

### Mapping Medical Providers in Rural India: Four Key Trends

### The MAQARI Team

Policy discussions – both within India and more globally – have referred to acute shortages of health workers in rural areas. The Medical Advice, Quality, and Availability in Rural India (MAQARI) project implemented detailed surveys in more than 1,600 villages across the 19 most populous states of India (see map) between 2009 and 2010 to explicitly quantify the number of medical providers available to average rural households.

In this study, any practitioner that served as a primary point of contact for the diagnosis and treatment of general illnesses was classified as a medical provider, regardless of their qualifications. This also includes public sector paramedical staff such as ANMs, ASHA workers and MPWs.

In this brief, we present the first nationallyrepresentative estimates of medical provider availability in rural India and quantify four trends well-known to those working in India's rural health sector.

### 1 The availability of medical providers in rural India is quite high: 6 per person

Table 1 shows provisional results for the number of healthcare providers available to an average person in 1,520 villages, with an average population of 3,498, chosen



Fig: The map shows all states covered in the study

randomly after geographic stratification from the 19 most populous Indian states. There are nearly 6 healthcare providers available for the average rural Indian. The states display considerable heterogeneity; the total number of providers per village varies from 2.72 (1.73 doctors) in Himachal Pradesh to 13.44 (7.33 doctors) per village in Chhattisgarh. While it is possible that there are more providers in states where disease burdens are higher (and the demand for medical care could be greater), states with lower infant mortality rates display lower numbers of providers.

In rural Madhya Pradesh, the MAQARI project implemented more detailed surveys in a separate sample of 100 villages, with an average population of 1,149, which can add important

detail to the nation-wide numbers. First, the MP study expanded the notion of village health markets beyond sample village boundaries to include adjacent villages where the local population also seeks care. Second, the study collected information from households on the providers they last visited. Table 2 demonstrates the importance of the more flexible market boundaries. Accounting for providers outside the village increases the number of providers available to the average person in rural MP from 7.14 to 11.9. The average population in these 100 villages was *lower* than in the all-India sample, which suggests that including providers outside (but close to) the village dramatically increases available choices.

## 2 Private providers are the majority, by a wide margin: more than 50% are private providers

Tables 1 and 2 also show that more than half of all providers (3.21 per village) are private, less than 10 percent (0.34 per village) are public doctors, and 40 percent (2.3 per village) are public paramedical staff. The ratio of public to private doctors is 1:10 for all of India and ranges from 1.50 in Jharkhand to 1:1 in Kerala.

## 3 The majority of practicing providers have no medical qualifications: 65% have no formal medical training

In MP, surveys also asked providers about their medical training and qualifications. Among all primary care providers (including paramedical staff), 76 percent have no formal training. Among providers that identify themselves as doctors, 65 percent report no formal medical training, 25 percent have a degree from an indigenous system of medicine such as the BIMS, BAMS, or BUMS, and 10 percent report an MBBS degree.

# 4 Most households visit private doctors and doctors with no medical qualifications: 92% went to private providers, 79% to unqualified providers

More striking are the usage patterns from the

household data in MP. Of the 114,915 people surveyed, 23 percent reported a visit to a health provider in the month preceding the survey. Nineteen percent of these visits were to public paramedical staff. Of the remaining 81 percent, 92 percent were to providers in the private sector and of these, 79 percent were to doctors without a qualification. Therefore, of every 100 visits in rural MP, 8 visits are to the public sector and 70 are to untrained private sector doctors. Even among the poorest 20 percent of households, 61 percent of visits are to providers in the private sector.

#### We need to examine provider quality

While noteworthy, these figures only tell us about the dominant sources of care that the average person in a rural household can access. They do not provide any indication of the quality of care received or whether households are more likely to visit higher quality providers undeniably two pieces of information necessary to determine how to intervene to improve the delivery of health services and final health outcomes of the average person. The MAQARI project is also directly measuring provider competence and the quality of clinical interactions through medical vignettes, participant observations, patient exit interviews, and standardized patients. Future briefs in this series will present results from these surveys.

Table 1. Availability of Healthcare Providers Within a Village to an Average Person Number of Providers by Provider Type State **State Indicators** Public Private **Public** Total Ratio of Per capita Under 5 **Providers Doctors** Other **Public Doctor** Income in Mortality to Private 2004-2005 Rate **Providers** (Rs.) (deaths per thousand) Andhra Pradesh 2.10 0.22 2.67 5.05 1:9 23729 63.20 85.00 Assam 1.59 0.12 2.03 3.94 1:14 16825 Bihar 5.51 0.13 0.21 6.21 1:42 7467 84.80 Chhattisgarh 6.94 0.39 5.85 13.44 1:18 18068 90.30 Gujarat 1.19 0.25 3.49 4.97 1:5 29468 60.90 Haryana 5.60 0.51 3.63 9.95 1:11 35044 52.30 Himachal Pradesh 1.45 0.28 0.98 2.72 1:5 31140 41.50 Jharkhand 3.03 0.06 0.583.76 1:50 17493 93.00 1.22 0.29 1.22 2.75 24199 54.70 Karnataka 1:4 Kerala 1.78 1.55 0.43 3.97 27864 16.30 1:1 Madhya Pradesh 2.87 0.24 3.83 7.14 1:12 14534 94.20 Maharashtra 1.60 0.15 2.41 4.19 1:10 32989 46.70 Orissa 2.00 0.23 2.91 5.2 1:9 16306 90.60 Punjab 4.01 0.46 0.37 4.95 1:9 33158 52.00 Rajasthan 2.82 0.55 4.00 7.44 1:5 16800 85.40 Tamil Nadu 0.97 0.11 1.66 2.76 1:9 27137 35.50 Uttar Pradesh 1.73 11941 4.07 0.37 6.31 1:11 96.40 Uttaranchal 1.88 0.19 3.51 5.61 1:10 22093 56.80 22522 West Bengal 9.24 0.25 1.39 10.93 1:37 59.60 5.97 3.21 2.31 1:10 22946 66.27 India 0.34

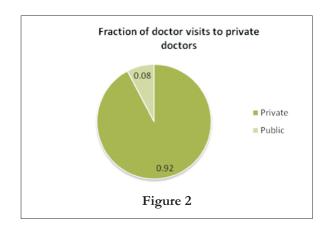
#### Notes:

- 1) "Private Providers" include all private practitioners and a wide range of qualifications and practice. The second category includes public doctors who are formally recognized by the government and generally possess an MBBS degree. The final category, "Public Other" comprises of all public paramedical staff (GNMs, ANMs, MPWs, etc.)
- 2) Per capita income is in 2008 prices, Source: Planning Commission (2008)
- 3) Source for Under 5 Mortality Rate: National Family Health Survey 3 (2005-2006), 0-4 years prior to the survey

Table 2. Availability of Healthcare Providers Within a Market to an Average Person

| District       | Number of Providers by Provider Type |                |                 |       |  |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------|--|
|                | Private<br>Providers                 | Public Doctors | Public<br>Other | Total | Ratio of Public<br>Doctors to Private<br>Providers |
| Gwalior        | 12.55                                | 0.60           | 4.50            | 19.25 | 1:21   |
| Shahdol        | 4.85                                 | 0.80           | 2.45            | 8.45  | 1:6  |
| Rajgarh        | 4.65                                 | 0.80           | 2.75            | 8.75  | 1:6  |
| Jhabua         | 9.15                                 | 0.45           | 2.30            | 13.05 | 1:20   |
| Chhindwara     | 6.10                                 | 0.55           | 3.20            | 10.00 | 1:11   |
| Madhya Pradesh | 7.46                                 | 0.64           | 3.04            | 11.90 | 1:12   |





### The MAQARI Team

**Principal Investigators:** Jishnu Das (CPR and World Bank), Michael Kremer (Harvard University), Alaka Holla (World Bank) and Karthik Muralidharan (CPR and University of California, San Diego)

Project Manager: Sreela Das Gupta (CPR)

**Research Associates:** Monisha Ashok, Carl Liebersohn, Anvesha Khandelwal, Aakash Mohpal, Prerna Mukharya, Suzanne Plant and Anand Shukla

**Survey Implementation:** Indian Market Research Bureau – Social and Rural Research Institute and the Institute for Socio-economic Research on Democracy and Development

Funding: Global Health Program of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation through Innovations for Poverty Action

Further Reading: Please see first brief in series (June 2010) at www.cprindia.org

**Centre for Policy Research** (CPR) is an independent think tank set up in 1973. The Centre conceives its larger role as one of stimulating advanced thinking on major policy issues and suggesting alternative policy options. To learn more about the CPR and its activities, please access the Centre's website at <a href="www.cprindia.org">www.cprindia.org</a>.

The views expressed in the brief are those of the author(s) and should not be attributed to the Centre for Policy Research.

Contact us: Centre for Policy Research, Dharma Marg, Chanakyapuri, New Delhi-110021 Phone: 91-11-26115273-6 (4 lines), Fax: 91-11-26872746, E-mail: maqari.india@gmail.com; cprindia@vsnl.com