figure 4: The Saaj tree that is worshipped by the Bharia people  
Source: Sunny, 2023

Historically, feudal society had dispossessed tribal people from the plains, forcing them to live in the hills where they used their ingenuity in new environs to develop a new way of living. One of their core oral traditions narrates their story as follows:

*When our mother was pregnant, our father had gone uphill from Patalkot, and he did not come back to us. Our mother gave birth to a child, and she continued to live in Patalkot. What was the use of going uphill? Our father had other children through another woman.*

*The children of the mother in Patalkot are the Bharia, and the children of the mother uphill are the Gond.<sup>4</sup> Both the people worship Bada dev, and both revere the Saaj tree, but there is a difference. The Gond pluck its leaves and worship, while the Bharia worship the tree.*

*We are older than the Gonds, and we worship the living tree. The Gonds worship the leaf that flies away from the tree and has lost its life.*

*We are in Patalkot which is down and grounded like the Saaj. They have gone higher up and associate with the leaves growing up on the tree.*

*We are still at the roots; they have gone up to the leaves.*

*Unlike the Bharia, there are some 'Patels' among the Gonds. The five fingers of the hand do not remain equal.<sup>5</sup>*

The story at once brings together the place, the people, and their bonding. It also has nuances of their mutual relationships in the community and is rich in a metaphorical sense, where the lack of hierarchy is celebrated. It is the Bharia way of locating themselves that gives them a geographic, political, spiritual, as well as historic sense by which they identify and name themselves in the world.

In their oral history, the Bharia people had fled from the Nagpur region long ago to escape sexual exploitation of their women by the *jagirdars*,<sup>6</sup> of the feudal caste society. They moved out and took refuge in the secluded and thickly forested Patalkot.

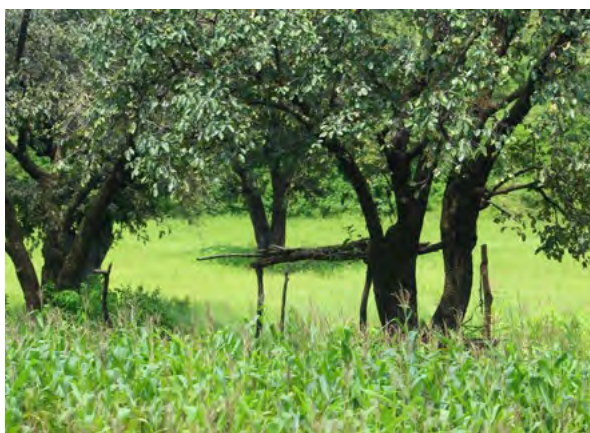
<sup>4</sup> Gonds are one of the most prominent tribes of Central India, and one of the largest tribal groups in India.

<sup>5</sup> There are traditionally no relations of marriage between the two communities.

<sup>6</sup> *Jagirdars* were given the right to collect revenue from a piece of land by the feudal state.

The forced movements of tribal people from the plains to the hilly forests through marginalisation by caste is a historic pattern across the Indian subcontinent. In her study on tribal communities of Central India, Prasad (2003) observes that the tribal people of Central Provinces may have been sedentary cultivators till the advent of the Marathas. “Though the Gonds retained their zamindaris in the hilly and inaccessible tracts, they were dispossessed from the plains by the Maratha conquest” (p. 16).

In the beginning of the 19th century, the Marathas had to cede almost one-third of their territory to the British. Kurup (1985) notes that “to make up for the losses, the Marathas imposed new taxes at the time. It was during this period that the poor Bharias living in Bhardagarh<sup>7</sup> and other parts of the jagir area receded to the then inaccessible valley of Patalkot” (p. 9).



Figures 5–6: Storage of corn | Source: Sunny, 2023

### Food, Cultivation, Nutrition

Kurup in his study of the Bharia in early 1980s had noted the implications of the policy of banning of shifting cultivation in 1954 on the Bharia community. Later, the Wildlife Protection Act 1972 put a brake on hunting for meat. These were imposed for the protection of forests and wildlife, but deforestation and forest exploitation by non-tribal society and by the state are more large scale than the tribals’ usage of forest produce or timber from the forests. Today the Bharia people fish from the river, but meat is bought from the market.

Land for cultivation is not collectively owned, but individually. Land that they used for a long period of time was documented in their names about 10–12 years ago. They cultivate corn, *kodo-kutki*, lentils, and beans. During the rainy season *tuar* (lentils) is cultivated for their own consumption. Cultivations in the lower elevation settlements of Patalkot are unirrigated.

Maize or corn is the most widely grown crop in Patalkot. It is also one of the most staple food items, apart from *kodo-kutki* and *sama*, wild rice varieties which are also cultivated. Corn forms the base of a staple food-drink called *peja* which is mixed with a particular herb and buttermilk. A number of tubers, greens, and fruits which are gathered from the forests also form part of the diet of the Bharia people. Mangoes grow abundantly in the valley, and their seeds are used to make rotis that are considered highly nutritious. They now also eat *mahua*, lentils, beans, fish, chicken, mutton and wheat which they obtain from the ration shops. They also drink alcohol made from *mahua* and smoke through the chillum. They observe that their medicinal herbs keep them healthy.

<sup>7</sup> Bhardagarh village is located in Jamai tehsil of Chhindwara district in Madhya Pradesh. It is 29 km away from sub-district headquarter Jamai (tehsildar office) and 80 km away from district headquarter Chhindwara.



The people of Rated are very confident of their nutrition and immunity because they thrive in the forests. Some of them observed that not a single person in Patalkot was infected by COVID-19. In one of the conversations:

*Whenever we had to go out and come back to Patalkot, we have been checked for Covid. But no one got Covid. When we are eating food from the forests, we are healthy. It is only malaria that sometimes bothers us.*

In a study on nutritional status, Tiwari et al. (2007) point out that the nutritional status of Bharia children is normal and much above that of other tribal groups. This is of great significance given the fact that malnutrition is rampant in Madhya Pradesh<sup>8</sup> and most of it is associated with the tribal population and marginalised sections of non-tribal society.

## Houses, Livelihoods



Figure 7: Houses in Patalkot are mostly tiled and built of mud with wooden poles | Source: Sunny, 2023



Figure 8: A young child looking out from the wooden doors of his house | Source: Sunny, 2023



Figure 9: An older Bharia woman resting on the front porch of her house | Source: Sunny, 2023

<sup>8</sup> As many as 70,000 children aged 0–6 years suffer from severe acute malnutrition in the state. This statistic came to light in a survey conducted by the Women and Child Welfare Department (WCD) in January 2021. See Sharma, N. (2021, January 10). 70,000 kids down with acute malnutrition in Madhya Pradesh. *The Free Press Journal*. <https://www.freepressjournal.in/bhopal/70000-kids-down-with-acute-malnutrition-in-madhya-pradesh>



While cultivation of crops and gathering of tubers, fruits, greens and medicinal plants provide the Bharia people with nutrition, health, and healing, and shape their aesthetics and spirituality, the livelihoods referred to here are those activities that link them to the market, fetch them money with which they buy salt, oil, clothes, and so on. This deals largely with gathering of forest produce, in which there is a clear and informal understanding among the people on the division of the area in which each family would gather the produce. *Chironji*, *awla*, *musli*, *harra*, *mahua*, honey, and medicinal herbs are the major produce gathered from the forests. These are sold in local markets like the one in Chindi, and often traders reach out to settlements in Patalkot to purchase from the people. There is a strong awareness of the higher prices the traders sell the products at in the market. For instance, *mahua* is bought from the people and sold at ₹25 more per kilogram.

The traders who visit the Bharia villages to buy forest produce from the people also offer to lend money whenever they see an opportunity to do so. The money lent is taken back in kind. Such persons, known as *sahookars*, who play the role of the trader and the money-lender, become a synonym for cheating.

#### Box 1: The *sahookar*

*The sahookar comes to the villages to buy things from us. We are often not aware of the market rates – what the prices of each and every item are. People are forced to sell at the rate established by the sahookar. The sahookar always tries to keep in touch with the people. So, when there is some difficulty, he immediately offers monetary help and says that after the next season of forest yields, the money can be returned. During the proceeding season, he buys produce from the people at lower rates, at the same rate as it was the previous year. So, as he takes back his money in this way, we are at a loss, and moreover he cheats in weighing the produce. He takes more.*

(As narrated by two senior persons in Rated)



Figure 10: A Bharia youth heading to the Rated Viewpoint with his medicinal herbs | Source: Sunny, 2023

In recent times, tourists purchase medicinal herbs directly from the Bharia people. Today it is common to see Bharia people, including traditional healers, at tourist sites selling medicinal herbs. MP tourism promotes the sale of “ethnic food” by the Bharia people, which mainly consists of *makke ki roti* (flat cakes made of corn flour) with chutney and curry. The Bharia woman in the photograph spoke of the importance of replenishing the tubers and plants in the absence of which there will not be sufficient food for tomorrow.

Often it is difficult for them to say exactly how much they earn annually. Yet, on a weekly basis they estimated average earnings of at least ₹1,000 through the sale of herbs and food. Some persons said they save money in the bank, whenever possible, which is useful for occasions like weddings.



Figures 11–13: Medicinal herbs laid out for sale at a tourist site by a Bharia healer from Sitoli, Madhya Pradesh  
Source: Sunny, 2023

In the months of March, June and July, some people of the Bharia community migrate as seasonal labourers to nearby districts and each time, the migration lasts for 15–20 days. The employers send vehicles to fetch the labourers from Patalkot, and they go in teams of 20–25 people. At the destination, they are provided some shelter facilities and are paid ₹300 per day. They are paid only when the work is done and they are about to return to Patalkot.

Some people work in government services as schoolteachers or in the *anganwadis*. One woman who works in the *anganwadi* earns about ₹5,000 per month. She takes care of the children in the *anganwadi*, oversees the cooking of the meals, records the body weight of children, and also manages their reading and learning activities. Her husband who has studied up to grade 12 is a peon in a school.

### Healing through Medicinal Herbs

Traditional healers spend about an hour each in the morning and evening gathering medicinal herbs. These are then dried and prepared for use in medicines. One of the healers said he sells each packet for ₹20 in the market in Chindi.

*That way people get healed spending less money. Healing should not be an expensive process. But many people now-a-days think that serious ailments can be treated only through expensive healing. But that is not true. Naadi (pulse) tells us where the problem lies, sometimes in food deficiencies, or in matters related to water and air. Through medicines and healing, the person gets back to normal.*

He said that the ways of healing have been passed on to them from their ancestors. He diagnoses by checking the pulse of the patient.

*"Do you teach the younger generation about this?"*

*"Yes, but educated persons bring in another knowledge. Sometimes they understand what we say".*

Most persons of the Bharia community vouch for healing practices that use herbs from the forests. A 35-year-old person who was at home because he had sprained his leg while ploughing the field, narrated:

*"I treat myself with herbs from the forest. That heals me in the long run. If I have a tablet bought from the shop, it might give me instant relief, but that does not last long."*

Even Bharia people who live outside Patakot and are settled in the town of Tamia depend on their traditional healing. They visit the healer whenever the need arises. Through our conversations with several people during our research, we gather that there is a lot of community knowledge on healing through herbs, roots, and so on which everyone in the community shares. The *padyar* or *bhumka* as the traditional healers are called are very knowledgeable and diagnose illnesses through the *naadi* and dedicate their lives to this knowledge.

### Collective Decision-Making

Each of the 12 villages have a *mukhia* or headman. The Bharia people meet collectively in preparation for festivals and weddings, or for settlement of disputes. One or two people from each home, both women and men, attend the meeting. The community decides on what, where and when these proceedings will take place. The *mukhia* refers to this as "*sehmata banana padta*" (the need to come to a consensus). For instance, worship their deities at the time of the Dushhera festival, coconuts are broken, white and red flags are unfurled, and prasad in the form of forest produce like *choronj* is offered. These decisions are all made by the people of the Bharia villages in the meetings.

Before any wedding, a meeting is held. If help is needed in procuring materials for the wedding feast, everyone pools in ingredients like rice and oil by mutual consent so that as a headman puts it, "*to koyi khabaraye nahi*" (so that no one feels anxious).

In the month of May or June, they meet to make plans (*sehmata banana*) for the worship of Bhimsena. Collective decisions are made about the procurement of materials for the function, say 50 coconuts, 14 chickens, and so on. This is the time that they sow *kodo-kudki*. Sometimes there are disputes or quarrels between people, mostly evolving from drunken squabbles. These are settled at meetings with mutual consent. One person is selected as the *patel* to settle the dispute. He hears out both sides, and then talks



about his opinion on the matter. If everyone claps and passes it, it becomes the decision and some money is taken from both parties concerned and a document is made. Then they eat together and everything is considered to have been settled. The dispute is over. The document is safely stored by the patel.

### Forests, their Decline, and Restoration

In Rated, people pointed out the threat to the forests from timber smugglers who come from villages at higher elevations and their inability to stop them. Almost everyone we spoke to was concerned about the loss of forests. They all spoke of how people living in the villages uphill take away timber. During the summer, forest fires are common; a result of someone setting fire then carrying away the timber. The forest department is often not equipped to stop these activities.

The Bharia meetings discuss the issue but they worry about repercussions when they go uphill for market and other requirements if they try to stop the timber smugglers. As one person observed, *"They are more powerful!"*

Some people observed that everyone knows the significance of forests and how essential they are to retain water. The government says that forests should be protected, and that if people see anyone smuggling timber, they are asked to inform the authorities. But if someone reports the smuggling, the smugglers threaten their lives. Smugglers are outsiders, and sometimes, out of fear or other compulsions, local people are forced to ally with them. *"Otherwise, the Bharia people might take only small quantities of wood for uses like the making of a door or window of their house".*

Gaildubba is one of the villages that is not down in the valley like Rated, and is closer to the town of Tamia. The forest cover here is less than in other villages. The *mukhia* of the village says that there used to be more forest before. Slash and burn in earlier days could have destroyed some of it. But it is more likely because the forest department mark coupes<sup>9</sup> and cut down trees as they please. The forest department practiced selection felling, with the belief that by cutting down weaker trees, stronger ones grow better. He said that he had pointed out that the selection felling is a mistake, and that trees grow in mutual support. But the forest officers do not listen, especially since he is employed by them as a labourer.

*What we need to do is to plant more trees without looking at whether they yield anything for us to eat. This is what we do because trees are like our parents, our sisters, and brothers. By planting fruit trees, say 40–50 or 100 trees, the bank will come running to us, we won't have to go anywhere. I am a person who is not educated, I have only passed the 5th grade. But I understand the trees and plants.*

He said that tree felling has caused loss of moisture in the soil, shortage of drinking water and increase in temperature.

Since 2012, the Bharia people in Gaildubba have been planting trees. An organisation called MP Vigyan Sabha helped procure saplings.

<sup>9</sup> Coupe is a felling area, usually one of an annual series demarcated by the forest department.

## Visioning a Future of Pataalkot

People across different age groups and genders have visions of a future of Pataalkot which are inevitably linked to the forests of the valley. Some of the responses are as follows:

*Many years back we started to plough the land, and the soil has been washed away exposing the rocks in many places. But in some niches, you can see soil. That is where plants and trees need to be planted so that they grow well. Otherwise, we lose greenery and also lose cultivation.*

*Many people have told us that there are many provisions and government schemes for the Bharia people. But these have not reached us. They think there is no need to tell the Bharia people about these. The general attitude of those who should be informing us can be summed up as 'What does the Bharia know?'*

*People of Pataalkot should be encouraged not to sell raw materials like forest produce. Instead, they should think of adding value to the products. They can make awla candy and then sell and make flour and other products from kodo-kudki. But the challenge is that we need money to do these.*

These inputs stress the need for enriching the soil and flora in the valley and to address the issue of value of forest produce and access to provisions of the state, especially those of PVTG. They point out the results of their own actions to combat forest loss, of the responsibilities of the state, and of the negotiations in the market.

Towards the end of the study, there was good news for the Bharia people. They obtained habitat rights under the Forest Rights Act, 2006.<sup>10</sup> One of the *mukhias* said that it was the result of their concerted efforts in the past five years. The Bharia community had been procuring signatures and making submissions to the government on their habitat claims on Pataalkot.

## Discussion

The traditions of ecologically sustainable and socially egalitarian practices are intrinsic to the worldview of the Bharia people. The diversity of food and the knowledge of flora and their healing properties are an integral part of the ecological-social relations of the community. Their responsibility towards the forest and towards each other shapes their culture. Satellite images of Pataalkot (see Annexure A) show us that there has not been drastic depletion of forest cover in the Pataalkot valley even though some patches in areas more accessible to the outside world show patterns of deforestation. These include the southwestern part of Jhiran, the north-eastern part of Gudichattri, the south-eastern part of Gaildubba, and along a north-south belt running along Ghonghri Gujjadongri.

In the market interactions of the Bharia community with the class-caste-gender society, there is a strong

<sup>10</sup> Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 recognises the rights of the forest-dwelling tribal communities and other traditional forest dwellers to forest resources, on which these communities are dependent for a variety of needs, including livelihood, habitation and other socio-cultural needs. The forest management policies, including the acts, rules and policies of Participatory Forest Management policies in both colonial and post-colonial India, did not, till the enactment of this act, recognise the symbiotic relationship of the indigenous communities with the forests, reflected in their dependence on the forest as well as in their traditional wisdom regarding conservation of the forests. Its objectives are:

- To undo the historical injustice to the forest dwelling communities;
- To ensure land tenure, livelihood and food security of the forest dwelling Scheduled Tribes and other traditional forest dwellers;
- To strengthen the conservation regime of the forests by including the responsibilities and authority on Forest Rights holders for sustainable use, conservation of biodiversity and maintenance of ecological balance.

See Ministry of Tribal Affairs. (n.d.) *Forest rights*. <http://forestrights.nic.in/>

sense of “cheating” with their produce or labour being undervalued by buyers produce. The term *sahookar* holds twin connotations of this exploitation as well as the interest extortion by money lenders.

## FINDINGS - PART B

---

### The Modern School, Bharia Knowledge and Alienation



Figure 14: Children engrossed in drawing and painting in one of our interactions in Rated | Source: Sunny, 2023

Children from villages like Rated, have to travel long distances if they want to continue studying after primary school. For instance, a young girl studying in Class 10 in Chindi walks uphill for about an hour and a half every day to reach the school. Many students study in residential schools in Tamia and in other places.

Most people with a school education are employed as peons and *chaukidars* (guards) in the forest department, as *nakedars* (watchman at a checkpoint), and as *anganwadi* workers and teachers in schools. Those students who fail in their studies, and do not get past Class 5 go back to the soil and the forests for their livelihoods. In some cases, schooled youth also opt to migrate seasonally as agricultural labourers.

A young boy who studies in Class 11 with agriculture as his specialisation said that in his course he learns about cultivation of wheat, its irrigation, and harvest. Many of his peers had also chosen agriculture, but he observed that there is nothing about *kodo-kudki* and the cultivation of crops like *ballar* (beans), corn, and *tuar* that they grow in Patalkot.

Does he think that his schooling could help him to innovate or improve upon the cultivation that is being done in Patalkot? His response was a vehement negative, and there was a sense of alienation. He



remarked that cultivation as taught in his course requires a lot of resources to be bought from the market like pesticides and fertilisers which they do not use in Pataalkot.

*Here we apply only gobar, and we guard our fields from animals. Only urea is used in some places.*

All the students at his hostel are from the Bharia community. They dance together and play musical instruments like the *dhol*, *timki* and *manjira*. Those who play the *manjira* also sing along with it. He plays the large *dhol*. What would he like to do later in life? He says he is fascinated by the army because they work together as a team. The social practice and value attached to community is a core relationship of life.

### Box 2: Knowledge alienation through school

*The education system is one in which the students are guided to move away from the village towards the city. What is written in the books and what is taught in the classes, are all to do with matters of the towns and cities. The children of our villages are not familiar with those things. If you ask me, the matters and knowledge of the villages should be the contents of at least 50 per cent of the course, so that the children of the villages can stand on par with the others.*

(As narrated by two senior persons)

## The Bhariati Language

*Kata jaasast tu?* [Where are you going?]

*Bahu-dada ko kata jais?* [Where have bahu and dada gone?]

*Mora ghar me he.* [They are in my home.]

A 45-year-old man wrote these in my diary in Devanagari script. He has studied up to Class 5.

- Do they teach the Bharia language in school?
- No, they teach ka, kaa, ki, kee (laughs)
- Are there teachers from the Bharia community in the schools?
- Yes, there are some persons whom I know.
- Do your children know the Bharia language?
- No

Most young people we met said they do not know the Bharia language. One of them said that his mother had strictly told them not to speak the language. He had studied in Rated up to Class 5, attended school up to Class 8 in Sitoli, and then went to Bammi for further studies. None of his teachers in Bammi are from the Bharia community.

Two senior persons told us that in Rated everyone speaks Bharia or Bhariati language. *"Everyone speaks, but they will say that they do not"*. Just a half hour before we had had a conversation with a senior woman who claimed that she did not speak Bhariati. This seemed puzzling because in our earlier visits we had gathered that the trend of switching completely to Hindi was developing only among the youth studying in hostels away from Pataalkot. We heard this from many people including the superintendent of the *ashramshala* in Gaildubba who is a postgraduate and had always studied through residential schools and colleges.

Many people, especially those in formal employment, feigned ignorance of the language. This can be interpreted as the outcome of a new sense of dignity that modern institutions and employments seem to inculcate. Two teachers with whom we interacted extensively told us of how one of them used to be a teacher of the Bhariati language as a government schoolteacher. The government had closed down the teaching of the language in 2011. He talked to us in Bhariati language, which we recorded. He said that he would not use many words spoken in the village because they were “not good”.

A little later we met the mukhia of the village, and he started talking to us in Hindi, but switched over to Bhariati often. He said that his daughters-in-law who are from Patalkot speak Bhariati so he is happy to speak the language with them while his sons speak less of it. It appears that the language is used everywhere in varying degrees although not acknowledged by some, and the younger generation tends not to use it.

One person told us later that it was the language used by the mukhia that the teacher did not want to speak. So, the teacher was speaking to us in a distilled or sanitised version of Bhariati. We had ample opportunity to discuss this later with the teachers. While making the documentary film, he initially said that he does not speak Bhariati. It was only later that he admitted that he had been a teacher of the language some years ago.

These teachers are very active in and on behalf of the community. While one of them writes songs and articles centred on the Bharia of Patalkot, the other sings and dances and they have made recordings of these publicly available. Their cultural searches, innovations, and recognitions are processes of reinstating the identity of the community in ways that reclaim tribal cultural expressions but seek more refinement.

The duality of the experiences of the teachers arises from having to make a bridge between their government service where a sense of the universal as well as of caste-class-gender bias faces off against their communal roots in the Bharia of Patalkot. Educated and employed people, and especially the teachers who engage with the community to which they belong and operates in the school on a caste-class-gender system and a curriculum of universal and abstract knowledge, perhaps face the duality most.

People who have deep relationships with the forests through livelihoods, express their reflections without any reservations. However, the educated and employed hide much as they weave or discard information from their narrative depending on the situation.

Most often there is a disconnect between the knowledge of the textbooks, and that of the community. While the former is considered superior by the state and dominant society, the latter is rich with lived experiences. The disconnect between the two creates alienation and struggles to make sense.

## The Gods

In a conversation with a senior Bharia person settled in the town of Tamia:

- *“Who is your God?”*

- *“Shankar”.*

- *“In Patalkot, they mentioned Bada Dev as the God of the Bharia”.*

- "Both of them are the same".
- "We go to the Hindu temple, even as our ways of worship is a little different".

Kurup (1985) had spoken of how the infiltration of the Hindu religion in to the Bharia people of Pataalkot was increasing with close proximity of the Bharia with the Gonds, who in turn were close to state mechanics and the Hindu religion.

There are no scriptures or structures like temples in the Bharia spirituality or religion. There are only practices. There are commonalities between the Bharia and the Gond in these matters. The beliefs and practices are centred on Bada Dev.

*Bada Dev is in our houses where we worship. We use coconut in our worship, and then offer that to our mother and father. We tell Bada Dev that we should live good, our children should live good, our cattle should be taken care of, and we should be protected from diseases. These are the sort of things that we ask of Bada Dev.*

The festivals celebrated by the Bharia people include the Hindu festivals of Diwali, Holi, Dusshera, and Teeja, celebrated in the Bharia traditions with *mahua* and dances.

Among the youth, especially those who have lived away from home for school, there are variations in the concepts of God. One of them identifies Bajrangbali as his god. He talked of a Bajrangbali temple in the region built about a couple of years before, which he visits sometimes. He does not take part in his parents' religious beliefs. This reflects a move towards Hindu gods.

## The Gaze

The class-caste-gender gaze operates in all societal interactions. A primary example, one which has a long- standing impact on the relationships between societies, is the act of naming. This is not just identification, but also a reflection of power inequalities ingrained in the mind and the culture of those who name. Kurup (1985) writes:

... the meaning of the word Bharia is obscure. If it is taken that the word is formed bhar meaning weight or load it would simply mean that the Bharias were so called because they were load-carriers, or coolies. While no tribe would like to be referred to by a derogatory term, in all probability this term was coined for the people by others who considered themselves superior. (p. 11)

The Bharia surnames have been changed to "Bharti" by educated people in the community. A person who has spent about sixteen years working with the Bharia people on matters of livelihoods remarks on the paradox of the lived experiences of the employments:

Students from Bharia community who have got jobs on the basis of their education are mostly jobs like serving drinking water to people (in offices). They develop feelings of inferiority. While on jobs, they are often seen to be intoxicated. The reason I understand is the inferiority that develops inside them.

The cultural gaze that pushes people to a "lowly" position which caste-centric Hindu society is well groomed to perform and has no traditional roots in tribal society, becomes very damaging to the morale



of the latter. The Dalit (the so-called lower caste in Hindu religion) people have historically suffered suppression and marginalisation in caste-based society. On the contrary, tribal people have lived for ages on their own terms with nature and with each other. The so-called civilising agenda of the tribes place them under the same gaze as that extended to the so-called lower castes.

### Box 3: NGOs in Patalkot

*NGOs come to the villages of Patalkot and try to give us training in some things which are not useful for us. They come and train people for ten days. They must be benefitting from it because the government must be giving them some money for that. But we lose our work on those days, and it is of no use to us. After a few days they come again, to give us another training.*

*(As narrated by two senior persons, and a point that came up in several other conversations too)*

### A School in Tamia

Eklavya residential school (managed by MP Tribal and Welfare residential and ashram educational institutes society) was started in Tamia in 2019. It is co-ed, CBSE, and English medium. We had gone during the annual inter-school art competitions.



Figure 15: Eklavya Residential School, Tamia | Source: Sunny, 2023

The school has forests and hills on three sides, and the Tamia-Patalkot road on the rear. The students are from the Bharia and Gond tribes. Having spent around five hours in the school, we were gripped by the notably cordial teacher–student relations. A quality of co-operation, innocence and something deeply loving

could be felt. There was a culture distinctly different from the schools I have seen. One girl, after her dance performance, returning from the stage, asked a teacher seated next to me: “*Did I do well? Was it good?*”

This was asked so simply without any fear or anxiety, like one would ask a friend. Later I gathered that all the permanent teachers in the school are from tribal communities, mostly Gond.

Throughout the day there were intermittent slogans of “*Bharat mata ki jai*” and “*Vandemataram*”. It was also interesting that every competition theme—drawing, dance and so on—had two categories. One was national and the other, tribal. The former had to do with nationalism and the second one with tribal culture. For example, patriotic songs and national festivals were themes for the drawing competition. The short plays (all directed by different teachers) showcased the life of Draupadi Murmu, the current President of India, who is from a tribal community. Another one was on how moneylenders cheat tribal people. The main takeaway was the sense of community, the exploitation in the lived experiences of the people, and the duality of tribal existence in the state between a national arena now coloured with loud slogans of Bharat Mata and the tribal culture in which the students are rooted.

Later, we explored the unusually egalitarian teacher–student relations in the school. We gathered from teachers that initially the school used to function like all schools, meaning teachers would scold and exercise disciplinary action. The students refused to continue their studies, and they went back to their villages. When contacted, their parents also complained and did not want their children to continue in unpleasant conditions. The teachers were forced to make decisions and stop scolding or beating students. They had to teach with friendship and love. They gradually realised that what they could not teach children through pressure, was better done with love.

“*Jo mara se na seekha, vo prema se seekha*” (What could not be learnt through pressuring, was being learnt through love).

### **An Ashramshala in Gaildubba**

In Gaildubba, roads were built 10 years ago, and electricity became available around 10–12 years ago. The teacher in charge (superintendent) of the *ashramshala*, is from the Bharia community and had started her career as a teacher in 2001. In the *ashramshala* which started in 2007, she is in charge of 16 primary school girls of the Bharia and Gond communities. She has done her post-graduation.

Ashram schools are run by the Government of MP for tribal students who live in areas of the state where school facilities have not been made available. Scholarships<sup>11</sup> are provided up to a period of 10 months for students who obtain admission. The *ashramshala* in Gaildubba has provisions to admit 50 students, but only 16 are presently enrolled. This is mainly due to technical difficulties in uploading required documents online. This shows a huge gap between the government provisions and actual procurements.

The superintendent remarked that gradually *sudhar* (improvement) is happening in Patalkot. She cites the celebration of festivals like Dusshera, the eating of wheat, the speaking of Hindi and other such things as markers of progress. She feels that losing the Bharia language is natural as they need Hindi to

<sup>11</sup> ₹500 for boys and ₹525 for girls. See <https://govinfo.me/beneficiaries/urban/>

communicate with others. Her children are studying outside Patalkot in hostels. But as the conversation progressed, she remarked that even though she could not speak the language herself, it represents their identity. This remark came up after a long, reflective discussion on languages in India, communication with each other, and so on. She shared her experiences travelling to Gandhinagar in Gujarat for scout and guide activities, where the language was Gujarati which she could not understand.

The conversations in the *ashramshala* also revealed that during the COVID-19 pandemic, schools and *ashramshalas* were closed down when not even a single case of infection was reported anywhere in the valley. Children from the *ashramshala* went back home. For studies to continue, children needed at least a mobile phone and access to network connectivity for online lessons, both of which were not feasible.

## Discussion

The modern school operates through a process of alienation of the tribal people. This is true also of other social groups. But often, in the contradistinction of worldviews on happiness and development are between the tribal and non-tribal society, the former does not find place in either the content or in pedagogy of schools. The alienation is also stark in the absence of technical prerequisites that pose a hurdle in enrolling students in institutions as in the case of the *ashramshala*. The centralisation is from the contexts of the cities, as clearly revealed in the closure of schools during the pandemic, followed by online learning.

The alienation of the school-going students from tribal knowledge is clearly reflected in their moving away from their tribal culture. When practices of ecological restoration and egalitarian social relationships are eroded it is a cause for concern since these are aspects that the world can learn from to evolve sustenance and social justice.

The realities of the Bharia language gives us one of the most profound examples of the duality between self-esteem and prestige that the non-tribal hegemonic society embeds in everyone. This is something that can be compared to the language practices and the hegemonic assumptions made between the mother tongue and English in neo-colonial nations. The continuous need for camouflage on one hand, and the concrete need for identity on the other, keep on weaving into the lived experiences of educated Bharia people.

## CONCLUSIONS

---

Drawing upon the above findings to revisit the concerns and objectives with which the study set out, we arrived at three major conclusions.

Instead of “sustainable development”, we need a critical appraisal and redefinition of development. Rather than being led by the assertions of the free market, it needs to build on the knowledge that is grounded in the social geographies and histories of places and peoples. The collective production and responsibilities to the environs and to each other as seen in the Bharia tribal community is a far cry from the dispossession, primitive accumulation, and mobility of capital emerging from the non-tribal capitalist economics in which the specificities of and responsibilities towards places and peoples can be side-lined as non-issues.

The methodology utilised helped to make reflective conversations must not set a hegemonic equation, say between the “knowledgeable researcher” and the “research subjects”. The critical consciousness of methodology becomes crucial where knowledge is ingrained in lives, actions and thoughts, and not separated from everyday life as written abstractions.

Education needs to be a process of knowledge creation. But what we experience is a narrow range of selective knowledge that demands to be internalised. This is challenging not only pedagogically, but also in terms of knowledge representations. Whose knowledge? Knowledge for free markets or for a diversity of knowledge that exists across the world? These questions emerging from the study point out how education has been highjacked for an exclusive knowledge creation for capital, a legitimisation process for a particular sort of development. It also shows us that public education needs to be reclaimed as a democratic space, not only in terms of teacher–student relations, but also in terms of being a representative and inclusive space for diversities of ecological and social relationships. This can have huge implications on the shaping of an ecologically restorative and socially just world.



## RECOMMENDATIONS

---

Contrasting the Bharia situations with the Sahariya tribal community, another PVTG in MP, amalgamation with the caste-class-gender system has made the latter not only lose their language and spiritual moorings, but also made them deprived with many working as bonded labour forced to live in malnutrition. These aspects of how tribal communities fare in dominant and so-called developed premises, makes a strong case for enabling the Bharia to retain their ecology and egalitarianism.

The government needs to proactively enable the Bharia people to claim the provisions set out for including PVTG status, the claims of Forest Rights Act, and the recently obtained habitat rights in Pataalkot. The government needs to make collective deliberations on the Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act, 1996, which has provisions for autonomous decision making by tribal communities.

The government needs to reinstate the Bharia language in schools in Pataalkot as they existed prior to 2011, and also have the content and pedagogic processes of learning of the language to be formulated by the Bharia people with collaborations as they desire.

The content of education needs to make space for diverse knowledge evolving from ecologically restorative and socially egalitarian lived experiences. This recommendation is for the education of all, and not specifically for any social group.

We must improve relations between tribal and non-tribal society by recognising that there is much to be learnt from the former, and conversations on an equal footing can change the gaze of everyone towards ecology, nutrition, co-operation and learning.

## POSTSCRIPT

---

It is cause for celebration that the Bharia people of Pataalkot have received habitat rights through the Forest Rights Act of 2006. The actualising of the habitat rights will mean a lot of struggles on ground.

## REFERENCES

---

Devy, G. N. (2019). *The question of silence*. Orient Blackswan.

Devy, G. N., & Davis, G. V. (Eds.). (2021). *Indigeneity and nation: Key concepts in indigenous studies*. Routledge.

Dikshit, D. K. (2003). *Patalkot ghati ka bharia janjeevan [Life of the Bharia people in Patalkot valley]*. Madhya Pradesh Hindi Granth Academy.

Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Penguin Books.

Kurup, A. M. (1985). *Continuity and change in a little community*. Concept Publishing Company.

Harvey, D. (1996). *Justice, nature and geography of difference*. Blackwell.

Hoare, Q., & Smith, G. N. (Eds.) (2009). *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. Orient Blackswan.

Ilaiah, K. (2003). *Why I am not a Hindu: A Sudra critique of Hindutva philosophy, culture, and political economy*. Samya.

Joshi, R. S. (1997/2012). *Adivasi samaj aur shiksha [Adivasi society and education]*. Granth Shilpi.

Munda, R., & Manki, R. S. (2011). *Aadi dharam: Bharatiya aadivasiyo ki dhaarmik aastaye [Early religion: The religious faith of Indian tribes]*. Rajkamal Prakashan.

Naidu, S. C., & Manolakos, P. T. (2010). Primary accumulation, capitalist nature and sustainability. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 45(29), 39–45.

Nair, K. (1964). *Blossoms in the dust: The human element in Indian development*. Gerald Duckworth & Co.

Narayan (2022). *Kocharethi: The Araya woman* (C. Thankamma, Trans.). Oxford University Press.

Prasad, A. (2003). *Against ecological romanticism: Verrier Elwin and the making of an anti-modern tribal identity*. Three Essays Collective.

Ramakrishnan, A. K. (2001). The global and the local: A critical international perspective on the politics of "sustainable development". *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 62(1), 91–104. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42753655>

Russell, R. V. (Ed.) (1907). *Central province district gazetteers, Chhindwara district, vol. A descriptive*. Times Press.

Shrivastav, R. (2017). *Bharia: Vikas ka vartaman paridrishya [Bharia: Contemporary status of development]*. Pairvi.

Tiwari, M. K., Sharma, K. K. N., Bharati, S., Adak, D. K., Ghosh, R., & Bharati, P. (2007). Growth and nutritional status of the Bharia – A primitive tribe of Madhya Pradesh. *Collegium Antropologicum*, 31(1), 95–101.

United Nations General Assembly, *Transforming our world: The 2030 agenda for sustainable development*, A/RES/70/1 (25 September 2015), available from <https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/70/1>

Warrier, S. (2017). Pataalkot in hell's way. *Times of India (The Crest Edition)*. <http://www.pataalkot.com/pataalkot-in-hells-way-times-of-india-the-crest-edition/>

Xaxa, A., & Devy, G. N. (Eds.). (2021). *Being Adivasi: Existence, entitlements, exclusion*. Vintage.

## ANNEXURE A

---

### Satellite Images showing Forest Cover around Some Villages in Patalkot



Figure A1: Jhiran village (L- March 2013, R- March 2022) | Source: Rajani & Pradeep, 2023



Figure A2: Gudichhatri village (L- March 2013, R- March 2022) | Source: Rajani & Pradeep, 2023

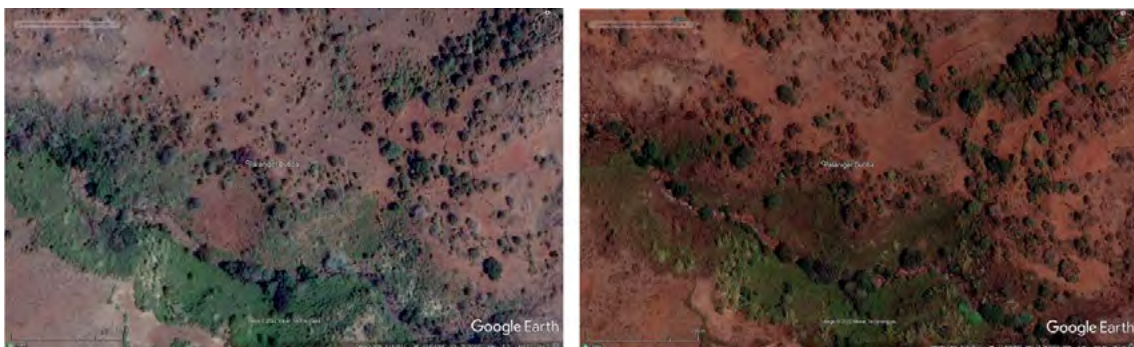
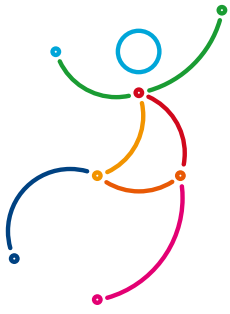


Figure A3: Gaildubba village (L- March 2013, R- March 2022) | Source: Rajani & Pradeep, 2023



Figure A4: Ghonghri Gujjadhongri village (L- March 2013, R- March 2022) | Source: Rajani & Pradeep, 2023





TE|SF

**TESF** is a GCRF funded Network Plus, coordinated out of the University of Bristol, working with partners in India, Rwanda, Somalia/Somaliland, South Africa the United Kingdom and the Netherlands.

We undertake collaborative research to Transform Education for Sustainable Futures.

**TESF partner institutions are:**

Indian Institute for Human Settlements  
Rhodes University  
Transparency Solutions  
University of Bristol  
University of Glasgow  
University of Rwanda  
Wageningen University

[www.tesf.network](http://www.tesf.network)  
[info@test.network](mailto:info@test.network)  
[@TransformingESF](https://twitter.com/TransformingESF)

[www.tesfindia.iihs.co.in](http://www.tesfindia.iihs.co.in)

**iihs**<sup>®</sup>

INDIAN INSTITUTE FOR  
HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

