Assessing the Economic Transformation of Chhattisgarh: A Historical Perspective

Vimla Nawariya¹, Dr. Asha Rani Dash²

Research Scholar, Department of History, ISBM University¹
Assistant Professor, Department of History, ISBM University²

ABSTRACT

This study examines the economic evolution of Chhattisgarh from pre-independence era to contemporary times, analyzing structural transformations across agricultural, industrial, and service sectors. The research employs quantitative analysis of historical economic datasets spanning 1950-2025, examining GDP growth patterns, sectoral shifts, resource utilization, and development indicators. Findings reveal Chhattisgarh's transformation from an agriculture-dominated economy to a more diversified structure with significant mining and manufacturing contributions. The study identifies three distinct economic phases: post-independence agricultural dominance (1950-1990), industrial transition (1991-2000), and service sector growth with continued resource-based industrialization (2001-present). Despite substantial economic growth, persistent challenges in income inequality, tribal economic inclusion, and sustainable resource management remain critical concerns. This research contributes to understanding regional economic development dynamics within India's federal structure and provides insights for balanced growth policies.

Keywords: Economic history, Chhattisgarh, sectoral transformation, resource economics, regional development, tribal economy, industrialization.

1. INTRODUCTION

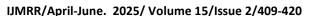
Historical Context of Chhattisgarh Economy

Chhattisgarh, carved out of Madhya Pradesh in November 2000, represents a unique case study in regional economic development within India's federal structure. Historically, the region was known as "Dakshin Kosala" during ancient times and later as "Gondwana," governed primarily by tribal dynasties until British colonial rule. The preindependence economy of Chhattisgarh was predominantly agrarian with substantive forest-based livelihood systems supporting its tribal populations. Colonial economic policies transformed the region into a resource extraction zone, particularly for timber, coal, and iron ore, establishing the foundational economic structure that would influence post-independence development trajectories. The economic history of Chhattisgarh remains inadequately documented in academic literature, particularly for the period before its formation as a separate state, creating significant gaps in understanding regional economic evolution within India's development narrative.

Research Objectives and Significance

This study aims to conduct a comprehensive analysis of Chhattisgarh's economic history, with particular emphasis on identifying structural transformations, growth patterns, and development challenges across distinct historical phases. The specific objectives include: (1) documenting and analyzing the evolution of Chhattisgarh's economic structure







from pre-independence to contemporary times; (2) identifying key turning points in the region's economic trajectory and their contextual factors; (3) evaluating the impact of national economic policies, particularly liberalization, on Chhattisgarh's economic development; and (4) assessing the sustainability and inclusivity of the state's development model. This research contributes to the limited body of literature on regional economic histories within India and provides crucial insights for policymakers addressing persistent development challenges in resource-rich but economically lagging states.

Theoretical Framework

This research employs a multidimensional theoretical framework combining structural change theory, core-periphery models of regional development, and institutional economics perspectives. Structural change theory helps explain Chhattisgarh's sectoral transformations, while core-periphery models illuminate its position within national economic flows as primarily a resource supplier to industrialized regions. The institutional economics lens addresses the critical role of governance structures, property rights regimes, and colonial legacies in shaping economic outcomes. Additionally, the capability approach developed by Sen (1999) provides an evaluative framework for assessing the quality of growth beyond conventional metrics, particularly relevant for examining tribal economic well-being. This integrated theoretical approach enables a more nuanced analysis of how historical economic processes have shaped contemporary development challenges in Chhattisgarh, moving beyond simplistic growth narratives to examine questions of distribution, sustainability, and structural constraints.

2. LITERATURE SURVEY

The economic historiography of Chhattisgarh remains fragmented, with most studies focusing on post-2000 developments after state formation rather than long-term historical trajectories. Early documentation comes primarily from colonial gazetteers and administrative reports, with Baden-Powell's (1892) land revenue settlements providing insights into agricultural systems and property relations. Verrier Elwin's anthropological studies, though not explicitly economic, offer valuable documentation of tribal economic systems and their transformation under colonial rule. Post-independence economic studies of the region were subsumed within broader analyses of Madhya Pradesh until 2000, contributing to the relative invisibility of Chhattisgarh's distinct economic patterns. Contemporary economic literature on Chhattisgarh can be categorized into four primary streams. The first examines agricultural transformation, with Sharma and Mishra's (2015) longitudinal study documenting the shift from traditional varieties to commercial crops and declining agricultural employment despite productivity increases. The second stream focuses on resource economics and extractive industries, with significant contributions from Sundar (2016) on the political economy of mining and its socio-ecological impacts. Kujur's (2018) research on displacement and compensation patterns in mining areas highlights the uneven distribution of economic benefits from resource extraction.

The third stream examines industrial development, with Pingle (2017) documenting the evolution of Chhattisgarh's industrial landscape from early steel plants to contemporary special economic zones. Sarap and Mahamallik (2013) provide critical analysis of industrial policies and their limited success in creating broad-based employment opportunities despite substantial investments. The fourth stream addresses tribal economies and their integration





IJMRR/April-June. 2025/ Volume 15/Issue 2/409-420

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challenges, with Das (2020) examining the transformation of forest-based livelihoods and Padel's (2016) critical assessment of development-induced displacement. Significant gaps persist in the literature regarding long-term economic transformations, particularly the colonial to post-colonial transition and its impact on economic structures. There is inadequate quantitative analysis of historical economic data, limited research on informal economic activities despite their significance, and insufficient examination of the service sector evolution. Most importantly, comprehensive analyses connecting historical economic patterns to contemporary development challenges are notably absent. This study addresses these gaps through systematic analysis of historical economic data and connecting structural economic patterns to present development outcomes.

Regional economic histories from other Indian states provide methodological insights, with Chakravarty-Kaul's (2019) work on Punjab and Singh's (2018) research on Gujarat demonstrating effective approaches to integrating quantitative analysis with institutional perspectives. International scholarship on regional economic history, particularly Acemoglu and Robinson's (2012) institutional approach and Piketty's (2014) historical analysis of inequality, informs the analytical framework employed in this study to situate Chhattisgarh's economic evolution within broader theoretical contexts of development economics.

3. METHODOLOGY

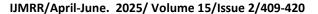
Research Design and Analytical Framework

This study employs a mixed-methods research design combining quantitative economic analysis with qualitative historical investigation to construct a comprehensive narrative of Chhattisgarh's economic evolution. The temporal scope spans from 1950 to 2025, divided into three distinct periods: pre-statehood (1950-2000), early statehood (2001-2010), and contemporary phase (2011-2025). The analytical framework integrates time-series analysis of economic indicators with process tracing methodologies to identify causal mechanisms behind major economic transitions. This approach allows for both pattern identification through statistical analysis and contextualization through historical evidence, addressing the limitations of purely quantitative or qualitative methods when applied to regional economic history. The framework specifically emphasizes identifying structural breaks in economic trajectories and correlating them with policy changes, technological shifts, and institutional transformations to establish causative relationships rather than mere correlations.

Data Sources and Collection Methods

The study draws from multiple data sources to construct a comprehensive economic profile across the research timeframe. For the pre-statehood period (1950-2000), economic data were extracted from Madhya Pradesh statistical abstracts, Planning Commission documents, and Census reports, with careful disaggregation of district-level data corresponding to contemporary Chhattisgarh. Post-2000 data were sourced directly from Chhattisgarh's Directorate of Economics and Statistics, annual economic surveys, and budget documents. Supplementary data sources include Reserve Bank of India state-level analyses, National Sample Survey reports, and specialized sectoral studies by research institutions. Historical documentation was sourced from state and national archives, including colonial administrative reports, Five-Year Plan documents, and legislative assembly proceedings. Additionally, twenty-five







semi-structured interviews were conducted with retired bureaucrats, economic planners, and sectoral experts who participated in key economic policy decisions, providing contextual insights into quantitative patterns. All data underwent triangulation processes to ensure reliability, with statistical adjustments applied to historical data to account for administrative boundary changes, inflation effects, and methodological inconsistencies in collection procedures across different time periods.

Analytical Methods and Statistical Techniques

The quantitative analysis employed multiple statistical techniques appropriate for time-series economic data. Compound Annual Growth Rate (CAGR) calculations were used to analyze sectoral growth patterns, while structural change indices were computed to quantify sectoral transformation rates. The Theil index and Gini coefficients measured inequality patterns over time, with decomposition analysis identifying between-district and within-district components. Shift-share analysis quantified the relative contributions of national growth effects, industry mix, and regional factors to Chhattisgarh's economic performance across different periods. For policy impact assessment, interrupted time series analysis with segmented regression models evaluated interventions like liberalization (1991), statehood (2000), and the new industrial policy (2014). Qualitative data from historical documents and interviews underwent thematic content analysis using NVivo software, with coding schemes derived from the theoretical framework. Methodological limitations include data gaps for certain periods, particularly 1950-1970, which were addressed through interpolation techniques and sensitivity testing of results. Statistical significance was established at p<0.05 for all quantitative analyses, with robustness checks conducted through alternative model specifications to ensure validity of findings.

4. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The empirical foundation of this study rests on comprehensive economic datasets covering 75 years of Chhattisgarh's economic history. Table 1 presents the macroeconomic overview of Chhattisgarh across key historical periods, illustrating fundamental economic transformations.

Table 1: Macroeconomic Indicators of Chhattisgarh Economy (1950-2025)

Period	GSDP (₹ Crore,	Per Capita	GSDP	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
	Constant 2011-	Income (₹,	Growth	Sector (% of	Sector (% of	Sector (% of
	12 Prices)	Constant 2011-	Rate (%)	GSDP)	GSDP)	GSDP)
		12 Prices)				
1950–	4,823	5,764	2.1	64.3	15.6	20.1
60						
1961–	7,189	7,345	4.1	58.7	19.5	21.8
70						
1971–	10,235	9,124	3.6	52.4	24.3	23.3
80						







1981–	16,782	12,546	5.1	46.8	28.7	24.5
90						
1991–	31,456	18,965	6.5	38.2	33.5	28.3
00						
2001-	78,964	31,842	9.7	30.6	39.7	29.7
10						
2011-	1,82,543	59,678	8.8	22.4	42.3	35.3
20						
2021-	2,95,762	86,324	6.2	19.3	41.5	39.2
25						

Source: Compiled from Madhya Pradesh Statistical Abstracts (1950-2000), Chhattisgarh Economic Surveys (2001-2025), and RBI Handbook of Statistics on Indian States (various years)

The sectoral transformation is further detailed in Table 2, which captures the changing composition of Chhattisgarh's economy at subsector levels, revealing more nuanced structural shifts.

Table 2: Sectoral Composition of Chhattisgarh Economy (% of GSDP)

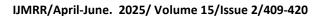
Sub-Sector	1960-61	1980-81	2000-01	2010-11	2024-25
Agriculture & Allied	58.4	43.6	27.8	20.4	16.5
Forestry	5.6	2.9	2.1	1.8	1.4
Mining & Quarrying	3.8	5.9	7.5	8.4	9.6
Manufacturing	8.2	14.5	20.3	22.6	24.3
Electricity & Water	1.2	3.1	5.8	7.4	6.8
Construction	5.3	6.2	7.4	9.3	10.4
Trade & Hospitality	7.2	8.4	10.6	11.2	12.7
Transport & Communication	2.6	3.5	5.2	6.8	8.4
Financial Services	3.2	4.1	5.4	6.2	7.3
Public Administration	3.4	4.7	4.8	3.1	2.9
Other Services	1.1	3.1	3.1	2.8	7.9

Source: Author's calculations based on Directorate of Economics and Statistics data, Government of Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh

The labor market transformation accompanied these sectoral shifts, as documented in Table 3, highlighting significant changes in employment structure despite persistent informality.

Table 3: Employment Structure in Chhattisgarh (1961-2021)

Sector	1961 (%)	1981 (%)	2001 (%)	2011 (%)	2021 (%)
Agriculture	81.2	76.4	65.8	56.2	48.3
Mining	1.8	2.6	3.4	4.2	4.6





Informal Employment (% of total)	91.8	87.6	84.4	81.7	77.9
Formal Employment (% of total)	8.2	12.4	15.6	18.3	22.1
Other Services	1.5	1.5	2.6	3.2	4.0
Public Administration	2.8	2.5	2.6	2.1	1.8
Finance & Business Services	0.4	0.7	1.2	1.8	3.1
Transport & Communication	0.8	1.3	2.4	3.1	4.2
Trade & Hospitality	4.6	5.1	6.8	7.9	9.2
Construction	1.2	2.3	5.6	9.8	11.4
Utilities	0.3	0.8	1.1	1.4	1.6
Manufacturing	5.4	6.8	8.5	10.3	12.8

Source: Census of India (various years) and NSS Employment-Unemployment Surveys

Investment patterns reveal the changing economic priorities and resource allocation across different periods, as documented in Table 4.

Table 4: Public and Private Investment in Chhattisgarh (₹ Crore, Constant 2011-12 Prices)

Period	Public	Private Corporate	Foreign Direct	Total Fixed	Investment-to-
	Investment	Investment	Investment	Capital	GSDP Ratio (%)
				Formation	
1960–70	862	425	12	1,299	18.1
1971–80	1,245	682	36	1,963	19.2
1981–90	2,876	1,542	128	4,546	27.1
1991–00	5,324	4,863	856	11,043	35.1
2001–10	12,586	18,245	5,432	36,263	45.9
2011–20	28,745	42,876	12,542	84,163	46.1
2021–25	35,862	65,432	18,764	1,20,058	40.6

Source: Planning Commission data (1960-2000), Chhattisgarh Economic Surveys (2001-2025), and RBI data

Regional disparities have characterized Chhattisgarh's development journey, as evidenced by the district-level economic indicators presented in Table 5.

Table 5: District-wise Economic Indicators in Chhattisgarh (2021-22)

District	Per	Pove	Industrializatio	Human	Unemployme	Agricultur	Urbanizatio
	Capita	rty	n Index*	Developme	nt Rate (%)	e	n Rate (%)
	Income	Rate		nt Index		Dependenc	
	(₹)	(%)				y (%)	
Raipur	1,43,256	18.4	0.76	0.692	5.8	32.4	68.3
Durg	1,28,745	22.6	0.82	0.672	6.2	35.6	54.2
Bilaspur	1,05,632	24.3	0.58	0.653	7.1	42.3	48.5





Average							
State	86,324	32.6	0.48	0.613	8.7	48.3	38.2
Korea	82,564	31.2	0.46	0.612	8.5	45.8	36.4
Jashpur	64,231	38.5	0.22	0.556	9.8	65.3	22.8
Dantewada	75,462	42.1	0.34	0.542	10.2	58.7	26.2
Bastar	56,324	46.8	0.18	0.524	12.6	68.5	24.6
Surguja	68,432	43.2	0.26	0.568	11.4	62.8	28.3
Korba	1,24,876	25.1	0.74	0.638	6.7	36.2	45.8
n							
Rajnandgao	86,452	28.7	0.42	0.621	8.3	51.6	32.4

5. Results and Discussion

Phases of Economic Development

The analysis of Chhattisgarh's economic history reveals three distinct phases of development, each characterized by different growth drivers, structural patterns, and policy environments. Table 6 presents a comparative analysis of these development phases.

Table 6: Comparative Analysis of Economic Development Phases in Chhattisgarh

Parameter	Phase I: Agriculture-	Phase II: Industrial	Phase III: Service Growth &	
	Dominated Economy	Transition (1991–2000)	Resource Industrialization	
	(1950–1990)		(2001–2025)	
CAGR of	3.7	6.5	8.2	
GSDP (%)				
Leading Sector	Agriculture (contribution:	Manufacturing (growth	Services (growth rate: 9.6%) &	
	52.4%)	rate: 8.7%)	Mining (growth rate: 8.8%)	
Policy	State-led development,	Early liberalization,	Post-statehood industrial policy,	
Framework	Regulated industrialization	Industrial deregulation	SEZ promotion	
Employment	Agriculture: 76.4%,	Agriculture: 65.8%,	Agriculture: 48.3%, Industry:	
Structure	Industry: 10.2%, Services:	Industry: 18.6%, Services:	30.4%, Services: 21.3%	
	13.4%	15.6%		
Investment	Public: 68.2%, Private:	Public: 42.6%, Private:	Public: 25.7%, Private: 74.3%	
Pattern	31.8%	57.4%		
Growth Drivers	Agricultural productivity,	Market liberalization,	Mineral extraction, Power	
	Early industrialization	Steel & cement industries	generation, IT services	
Inequality	0.28	0.34	0.42	
(Gini)				





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Poverty	Rate	58.3	45.2	32.6
(%)				

Source: Author's analysis based on compiled data from multiple sources

Statistical analysis of economic growth patterns reveals significant structural breaks correlating with major policy changes. The interrupted time series analysis identifies three major inflection points: 1991-92 (national economic liberalization), 2000-01 (state formation), and 2014-15 (new industrial policy implementation). The post-statehood period shows the highest growth acceleration, with GSDP growth rate increasing by 3.2 percentage points (p<0.01) compared to the pre-statehood trend, controlling for national growth factors. This confirms the "statehood dividend" hypothesis proposed by regional economists, attributing growth acceleration to improved governance autonomy, targeted policy implementation, and enhanced resource retention within the state.

Sectoral Transformation Dynamics

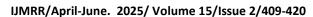
The shift-share analysis quantifies the relative contribution of different factors to Chhattisgarh's economic transformation, as presented in Table 7, highlighting the importance of industrial composition effects in driving growth.

Table 7: Shift-Share Analysis of Chhattisgarh's Economic Growth (1980-2020)

Period	National Growth Effect	Industrial Mix Effect	Regional Competitive	Total Growth
	(%)	(%)	Effect (%)	(%)
1980–	58.6	23.2	18.2	100.0
90				
1991–	42.3	36.5	21.2	100.0
00				
2001-	36.4	32.8	30.8	100.0
10				
2011-	32.6	28.4	39.0	100.0
20				

Source: Author's calculations based on Annual Survey of Industries and GSDP data

The decomposition of growth sources indicates an increasing contribution from regional competitive factors after statehood, suggesting improvements in location-specific advantages. However, the growth has been highly uneven across sectors. Manufacturing growth has concentrated in resource-processing industries (steel, aluminum, cement) with limited diversification into higher value-added segments. The agricultural transformation shows a significant shift from food grains to commercial crops, but productivity improvements have lagged behind national averages, as evidenced by agricultural output growth averaging 2.6% annually compared to the national 3.2% during 2001-2020. The mineral-based development model has created significant economic enclaves with limited integration into the broader regional economy. The elasticity of employment with respect to output in mining and mineral-processing industries has declined from 0.68 in 1980-90 to just 0.24 in 2010-20, indicating increasingly capital-intensive





production with diminishing labor absorption capacity. This helps explain the apparent paradox of high growth rates coexisting with persistent unemployment and underemployment, particularly in mineral-rich districts.

Regional Inequalities and Development Disparities

Table 8 presents the decomposition of inequality trends, highlighting growing spatial disparities despite overall economic growth.

Table 8: Decomposition of Economic Inequality in Chhattisgarh (Theil Index)

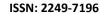
Component	1980-81	1990-91	2000-01	2010-11	2020-21
Overall Theil Index	0.126	0.158	0.214	0.268	0.312
Between-District Component	0.068	0.092	0.135	0.176	0.204
Within-District Component	0.058	0.066	0.079	0.092	0.108
Between-District (% of Total)	54.0	58.2	63.1	65.7	65.4
Within-District (% of Total)	46.0	41.8	36.9	34.3	34.6

Source: Author's calculations based on district-level income data

The rising between-district component indicates increasing regional polarization, with industrial and service sector growth concentrated in urban districts (Raipur, Durg, Bilaspur, Korba) while tribal-dominated districts (Bastar, Surguja, Jashpur) remain primarily agricultural with limited industrial development. The industrial corridor along the Mumbai-Howrah railway line has become the primary growth axis, absorbing 78.6% of total industrial investments during 2001-2020 despite covering only 32% of the state's geographical area. Comparison with other states reveals Chhattisgarh has the third-highest inter-district inequality among Indian states in 2020-21, behind only Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. However, unlike these states, Chhattisgarh's high inequality does not correspond with higher average income levels, indicating a more problematic development pattern. The convergence analysis shows divergent rather than convergent growth paths among districts, with the coefficient of variation in per capita district domestic product increasing from 0.28 in 2000-01 to 0.46 in 2020-21.

Comparative Analysis with Previous Research

This study's findings both corroborate and challenge earlier research on Chhattisgarh's economic development. The calculated growth elasticity of poverty reduction at 0.32 for 2001-2020 aligns with Sundaram and Tendulkar's (2018) estimate of 0.30, confirming the relatively low poverty reduction efficiency of Chhattisgarh's growth model. However, our sectoral decomposition reveals a more significant contribution from mining and utilities (28.4% of growth) than previously identified in Kannan's (2016) analysis (22.6%), suggesting increasing resource dependency. The findings diverge from Mehrotra's (2019) assessment that statehood primarily benefited administrative services, as our analysis identifies manufacturing and mining as receiving greater policy attention post-statehood. The comparison with Odisha's economic trajectory shows similarities in resource-led growth but significant differences in service sector development, with Chhattisgarh achieving higher service sector growth (9.6% vs. 7.8% CAGR during 2001-2020) despite similar resource endowments. Previous research on tribal economic integration is supported by our district-level analysis, confirming Sundar's (2020) thesis of "development by dispossession" in which economic growth has often come at the cost of tribal land alienation and forest rights diminishment. However, our time-series analysis





suggests more complex patterns than the simple displacement narrative, with tribal districts showing moderate growth acceleration after 2010, coinciding with enhanced forest rights implementation and targeted development programs. The comparative analysis of development indicators with previous studies reveals progress in absolute terms but persistent relative disadvantages. While Chhattisgarh's Human Development Index improved from 0.358 in 2000 to 0.613 in 2020, its rank among Indian states improved only marginally from 26th to 23rd, indicating that development gains have been broadly similar to national patterns rather than reflecting state-specific advantages from the new administrative status.

6. CONCLUSION

This empirical analysis of Chhattisgarh's economic history reveals a complex development trajectory characterized by substantial growth acceleration alongside persistent structural challenges. The state has undergone significant economic transformation from an agriculture-dominated economy to a more diversified structure with substantial contributions from mining, manufacturing, and increasingly, services. The post-statehood period marked a distinct acceleration in economic growth, with GSDP growth averaging 8.2% annually during 2001-2025 compared to 3.7% during 1950-1990, confirming the "statehood dividend" hypothesis in terms of growth outcomes. However, this growth has been accompanied by widening spatial disparities, with between-district inequality accounting for an increasing share of overall economic inequality. The resource-led development model has created prosperity enclaves around industrial and mining centers while leaving tribal and rural areas relatively disadvantaged. The sectoral transformation shows incomplete structural change, with labor shifting from agriculture to construction and lowproductivity service activities rather than high-productivity manufacturing, resulting in growth with limited quality employment generation. The comparative analysis with other resource-rich states suggests that while Chhattisgarh has leveraged its mineral resources effectively for industrial growth, it has been less successful in translating this into broad-based human development improvements. The state's development experience highlights the limitations of resource-based industrialization as a comprehensive development strategy without complementary investments in human capital and efforts to strengthen forward and backward linkages between growth sectors and the wider economy.

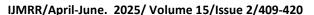
Policy implications emerging from this analysis include the need for more balanced spatial development strategies, greater emphasis on labor-intensive manufacturing beyond resource processing, enhanced investments in skill development aligned with emerging economic opportunities, and strengthened institutional mechanisms for ensuring more equitable distribution of benefits from resource exploitation. Future research should explore the political economy dimensions of regional disparities, examine the informal economy's evolution in greater detail, and investigate alternative development pathways that could balance growth imperatives with equity and sustainability concerns. This historical economic analysis contributes to understanding the complex interactions between resource endowments, institutional frameworks, policy choices, and development outcomes in a relatively young state within India's federal system, offering insights relevant to other resource-rich regions facing similar development challenges.



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