Village Level Service Centres:
Aggregation and Retail Enterprises for Tribal Women in Jharkhand

By
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October 2014
I. Introduction

Saraswati Devi and Kokila Devi are award-winning tribal women entrepreneurs from Bundu block, Ranchi district in Jharkhand. Promoted by Udyogini, they own and manage the Village Level Service Center (VLSC) that is a ‘village level market and livelihood hub’, engaged in provisioning of economic and social goods and services for village consumers as well as downstream market players. VLSCs aggregate and market seasonal agricultural commodities and non-timber forest produce (NTFP) brought to them by Self-Help Groups (SHGs) for sale to traders; retail consumer items, including solar lanterns, sanitary napkins and water purifying tablets. They also provide mobile recharge and “entitlement services” such as life insurance from LIC. They are part of a growing group of tribal women entrepreneurs promoted by Udyogini that manage VSLCs. Sixty-five of them own and operate VLSCs and serve a total consumer base of approximately 7000 tribal families in Ranchi and Khunti districts of Jharkhand apart from serving the agricultural markets of Ranchi and Jamshedpur with semi-processed rice, vegetables, tamarind and industrial market for value-added lac products, such as scrap and button lac.

Saraswati Devi and Kokila Devi eked out a living from agricultural labor and non-timber forest produce (NTFP) collection in uncertain volumes, uneven pricing, and distress conditions that did not allow them even the basic incomes for food security much less the basic right to reasonably educate their children, until they became the drivers of the aggregation, value addition and marketing facilities which are the VLSCs. Kokila was particularly vulnerable because she had the triple jeopardy of being a widow and from a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PTG), besides being illiterate. She was also ultra-poor. Her income was a meagre Rs. 3000 annually with which she had to support herself and 5 children. The NTFP that started them off in their entrepreneurial journey was lac though Kokila Devi could not invest in Lac cultivation, despite her access to relevant host trees on her land. She, however, borrowed brood (seed lac) from other producers of the village with the promise that she would share with them half the harvest. Her spectacular success with lac in just one season (Rs. 12,000 i.e. four times her investment of 3000) motivated her to opt to own a VLSC and build herself up for entering the domain of multi-product value addition and marketing services.
II. Context and Problem

With its rich mineral and forest resources, has also the highest number of people living below the poverty line (estimated range from 45-55% data source: NSS). NSS data shows that rural groups in Jharkhand along with Odisha have the highest poverty intensity in India—higher than ST groups in other states. Approximately, 80% of cash income of rural households comes from the collection and sale of non-timber forest produce (NTFPs). Principally, these are lac, tamarind, and mahua. Paddy contributes 12 % of their income and the rest is made up with agricultural labor. Hence, NTFP productivity and value addition is important to enhance livelihood security.

However, there are gaps in the movement of commodities from villages for downstream markets and goods and services for upstream rural consumers. These need to be corrected to make the lives of the tribal, particularly women, more comfortable and dignified. The gaps are mainly the following:

**Poor access to organized markets:** Commodities were collected from doorsteps by traders resulting in incorrect weights and measures; price disadvantage due to small volumes; uncertain and inadequate supplies like in *lac* (Also see Box No. 2 & 3) and system asymmetries, i.e., middlemen didn’t get paid on time so they were not able to pay the producers.

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Similarly in case of **Paddy**, although it is a main crop in Jharkhand around 300 to 400 trucks are annually transported to West Bengal and Purulia. The price of Paddy goes down in January as the supply is high. The rate generally falls between Rs. 9-10 per kg. The traders with storage facility at block level hoarded and stored Paddy. It was sold in March and April when price rose up to Rs. 13-14 per kg. At the consumer level the rate of primary value added rice is Rs.16-Rs. 17 per kg.

**Rural spending** outpaced urban consumption in the two years up to 2011-12, the first time in nearly 25 years. For India, a young population, rising income and low penetration of many consumer durables means that **rural consumption** has the potential to remain an important source of demand. Between 2009-10 and 2011-12, however, rural consumption per person grew annually at 19 per cent—two percentage points higher than its urban counterpart, according to preliminary data released for 2011-12 by the National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO). In incremental terms, spending by rural India during these two years was Rs 3,750 billion, significantly higher than Rs 2,994 billion by urbanites.

*Source: NSSO and CRISIL Estimates*

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travel distances of 9-15 km to the nearest store to access their requirements for goods and services. Even after this, they would often not get the goods they needed and in the small quantities they could afford.

Cash availability & Distress Sales: Women travelled to market (on an average twice a week) to sell when they needed cash not when price of the produce was high. They had little or no control over the price received for their produce and their NTFPs were not adequately value added to fetch a premium price. For example, premature brood Lac could be sold at Rs. 300 per kg whereas holding it for 15-20 days would fetch Rs. 450 per kg.

Prior to VLSC’s the producer was responsible mainly for the production and harvesting of NTFP or agricultural produce. The intermediaries then aggregated and transported the produce. They worked mainly on economies of scale – gathering the crop from the producer and selling it in bulk to the factories. The traders or factories then processed the produce into various products in order to market and sell them in both national and international markets. (Annexure 1: Sale of agriculture and NTFP produce in the year 2009-10).

In the year 2010, Ranchi was the biggest trading centre for Mahua in Jharkhand and the price here influenced its price all over India. Most of the Mahua collected in the state went to Ranchi through 2-3 levels of paikars, traders and commission agents. Around 200 - 250 trucks of Mahua were transported to Ranchi and Bodhgaya at Rs 17/ kg. The transportation cost to Ranchi by truck is Rs 1000 a ton. The price at producer/collector level remains Rs. 11-12 per kg whereas the trader at block level buys it at Rs. 17 per kg. Hence if a collector is directly selling to block level market with the support of VLSC they can fetch better price.

Fig: 1 Existing Supply Chain
Rationale for women's interest in aggregation

The key constraint for rural people was their lack of holding capacity for commodities in larger volumes. This problem resulted in the price advantage going to traders rather than to producers. The reasons were the following:

a) Lack of access to credit at reasonable rates that would have enabled them to store the commodities to sell later when the prices were higher.

b) Women producers were dealing individually with the buyers which allowed the buyers to negotiate the selling price.

c) Women lacked knowledge of prevailing rates and could not enforce accurate weights and measures so they sold the commodity at the prices quoted.

d) Many of the traders they sold to were also suppliers of other essential commodities and of consumption credit that the families required. Women were dependent on them.

e) Since the market-based traders govern the trade, producers are unable to build a stake in the trade though they are both producers and consumers.

III. VLSCs: The Key Innovation

Positioning of VLSC’s in the Value Chain:

VLSCs have been established in such remote areas where there are no existing even retail shops much less aggregation centers. VLSCs aggregate individual produce and sell it to the block level market or town market in bulk. They are upstream enterprises owned and operated by local women with entrepreneurial interest and provide the opportunity to producers, especially those in distant villages, to buy and sell in the village itself at a fair price. VLSCs have become the anchors for the chain since they are the 'hubs' for goods and services going both ways (producer to distant market and distant market to producer). VLSCs follow set parameters (such as prices, value addition fees, procurement margins and and record-keeping systems) for retail and procurement. For example, in mahua, a VLSC entrepreneur gets a margin of 45 paise/kg for value addition of a certain determined quality. In case of paddy the entrepreneur earns a margin of Re. 1 per Kg. The figure no. 1 below demonstrates the positioning of VLSC’s in the value chain clearly With Udyogini’s role and training agencies role tied up for producer’s capacity building.
A special NTFP: Lac is a key Udyogini value chain sub-product in Jharkhand. VLSCs have become successful chain anchors for lac aggregation and value addition. 80% VLSCs now grade, sort, price and sell brood (seed of lac) and scrap lac for 5000 producers being supported by Udyogini. This value addition which VLSCs made possible results in between 20-50% increase in incomes for producers compared to returns from earlier practice of selling by sack to local traders. VLSCs pay around 20-30% upfront to producers (from funds borrowed from SHGs by entrepreneur as a member) and rest is paid after they sell (within two weeks) the aggregated scrap lac to traders and industries and brood lac to producers (to facilitate proliferation of lac production among SHG’s). Since producers receive a fair deal, they willingly wait to receive the money. Entrepreneurs earn Rs. 2-5 per kg for aggregation depending on the quality of lac. VLSCs also ‘market’, in their village, the lac BDSP’s created by Udyogini to provide technical assistance to new producers.

Business Development Service Providers (BDSP’s) are a trained cadre of women providing business development services like market linkage, training and hand holding support on commission basis.
Retail:
The objective of retailing by VLSC is to ensure availability of quality daily use food and non-food products at fair retail prices in the rural villages. The retail value chain also envisions introducing special products of social significance such as solar lights, water filters, mosquito net and efficient cook stove etc. The products are aimed at providing the poor with access to adequate lighting, clean water, efficient cooking and pest control, thereby improving their productivity and health. The VLSCs are essentially set up by the rural women who are encouraged to take up entrepreneurship through institutional support.

Open Architecture System:
The backward (to the producer/customer) and forward linkages are robust not just for marketing but also for helping VLSCs remain accountable to the system. VLSCs have the flexibility of selecting retail products according to what their customers demand. Market linkages are made by Udyogini. VLSCs maintain their own accounts, inventory, and sales data. The record keeping registers have been provided in every VLSCs and to the producers in the catchment so that even the producers can verify the transaction detail of what been sold, the quantity, rate and total amount given to them.

The product range varies among VLSCs depending on the demand of producers in the catchment they serve. Since FMCG products move more rapidly in comparison to processed commodities, the share of retail in turnover for the chain is approximately 56% and that of procurement is 44%. Hence, the locus of support for credit and other services also shifted to the VLSC entrepreneur who would directly market herself and her services to producers in the catchment to grow her business. This shift helped women to expand their business and make new linkages.

Special Products and Services:
VLSCs can be distinguished from “kirana” stores not only by their facility of aggregation and value addition of identified agriculture and NTFPs, but also by their retailing of special products and services for improving income security, health and dignity of rural customers. These include ORS, sanitary napkins, low cost mosquito net, water purification tablets, iodized salt, fortified wheat flour, poultry feed, seeds, fertilizers, low cost pumps, solar lamps, solar mobile chargers, smokeless stoves, pensions and life insurance.

Research, Development and Market Linkages (RD&ML) facility:
To reach the rural consumers in Ranchi and Khunti district, emerging and established social enterprises have approached Udyogini to link them to VLSCs. The entrepreneurs can choose to sell and market the products after they assess the demand of their catchment area. The capacity of women as entrepreneurs reflects when they identify a third party on their own. Udyogini encourages such links. After initial conversation and understanding they take Udyogini’s support to assess a third party offer. Udyogini then provides the services categorized in the RD&ML facility.

Udyogini Business Development Services (BDS) Center in Jharkhand is the RD&ML facility for the core value chain including the VLSCs and the support elements. The commodity and retail products selection is based on need assessment and feasibility conducted by this facility. Retail and special products are selected after analysis in the context of access,
existing delivery channels and price competitiveness. The facility also provides market linkages and negotiates with companies for a competitive rate for products needed by producers and sold through the chain. (*Annexure Table 2: Aggregation of agriculture and NTFP produce in the year 2013-14*)

**Access to Finance**

Udyogini has made financial linkages with Rang De, a social venture firm for seed-financing for the VLSCs. Rang De vets the selected candidates. Udyogini plays the role of bundling the credit with a service spread to cover its costs of extending the venture loan to the individual.

**Selection and Training women to be entrepreneurs**

Udyogini markets the concept of VLSCs in *Gram Sabha*, SHG meetings and actively seeks the interest of women in taking up the enterprise once the demand for aggregation and retail has been established by Udyogini through its research in the villages. Most skill training programs are focused on technical skills linked to a specified industry and it requires the men and women to migrate. Many women from rural areas cannot take advantage of these opportunities because they prefer to live close to their families as their local social and cultural ties are strong and they face mobility issues. As VLSCs became attractive as a skilled entrepreneurial option, the cobranded Intel-Udyogini School of Entrepreneurship (I-USE) was established alongside to train potential women to run VLSCs. Potential candidates are selected based on their ability to complete the I-USE course and to pay the Rs. 500 for it as well as finance a part of the start-up costs for a VLSC (with the other part financed by loan from Rang De).

**Digitalized Curriculum**

I-USE course is conducted in Hindi and is of three months duration. It has two examinations, an internship of two weeks in Udyogini’s field programs, and final placements. The curriculum of I-USE builds on what Udyogini has already developed and tested over its years of experience in enterprise management training. The contents are, broadly, basics of livelihood and enterprise promotion, gender and enterprise such as women’s qualities as managers, their capacity for risk-taking, strategic constraints, concept of market and marketing, market survey and assessment, basic personality development. The course material has been digitalized for exposure of women to new tools for learning (such as pop-up excel sheets for learning accounting).
IV. Impact and Outreach

This intervention has shown multifaceted impact in promoting sustainable livelihood services for rural people. In addition to 50 VLSC’s in 2013, another 35 VLSC’s were added in Jharkhand in 2014, altogether there are **85 village service centers** catering to the needs of approximately **8000 families** of their respective areas Solar Products sold through VLSC’s have now reached the sum of Rs. 1, 01,650 in Jharkhand **increasing the average income of 28 entrepreneurs by Rs. 300 per month**. The chain can be used to promote schemes of public interest, spread social innovations, bridge information barrier with respect to good agriculture practices, current **mandi prices** etc. Under Intel-Udyogini School of Entrepreneurship (I-USE) we have trained **110 women entrepreneurs**.

This two-way services (procurement and retail) facility increases the viability of the VLSC’s resulting also in increased incomes for entrepreneurs. Second, it helps in poverty alleviation as producers get more margins for commodities sold, better prices and quality for processed agricultural and NTFP products that they purchase for their needs as well as availability of better-value services closer to home.

On an average it has taken only 6-9 months to reach the break even. **70 – 90% of the catchment (size generally varies between 80-100 household in each village)** have got retail facility at their door step and **40 – 50% of the catchment is benefitted through aggregation** and collective marketing practices for all the rural products (both Agri. & NTFP).

The specific impact has been the following: **producers’ income has gone up by 10-15% resulting in total benefit of about Rs. 5000/year** (increased margins of Rs. 2-3 per kg of commodity sold to the VLSC, significant savings on transportation; gain of a day's wages as a result of access to a VLSC); **entrepreneur’s income gone up by 35-40%** (from service fees against primary level processing of commodities, commission on retail and commission on providing primary healthcare services); there is a demand for VLSC and women are willing to pay for training; VLSCs have also established systems and benchmarked the prices based on quality and accuracy of weights and competitive with the market prices that are checked every day by them.

Entrepreneurship and **VLSC are not only benefiting one woman but 220 SHG’s in total (with an average no. of 12 members in each)**. By the services provided by VLSC for Lac, and the economic gains with cash availability have motivated women producers to form co-operatives for further value addition in lac. Currently, **5 value addition co-operatives for Lac** are running in Jharkhand.

The freedom to decide the services and products required in their catchment villages gives women entrepreneurs decision-making power and confidence. The increased knowledge, skill and autonomy leading to empowerment of women entrepreneurs are evident through the commitment to remain in the business and grow it. However, there were also VLSC’s which closed due to shift of control from the entrepreneur to the family or relatives as well some that closed due to lack of confidence and capacity of the women to run it.
Some lost interest in this enterprise and could not retain their interest till break-even since there were other microenterprises such as tent house that broke even faster and were not so burdensome on the woman alone.

**Sustainability**

**Strengths:**

**Division of Costs incurred by Trainees and Udyogini**

The potential trainee pays a fee for her training which means she sees value in it; she follows a business plan that she is able to understand; and the scale is encouraging since most of the VLSC have achieved break-even point within a single year.

![Percentage of Cost Incurred in Training](chart)

- By Entrepreneur
- By Udyogini

![Percentage of Capital Investment for establishing enterprise](chart)

- Maximum Loan Sanctioned by Rang-De
- Minimum Initial Investment by Entrepreneur

Lakhimani Devi, from West Bengal started her VLSC in October, 2010 and achieved Break-Even Point in July, 2011. Her husband, being a government employed Para-teacher insisted that VLSC provides ration for meals to schools. Due to irregular payment and recovery system the VLSC incurred loss in three consecutive quarters. Udyogini, as a facilitating agency, intervened to provide a second loan to Lakhimani Devi and suggested to stop the loss incurred by VLSC earlier had provided thus filling the gap the VLSC had created. This competition prevented Lakhimani from reestablishing her VLSC that had been so successful earlier.

Such cases of shift of control occurred in other cases as well. Hence, a training module - **Gender Justice Module** has been developed to be integrated with the enterprise management curriculum under I-USE to train women (and men) to build their capacity for understanding and combating socio-patriarchal conditions that constrain growth of enterprises.

**Procedure for selection of products & services**

**For NTFP and agricultural products:** Although Value chains are increasingly recognized as a means to reduce the rural poverty prevalent in the region, interventions are based on well-considered needs of the value chain and its participants, rather than a “solution looking for a value chain”.

A rapid assessment of all the products either collected or harvested in the area is followed by a desk review to shortlist the key products. To analyze the actors involved in the value chain and identify the point of intervention a detailed Value Chain Analysis is done after which the product and process of intervention is finalized for each product through VLSC.

**Special Products and Retail:** Need assessment at both the consumer and market level is done to assess the demand as well as gaps in supply and careful selection of a vendor and social enterprise is done to fill the gaps.

For example: In case of solar products after sales service was not available hence, a social enterprise was identified which could fill this gap. The solar products sold through VLSC’s
Criteria for selection of women (as potential trainees for I-USE and potential entrepreneur for VLSC)

- Should have a zeal to work
- Minimum 5th standard pass
- Should be able to invest around 25% of the capital requirement
- Should be able to pay training fee
- Already has or can garner family support
- Already has or will overcome mobility issues
- Should understand the concept of VLSC
- Already has or can build acceptance in community
- In selection test and post-training evaluation shows knowledge growth

Threats:

a) The traditional practice of barter may still prevail among producers who do not have ready cash for their purchases. This could hamper their participation in the value chain and continue the unfairness in the market. However, this is a small number at the moment and not expected to affect viability of the chain.

b) Side-selling of produce to the market by the producers can be an issue especially when market prices are high. Other market players try to influence the producers by offering short term benefits. This has resulted in breach of trust by some producers. However, increased participation of community has controlled the side selling. These cases may not be completely eliminated (and fortunately, this case of side selling happened early in the intervention) but with adequate volumes flowing through the chain (and the function of retail as well for the VLSC), the viability is unlikely to be affected even when such cases arise. Additionally, the fact that there are more VLSCs being established suggests an expanded demand for more fairly-priced shops in the village.
c) Programatically a decentralized democratic process to select the potential entrepreneur from few volunteers at the village level through SHG and Gram Sabha meeting is employed. This curbs the issues of replication in the village itself by any other inhabitant.

V. Replicability

Anchor commodity

The VLSCs were established as part of the structure for aggregation and value addition in the value chain for lac that Udyogini was promoting in Jharkhand. Udyogini identified brood lac (seed of lac) as the critical gap in the sustainability and growth of lac as a livelihood for NTFP-dependent communities in the tribal areas of Jharkhand. Though other NGOs had been involved in lac work over two decades, the success of Udyogini in lac can be primarily attributed to the following factors; the innovations even in PSCL applications (some of it Udyogini’s own), involvement of women (who do not migrate and are available to manage the host trees) and the creation of brood lac development clusters (that not only augmented the requirement of brood but was also the giving the highest return on investment as a product). Once the brood development technology and sustainable practices had been implemented, an aggregation, grading and sorting mechanism was required to market the volumes in an organized way and realize the fair returns for brood (given its high price) to the lac producer. VLSCs were thus established and further supported the marketing of value added products of scrap lac and soon, button lac as well. Apart from lac, VLSC’s also aggregate vegetables.

Role of NGO as facilitator and not owner of the chain

VLSCs were supported for their direct costs by selected entrepreneurs putting in their own funds and also being supported by Rang De, a social venture firm based in Chennai. Udyogini bundled the financial support on behalf of Rang De. The start-up operation costs for VLSCs was small (Rs. 10,000) and, since women who opted to own and manage the first round VLSCs were also successful lac producers, they had the capital to contribute their share of the startup funds. Udyogini had learnt from its work on VLSCs in Madhya Pradesh (MP) where they were established earlier where Rang De provided the loan as well, but the risk was high as VLSCs were established without having a core commodity travelling through it and the diverse number of small volume NTFP commodities that were aggregated and value added were not adequate to ensure sustainable returns to producers. Retail was added early on with the intention to spread the risk with Udyogini creating its own retail supply
chain at the cluster level to supply (mainly FMCG) products to VLSCs but without a successful income source for producers that could be additionally provided, the VLSCs faced limitations of consumer and producer support, reducing their viability and sustainability.

VI. Way Ahead

A model is being explored where a critical mass of women-owned VLSC’s exist can come together in a formal institution to provide leadership and support to the expansion of the idea and strategy in Jharkhand and other states. When this happens, it will be a game-changing assertion of empowerment through aggregation and entrepreneurship from rural women like Saraswati, Kokila, Rita, Parmeshwari, Savita, Mary, Lakhpati and Amrita who were earlier engulfed in drudgery and hopelessness but who can now proudly state the benefits of a VLSC.

Annexure 1

Table 1: BEFORE UDYOGINI’s INTERVENTION: Sales of various agriculture and NTFP produce in the year 2009-10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Product</th>
<th>Approximate number of producers / collectors</th>
<th>Approximate value sold individually to intermediary</th>
<th>Primary value addition</th>
<th>Margin per kg at producer level( in Rs)</th>
<th>Market linkage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lac (Kusumi - brood)</td>
<td>5500</td>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>Middlemen (Agent or Haat level trader)</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Lac (Kusumi - scraped)</td>
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<td>6-8</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>0.5-1</td>
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<td>Lac (Rangeeni-brood)</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>5-7</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>0.5-1</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Lac (Rangeeni - scraped)</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>5-7</td>
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<td>Middlemen (Agent or Haat level trader)</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Paddy</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>12-15</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>0.5-1</td>
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<td>Mahua</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>14-16</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Tamarind</td>
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<td>4-6</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>Middlemen (Agent or Haat level trader)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sl. No.</td>
<td>Product</td>
<td>Approximate number of producers / collectors covered by one VLSC</td>
<td>Approximate value aggregated in kg per VLSC</td>
<td>Primary value addition</td>
<td>Increase in margin per kg at producer level (in Rs)</td>
<td>Market linkage</td>
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<td>Lac (Kusumi – brood)</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Paddy</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1200-1500</td>
<td>Thrashing</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>Local and west Bengal</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mahua</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>500-600</td>
<td>Sun drying</td>
<td>2</td>
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Table 2: AFTER UDYOGINI’s INTERVENTION: Sales post value-addition of various agriculture and NTFP produce in the year 2013-14
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Crop</th>
<th>Seed Rate</th>
<th>Viability Range</th>
<th>Method of Treatment</th>
<th>Temperature Range</th>
<th>Location</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tamarind</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>75-100</td>
<td>Removal of upper layer</td>
<td>0.5 - 1</td>
<td>Local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ber</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50-100</td>
<td>Sun dry</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>West Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Potato</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1 - 2</td>
<td>Local</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Tomato</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>Local</td>
</tr>
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<td>11</td>
<td>Urad</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>150-200</td>
<td>Removal of cover through trashing</td>
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<td>Local</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>Arhar</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>150-200</td>
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<td>2-3</td>
<td>Local</td>
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<td>Maduwa</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>100-150</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>2-3</td>
<td>Odissa and Local</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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