MAPPING THE SOCIO-SPATIAL COORDINATES OF NAXALITE AFFECTED REGION OF INDIA

Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

DHANANJAY KUMAR



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जवाहरलाल नेहरू विश्वविद्यालय JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY Centre for the Study of Regional Development School of Social Sciences New Delhi-110067

CERTIFICATE

I, DHANANJAY KUMAR, certify that the dissertation entitled "MAPPING THE SOCIO-SPATIAL COORDINATES OF NAXALITE AFFECTED REGION OF INDIA" for the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY is my bonafide work and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Dhananjay Kumar (DHANANJAY KUMAR)

(SUPERVISOR)

Forwarded by

PROF. R.K. SHARMA (CHAIRPERSON)

Chairperson
Centre for the Study of Reg. Dev.
School of Social Sciences,
Jawaharlal Nehru University

New Delhi - 110 067

DEDICATED TO BHARTIYA KISAN

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CHAPTER-I INTRODUCTION

I.1 Statement of the Problem

Geography has experienced a conspicuous shift in the research direction since last fifty years. Research on social issues has been building with the start of the social relevance movement in geography. Various socio-economic problems in contemporary India are knocking the door of Indian geographers to suggest sustainable solutions of all these problems. It would be in the interest of both the development of geography and as well as to the people facing the problems especially when the very existence of geography has been questioned in the era of globalization.

Naxalite movement provides such an opportunity to Indian geographers especially the student of regional development to contribute towards the public good and to prove the utility of geography in the era of increasing disparity due to globalization. With the start of decentralization movement in various fields, Geography becomes much more significant.

A geographer equipped with holistic analytical approach can embark upon the problem considering its pros and cons comprehensively. The geographers have hardly considered these fields of study till now. In these fields of study a geographer can play a crucial role in understanding and suggesting appropriate policy options for solving these problems society facing especially in relation to the people of lower socio-economic strata.

Considering the call, the naxal affected region has been selected for the study. The Naxalite movement forms one the major challenges, the Indian Republic facing today. Prime Minister of India at many occasions termed it as one of the major internal security threats to Indian state. It is very obvious to ask- do the Naxalites groups operate in one of the most backward and neglected region of India? Do the Naxalite affected districts show the low level of development? Are the rural-urban disparities higher in the naxal affected districts? What should be the best way to deal with the Naxalite problem? Now, there is an agreement in the government and other spheres that it is not only a law and order problem but it also have developmental dimensions. In fact, the developmental perspective is very crucial for understanding and in effective dealing effectively with the movement.

The selected region spreads over ten states in the Central- East India comprising 150 districts including 55 Naxalite affected districts. The region is one of the more neglected parts of India since the beginning of present civilization.

To asses the nature and degree of neglect, it is necessary to critically analyze various socio-economic, politico-demographic and other historico-cultural indicators like health, education, employment, poverty, basic amenities, ineffective regional planning and most importantly the political dynamics of the region. Various models have been in use in different parts of the world and India is no exception. The state centered democratic socialism (the third path) development model was largely based on improving the governability aspects and it was thought to be the most appropriate for India particularly under the *Nehruvian Model of Development* in India.

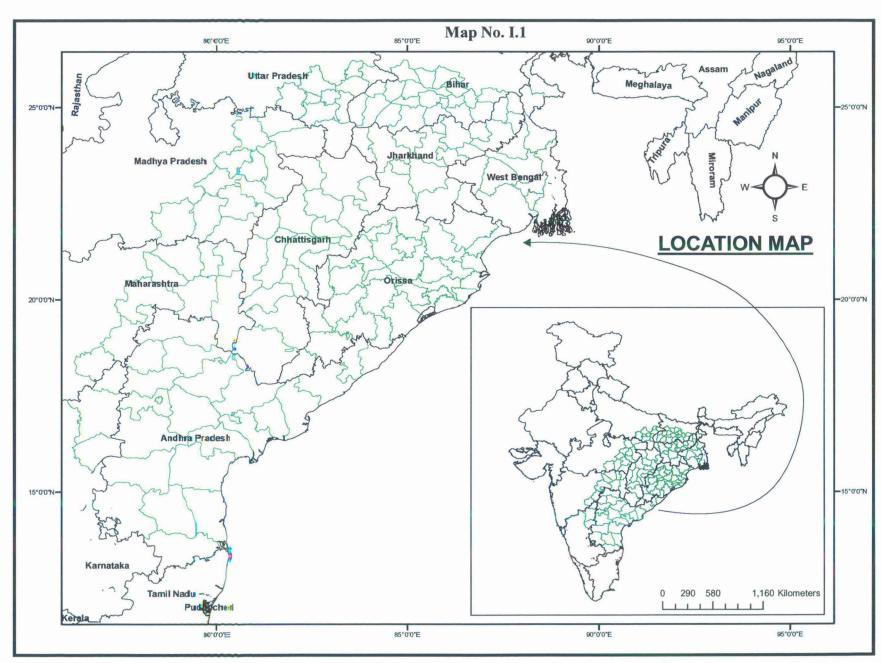
I.2 Study Area

The selected study area is spread over ten states in Central-East India comprising 150 districts (Table No.I.1).

Table No. I.1
Districts in Study Area

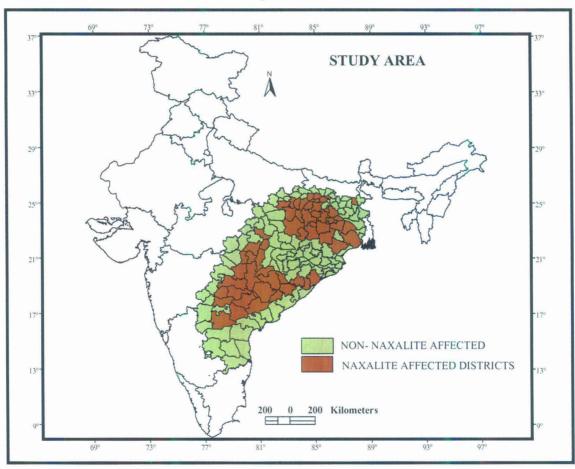
	State	Districts	
1	Andhra Pradesh	Adilabad, Anantapur, Chittoor, Cuddapah, East-Godavari, Guntur, Karimnagar, Khammam, Krishna, Kurnool, Mahbubnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Nellore, Nizamabad, Prakasam, Rangareddi, Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram, Warangal, West-Godavari.	
2	Bihar	Aurangabad, Banka, Begusarai, Bhagalpur, Bhojpur, Buxar, Gaya, Jamui, Jehanabad, Kaimur (Bhabua), Lakhisarai, Munger, Nalanda, Nawada, Patna, Rohtas, Samastipur, Saran, Sheikhpura, Vaishali.	
3	Chhattisgarh	Bastar, Bilaspur, Dantewada, Dhamtari, Durg, Janjgir – Champa, Jashpur, Kanker, Kawardha, Korba, Koriya, Mahasamund, Raigarh, Raipur, Rajnandgaon, Surguja.	
4	Jharkhand	Bokaro, Chatra, Deoghar, Dhanbad, Dumka, Garhwa, Giridih, Godda, Gumla, Hazaribagh, Kodarma, Lohardaga, Pakaur, Palamu, Pashchimi- Singhbhum, Purbi-Singhbhum, Ranchi, Sahibganj.	
5	Maharashtra	Bhandara, Chandrapur, Gadchiroli, Gondiya, Latur, Nagpur, Nanded, Wardha, Yavatmal.	
6	Madhya Pradesh	Balaghat, Chhindwara, Dindori, Jabalpur, Katni, Mandla, Rewa, Satna, Seoni, Shahdol, Sidhi, Umaria.	
7	Orissa	Anugul, Balangir, Baleshwar, Bargarh, Baudh, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Debagarh, Dhenkanal, Gajapati, Ganjam, Jagatsinghapur, Jajapur, Jharsuguda, Kalahandi, Kandhamal, Kendrapara, Kendujhar, Khordha, Koraput, Malkangiri, Mayurbhanj, Nabarangapur, Nayagarh, Nuapada, Puri, Rayagada, Sambalpur, Sonapur, Sundargarh.	
8	Uttar Pradesh	Allahabad, Ballia, Chandauli, Ghazipur, Jaunpur, Mau, Mirzapur, Sant Ravidas Nagar Bhadohi, Sonbhadra, Varanasi.	
9	West Bengal	Bankura, Barddhaman, Birbhum, Haora, Hugli, Maldah, Medinipur, Murshidabad, Puruliya.	
10	Karnataka	Bidar, Gulbarga, Raichur.	

Note: The highlighted districts denote the Naxalite Affected Districts



Due to the absence of rural component in the district of Hyderabad, it has been excluded from the subsequent analysis. Out of these, 55 districts are Naxalite affected. The surrounding districts of these affected districts have been selected for the purpose of comparison between naxal affected and non-naxal affected districts.

The number of affected districts is higher in states of Jharkhand, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, and Andhra Pradesh. Therefore, all the districts have been selected for the study from these states.



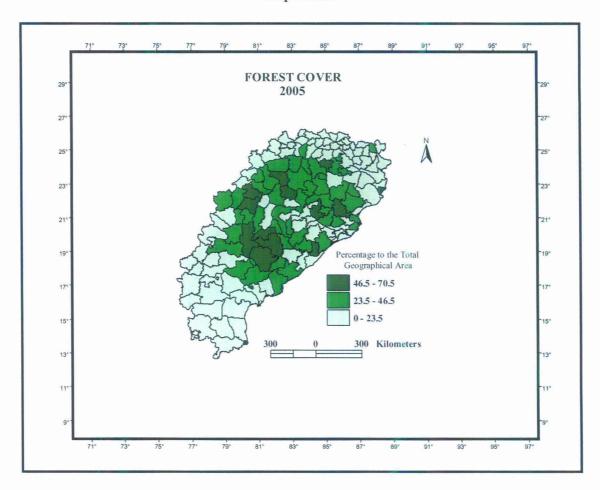
Map No.I.2

The selected study area constitutes the central-eastern part of the central tribal belt of India. ¹ The percentage area under forest to the total geographical area is still high in

¹ This contiguous area has been referred as the Archaic Belt of India by Bendapundi Subbarao in "*The Personality of India*", Faculty of Arts, Baroda, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1958.

many districts in this region (Map No. I.3). According to some scholar high forest cover provides safe haven to the guerrilla warfare so Naxalites have also taken advantages of the situation. It also indicates predominance of primary economic activities. Moreover, it can also be predicted that this region has high concentration of scheduled tribe population.

Map No.I.3



The concentration of scheduled tribe (STs) population is also high in those districts where the forest cover is higher The Dandakaranya region, one of the most backward regions of India show the highest concentration of STs and it forms the core region of Naxalite activities in India (Map No.I.4).

Map No.I.5 shows the distribution of the percentage population below poverty line.

25

23

21

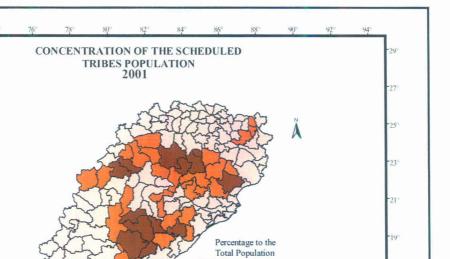
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54 - 81

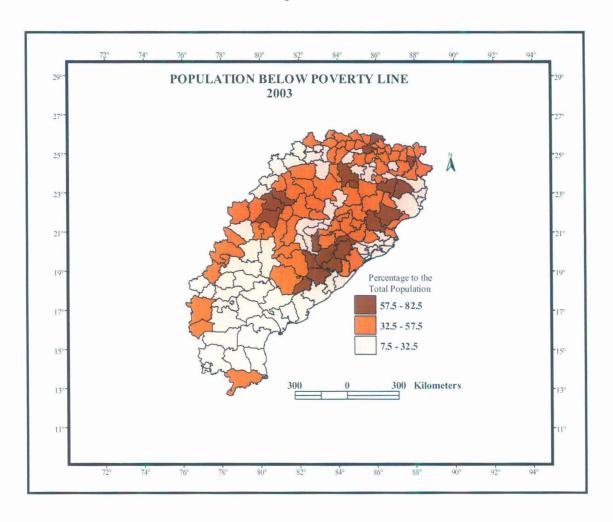
300 Kilometers

13°

Map No.1.4

Once again the Naxalite affected areas show the high level of poverty especially in case of Orissa, Jharkhand, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. However it is less significant in case of Andhra Pradesh.

Map No.I.5



Similarly, there are the scholars those have attempted to theorize the prevalence of naxal activities in these districts. The researcher has taken critical view of these views and has been verified in theorizing the research problem. It is therefore, necessary to acknowledges critically the contribution of different scholars.

I.3 Literature Review

Subbarao (1958) has delineated three macro regions i.e. perennial nuclear region, areas of isolation and areas of relative isolation. From his study one gets a critical insight into

the aspects related to development of culture and their chronology which can be very useful in understanding the emergence of various regional identities.

De (1967) has examined the regionalization in India from a historical point of view. According to him every region evolved specific type of polity formation or regional identity. However, the nature of polity can be seen from the surplus generation potential of the region. Culs-de-sac with low surplus generation potential developed small chiefdom and princely states and maintained certain degree of isolation throughout the history.

Spate et. al., (1967) discussed the historical outlines of Indian sub continent right from the Indus Valley Civilization to the rise of current pan Indian nationalism. They too isolated this region based on its geographical specificities.

Gough (1976) attempted to trace out the history of peasant uprising in India since mughal period. She very clearly makes a distinction between peasant uprising in earlier time and modern peasant uprising. She also tried to fined parallels between the peasants' movement and naxalite activities in the region.

Rao, M.S.A. (1978) explained various aspects of social movements. He primarily dealt with the theoretical aspects of social movements in India. He examined existing theories, which can explain the genesis and development of the social movement. He also focused on the structural conditions under which social movement takes place and tried to find out the structural explanation for the naxalite activities in India.

Mukherji (1978) studied Naxallbari movement in North Bengal with the help of an extensive field work and tried to put forward new insights in understanding the peasant movement of North Bengal.

Rao (1978) has tried to trace out the roots of peasant movement in Telegana region of Andhra Pradesh. He focused on the socio-economic structure of the state of Hyderabad. According to him the exploitative feudalistic system of Nizam coupled with uneven distribution of resources deteriorated the condition of cultivators and landless labourers.

Thus, the age old anguish of the peasants against the rural potentate continues to harbor the urge for peasants' movement in India.

Schwartzeberg (1978) traced the history of whole South Asian region right from the beginning of civilization. Dealing with each and every aspect his atlas provides a detail picture of region and he mentioned the historical linkages and reasons of tribal concentrations.

Reddy and Sharma (1979) examined the concept of regionalism with special reference to Telegana region. He argues that regionalism should be viewed from positive perspective. Regionalism is an essential element in the development of healthy political environment.

Habib (1982) mapped the Mughal empire expansion overtime. The maps showing political as well as economic dimensions are interestingly explained. The detail mapping of major regions separately reveals various valuable information. The economic map shows that areas of isolation have less concentration of settlements, economic activities and no major roads are passing through the region.

Raza and Aggrawal (1986) dealt with inequities in the level of literacy in India. They argued that the differential distribution of literacy can therefore, be properly analysed as an element in the system of interdependence having bi-directional linkages with development process. Their study clearly established the truth that this region has been at the margins of social development particularly literacy.

Raza and Ahmed (1990) focus on the distributional aspects of the tribal population ecological settings and socio-economic attributes. All these reflect the wide and regionally diverse spectrum of Indian polity. They emphasized that Regional dimensions of tribal reality with variation in the eco-system would be very fruitful in understanding the tribal sub-regional identity.

Brass (1990) focuses on the various peasant movements and tried to trace out the root cause these movements. He pointed out that the centralized planning and even the green revolution contributed to the problem of tribals and agricultural laborers.

Kohli (1991) examined the growing crisis of governability in India. He pointed out that the weak organizational strength of political parties, personalization of politics and inability to accommodate the conflicting interests by various contending classes are the major cause of growing crisis of governability in India. In his study he infers that the naxalite problem is an indication of crises of governability in India.

Mayer (2001) applied the methodology used by Putman in his work entitled "Making Democracy Work" in Indian context to measure the institutional performance. He developed certain indicators of institutional performance and concluded that the naxal affected areas have failed attract modern institutions responsive for development and modernization.

Godgil and Guha (2002) evolved the concept of resource use for the historical interpretation. They pointed out the mode of production alone cannot explain the whole picture. Every ecological setting have their own potential, therefore concept of resource utilization complemented with concept of mode of production can give more fruitful results; they emphasizes that the tribal region of India are the natural resource rich region but modernization seems to have exposed these to resource crises.

Rao (2003) emphasized a shift in paradigm of research. As measurement of poverty and its statistical analysis have given rise to a rich literature, there is need of such study which consider poor in their village and caste context. He felt a need of reworking of poverty indicators in case of the tribal population.

Hooja (2004) analysed the changes in approaches strategies and schemes for tribal development in India over various five year plan. She focuses mainly the problems and achievements of tribal development programmes and administrative arrangements In India's Central Tribal Belt (CTB).

Subramanian (2004) has examined the Naxalite movement from a different perspective. The suppressive acts of police and bureaucracy have played a significant role in growing of Naxalism. He has emphasized on the roots of the problem i.e. the underlying social issues. Without addressing the root causes, one can not solve this problem permanently

Sunder (2006) specially focused on the government supported anti-naxal movement 'Salwa Judum'. It represent the another form of government failure to accommodate the conflicting interests.

Suri (2006) examined the political economy of agrarian distress and resulted farmers suicide in India. He pointed out that with cultivation becoming an unrewarding occupation; the growing disparities of wealth between the rural and urban areas, the inability of farmers to unite and put pressure on the government are the major causes for the distress.

Sagar (2006) talked about the cause of the ongoing Maoist movement in India. The presence and growth of the Maoist movement today is essentially due to the dire socioeconomic situation of people living in the affected parts of the country.

Shah (2007) dealt with the potential of The National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (NREGP) in bridging the rural-urban divide and removing the discontent of the rural people. The active participation of grassroots people, the role of civil society organizations, corruption free PRIs are very critical in realizing the potential of this programme.

Chakravarti (2007) lamented the lack of strong and proper democratic government, free of corruption. He had a good look at the patient. The naxal problem can not be seen as only law and order problem but it has its political, social, economic and ecological pros and cons.

Singh (2007) attempted to analyze the Naxalite movements in its breadth and spread over periods of time comprehensively. He points out that it has survived more than a quarter century of onslaught by the security forces without any external support, unlike the Punjab terrorism and the Kashmir militancy. The movement has developed an inherent strength on the basis of underlying socio-economic, political and geo-ecological moors.

Guha (2007) argued that Adivasis as a whole have gained least and lost most from six decades of democracy and development in India. The Maoist revolutionaries denied a space in state and the formal political system. He points out that there is a double tragedy

at work in tribal India. From one side they have been treated with contempt and condescension and on the other side their presumed protectors, the Naxalites offer no long term solution either.

Harivansh (2008) presented an in-depth analysis of the roots and causes of the naxalite activities in the state of Jharkhand. He pointed out that the unaddressed people's grievances and unmet expectations are the two main causes of the discontent among people at grass roots level. The administrative machinery at the grass roots has been collapsed. The panchayat elections have not been held since yet.

Garg (2008) on the other hand traced out the roots and causes of the naxalite problem in one of the hot spot of naxalite activities i.e. Dandakaranya region. He pointed out the exploitation of the tribals not only on the economic grounds but also the threat to their cultural and individual identities. He also presented an account of the some of the welfare works of the naxalite groups, which garnered the support of the masses in Dandakaranya.

The various available reports of expert groups and committees have also been referred in conceptualizing the present study.

It is obvious from the above survey of literature that these are limited studies available on the topics under present research. However, the researcher is great to the valuable contribution made by these scholars particularly the way it contributed in conceptualizing the problem and objectives. It is therefore felt that there is a need for a holistic study with an objective and scientific approach. To achieve this end the present research proposes to investigate the following objectives:

I.4 Objective

- To map the spatial coordinates of Naxalite affected region over time to study the nature of continuity and change.
- To identify socio-economic interlinkages in the context of the characteristic features of the region.
- To study the rural-urban inequality and correlates of Naxalite Movement
- To study and analyze the possible ways to effectively deal with Naxalite Movement.

I.5 Research Questions

- Is there any correspondence between the areas of isolation and naxalite affected region?
- How far the socio-economic factors are responsible for the Naxalite movement?
- What should be the best possible way to deal with the Naxalite movement effectively?

It is evident that the research involves factual as well as conceptual issues; Survey of literature has contributed significantly in the conceptual frame. But search for factual information and data constitutes an equally important component of an objective research. In this study too facts have been collected from different data sources.

I.6 Data Source

The study is primarily based on secondary data sources (Table No.I.2). Along with secondary data the following Historical Atlases have also been consulted:

- 1. Historical Atlas of South Asia (1978) by J.E, Schwartzeberg, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- 2. Atlas of the Mughal Empire (1982) by Irfan Habib, Oxford University Press.
- 3. An Atlas of Tribal India (1990), Moonis Raza and Aijazuddin Ahmad, , Concept Publishing House, New Delhi.
- 4. India Administrative Atlas, 1872-2001, Registrar General &Census Commissioner of India.

Table No.I.2

S. No.	Data source	Types of data	Level	Year
1.	Census of India-2001, Registrar General &Census Commissioner of India, Government of India. Various Series And Tables	1. Urbanization 2. Scheduled Tribe (STs) Population 3. Work participation rate 4. Sex Ratio 5. Literacy rate, rural and urban 6. Basic amenities like no. of households(hh) availing banking Services, having telephone, having drinking water facilities within premises, and electrified, 7. Population seeking available to work (main and marginal workers)	District Level	2001
2.	Seventh All India Educational Survey, NCERT, Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD), Government of India.	 Total no. of primary schools & total no. of habitations No. habitations without primary schooling facilities No. of primary schools with one teacher No. primary schools with pupil teacher ratio<=20 	District Level	Septemb er 30, 2002
3.	Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India	1. No. of primary health centers(PHCs)	District Level	2005
4.	Reproductive And Child Health (RCH)-II	Mean age at marriage for girls Percentage of women getting antenatal checkup Percentage of institutional delivery Percentage of children age 12-36 months received	District Level	2002-04
5.	District Level Deprivation in the New Millennium.	Percentage of pop. below the poverty line Percentage of households going hungry	District Level	2003
6.	Internal Security Situation, Ministry Of Home Affairs. Government Of India	1. Trends of Naxal Violence	National and State Level	March, 2008.
7.	Inter-Ministry Task Group On Redressing Growing Regional Imbalances. Planning Commission. Government of India.	1. Naxalite affected districts in India	District Level	January. 2005.
8.	State of Forest Report 2001. Forest Survey of India, Ministry of Environment and Forest. Government of India.	Percentage forest covers to the total geographical area.	District Level	2001

It is said that bricks are needed to make a house, but a heap of brick does not make a house. To make a house bricks need to be arranged according to a plan and for a particular purpose. Similarly, facts need to be collected and processed according to a plan so that these facts can serve a desired purpose. In this study the plan has been done according to a research methodology.

I.7 Methodology

The study has been done in the following way. First of all, the historical roots of the Naxalite affected region has been attempted to trace out to understand the nature of continuity and change. The political economy of the region has also been analyzed using the concept of Resource Use as propounded by *Madhav Gadgil* and *Ramchandra Guha*.

1.7.1 Choice of the Indicators

Following the Quality- Attribute-Indicator-Index path, the appropriate indicators have chosen for the study. The choice of the indicators depends on the nature of the study and availability of the data at desired level. In the present study the indicators which are thought to be relevant are selected. The availability of data at district level (especially in case land holdings related data) for the whole study area has also determined the choice of the indicators. Finally, after all considerations following indicators have been chosen for the study and each indicator have been converted into the positive indicators:

- 1. Socio-Demographic Indicators
 - a. Percentage urban population to the total population
 - b. Work participation rate
 - c. Sex ratio
 - d.Literacy rate(rural)
- 2. Educational Indicators
 - a. Percentage of served habitations with primary schooling facilities
 - b. Percentage Primary schools with more than one teacher
 - c. Percentage primary schools with pupil teacher ratio <=20
- 3. Indicators of Employment

- a. Percentage pop. not seeking/ available to work to the able working population²
- b. Percentage Marginal workers not seeking available to work to the total marginal workers
- c. Percentage Workers other than primary sector

4. Healthcare Indicators

- a. PHCs per lakh pop
- b. Mean age at marriage for girls
- c. Percentage women getting antenatal checkup during pregnancy
- d. Percentage Institutional delivery to the total
- e. Percentage Children age 12-36 months received full immunization

5. Indicators of Basic Amenities

- a. Percentage rural households availing banking services
- b. Percentage rural households having telephone
- c. Percentage rural households having drinking water facilities within premises
- d. Percentage rural households electrified

6. Indicators of Well-off

- a. Percentage population above the poverty line (APL)
- b. Percentage of households not going hungry

As in case of Naxalite movement, the rural-urban disparities are much more significant than any other measurement of disparities. Therefore, the rural-urban disparity has been taken as a measurement of disparity. Keeping in mind the nature of the study, characteristics of the study area and availability of data at district level the following indicators have been chosen for the measurement of rural-urban inequities:

- a. Literacy Rate
- b. Electrified households
- c. Household availing banking services
- d. Household Having Telephone

² . Able Working Population = {(total pop).-(non-workers)}]

I.7.2 Construction of Composite Index

In order to measure the levels of over all development which is essentially a qualitative phenomena the Quality- Attribute-Indicator-Index path has been adopted. This has been done with a view to disaggregate an integrated phenomenon into its components so as to understand the differential behaviour of the latter (integrated phenomenon) singly as well in conjugation with one another. It is imperative to do so from the diagnostic point of view. Through in such an exercise the specific causes of underdevelopment can be identified and a packet of prescriptive measures can be evolved. The exercise of the disaggregating the whole into parts has been done in section of choice of indicators.

The attributes are interactive in nature each sustaining and being sustained by others. They are intrinsically intertwined in nature. Therefore, for the holistic understanding, the disaggregated indicators need to be aggregated. It can be done through the construction of the composite index. It has been done in the following way:

• The indicators have been made scale free using the Standard Score³ or 'Z 'Score method as follows:

$$Z = \{(X-\mu)/\sigma\}$$

Where, Z is the standard score,

X is an observation μ is the mean of the observations.

$$\mu = \sum X/n$$

n is the total number of observation

 σ is the standard deviation of the observations

$$\sigma = \{(X - \mu)/(\sqrt{n})\}$$

Standard score is a dimensionless or scale free quantity. Therefore, it is comparable.

³. Kundu, Amitabh (1980): "Measurement of Urban Processes": A Study In Regionalization" Bombay, Popular Prakashan, pp.93-96.

- The scale free values of all the indices of an attribute at the district have been added together. This provides the composite score for an attribute in a district.
 Composite score for all the attributes have been worked out in this manner.
- Composite scores of the entire attribute in a district have been added together to yield the composite index of levels of overall development.
- The composite indices have been classified into three categories using equal interval method. The equal interval method divides the range of attribute values into equal sized classes. Then the features are classified based on those classes. Here in this study the range of the indices has been divided by three to get the three classes. The classes have been labeled as high, medium and low with the decreasing values. The same method has been followed at other classifications in the study also.

I.7.3 Calculation of Disparity Index

The Modified Sopher's Disparity Index⁴ has been used to measure the rural-urban disparities. This measure of disparity has certain advantage over the Sopher's Disparity Index and other methods. The major difficulty with earlier measures is that the disparity between alphas (say urban) and non-alphas (rural) is not the same as between non-alphas and alphas. Sopher has proposed an alternative measure that gives the same value in the two cases mentioned above. Kundu and Rao have modified the Sopher's Index so that it satisfies all the axioms that are normally used for the evaluation of any inequality measures. These axioms are Additive Monotonicity, Multiplicative Monotonicity, Redistribution and Repetitive Transfers.⁵

D=
$$\log(x_2/x_1) + \log \{(Q-x_1)/(Q-x_2)\}$$

Where, $Q \ge 200$ and $x_2 \ge x_1$

⁴. Kundu, A and Rao, J.M.(1982): "Inequality In Educational Development :Issue In Measure, Changing Structure And Its Socio-Economic Correlates With Special Reference To India", paper presented at regional workshop on long-term educational planning, New Delhi, NIEPA, January.
⁵ Ibid, Kundu and Rao.

I.8 Limitations of the Study

Unavailability of the data (especially data related to land holdings and trends of (naxal violence) at the district level uniformly for the entire selected district, has imposed many limitations in the study. The dependent variable could not be taken into consideration. Any correlation and regression could not be worked out. The unavailability of data related to land holding has been tried to compensate by taking workers engaged in primary sector. The unavailability of data related to the trends of naxal related violence has also led to limit the analysis at the state level only. The reference year of some indicators is different. However the reference years of most of the indicators are 2001. Therefore, the year 2001 has been preferred as the reference year for the composite index accepts in the case of composite scores of educational indicators and health indicators where the reference year is 2002.

I.9 Organization of the Study

The entire work has been organized into six chapters. The first chapter is introductory in nature, which deals with the personality of the study area, literature survey, objective, research question, data source, choice of the indicators, and methodology. The second chapter deals with nature of continuity and change of the Naxalite affected region and a brief discussion on the political economy of this region. Levels of development of Naxalite affected region has been work out in the third chapter. In fourth chapter an attempt has been made to discuss the rural- urban disparity and correlates of Naxalite movement. In the backdrop of the historical, socio-cultural and environmental specificities, the best possible way to deal with the Naxalite movement has been discussed in the fifth chapter of the study. The much talked two prone strategies of the government has been analyzed in detail taking the examples of various initiatives taken by the union and state governments. Summary of the main conclusion flowing from the discussion has been presented in the last section of the dissertation.

CHAPTER-II

THE PROCESS OF HISTORICAL REGIONALISM IN INDIAN SUBCONTINENT AND NAXALITE AFFECTED REGION

"History without Geography is Like a Picture without a Frame"

- Bendapudi Subbarao (1958)¹

Historical continuity and change in a certain order of region is referred to as historical regionalism. Regions have been articulated over a long period of time. In the different stages of history various factors and processes interact with the existing geoecological settings in the articulation of regions over the surface of the earth. The studies show that the basic structure of historical regionalism in India is provided by the physiography of the subcontinent and in this context Indian history can be seen as a struggle between the centripetal and the centrifugal forces. Centripetal forces represented by horizontal spread of techniques and other cultural traits which have always tried to give a political unity, while centrifugal force shows their reaction on the resident or local traits within the various foci representing the main physical regions which have counteracted the forces of unification.

On the basis of trans-continental communication system, physiography of Indian subcontinent and resultant pattern of migration based on it, Subbarao² attempted to divide the terrain of subcontinent into the following regions (Map No. II.1):

- 1. Perennial Nuclear Region or Areas of Attraction
- 2. Areas of Relative Isolation
- 3. Cul-De-Sacs, or Areas of Isolation

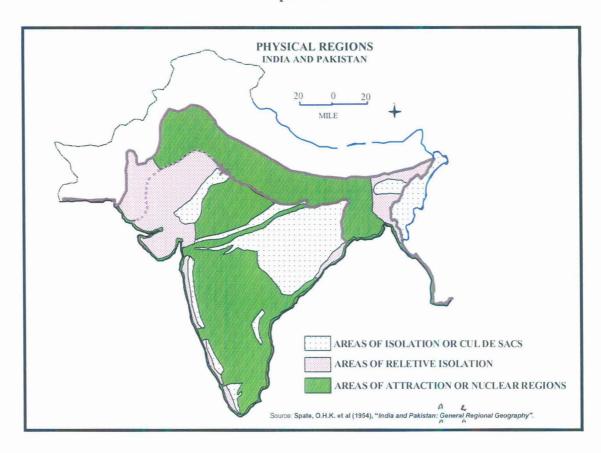
Accepting the above fundamental concept the whole pattern of development of material culture in India may be defined as one of the horizontal expansion of the higher culture, leading to a displacement, contraction, and isolation of the lower cultures in different parts of the country at different periods of time. Here higher and lower cultures do not refer to their hierarchy in the power structure or social status but in terms of historical time period.

². Ibid. Subbarao, Bendapudi, p12

Subbarao, Bendapudi (1958): "The Personality of India", Baroda, M. S. University of Baroda Press, p.8

II.1 Perennial Nuclear Regions

It represents the major river plains of Indian subcontinent. The chief river basins like *Indus*, *Ganges*, *Narmada*, *Tapti*, *Godavari*, *Krishna and Kaveri* were formed the areas



Map No. II. 1

of attraction. These areas were penetrated and exploited by large scale agricultural communities, driving the older and static people with a primitive economy into the forested and mountainous areas, where they have survived till date.

The various characteristics of the region are contained in its name itself. It is obvious to ask- why have these regions remained perennial? Were these regions dynamic in nature? The historical evidences prove that these regions continuously received the fresh incursion through the trans-continental migrations. The process of incursion,





displacement, contraction, and isolation appeared to have been taken place in the region over millennium.

There is yet another query which one can ask why are these regions termed as "nuclear region"? The most obvious answer to these can be cited once again from the historical facts that the elements of cultural, social, economic and political region formation that emerged in these regions have always consistent with minor modifications. The nuclearity of the region was strengthened by the continuous process of flux and rejuvenation. The Predominance of large-scale agricultural economy and resulted surplus led to the emergence of kingdoms or *Sodasa Mahajanapadas* (Map No.II.2) and it became the central place of various activities. ³

Puskalavatie

ANDULB AC LIAZIA

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ANICHITIA

ANICHITIA

WISTA

Virata*

Savasti

Kusinegara

Virata*

Savasti

KASI

KASI

KASI

KASI

KASI

OHA

PUNDRA

Rajqi

PUNDRA

RAJOT

Tripuri

MALLAS

VANGA

ANNTI

Banaras

VANGA

ANNTI

OUJiain

Tripuri

Map No.II.2

Modified after George Erodosy

³ .Ahmed Aijazuddin (2001): "Social Geography", Jaipur, Rawat Publication, pp 96-97.

II.2 Areas of Relative Isolation

It is a transitional region located between the areas of attraction and areas of isolation i.e. cul-de-sac. *Lower Indus Basin, Rajputana, Gujarat, Assam, Coastal Orissa and Kerala* formed the areas of relative isolation.⁴

It is located away from the main trans-continental migration movement system. Since, these areas were not environmentally adverse or hostile to human habitation. These regions were able to receive some waves of migration dotted with long period of isolation. Given the scope for an independent development of people and ideas under the security provided by physical semi-isolation. These regions were attraction for sometimes and isolation for other.

II.3 Areas of Isolation or cul-de-sacs

It is spread into the central India right from the west coast to the delta of Bengal. Subbarao described it as the Vindhyan Complex comprising the Satpuras, Vindhyas, Mahadeo Hills, Gawilgarh, Maikal Range, Hazaribagh Range, the Chhotanagpur, the Singhbhum and Manbhum plateaus. It is located at the periphery of perennial nuclear region receiving the refugees from the areas of attraction.

The forested *Gondwana* country surrounded by river Son in the north, Rajmahal Hills in the angle of the *Ganga* between Bihar and Bengal and *Godavari* in the south is the homes of most of the aboriginal tribes, and until the merger of 1948 the great congeries of scores of semi-feudal states.⁵ Even today it hosts high concentration of tribal population, which includes tribes *like Bhil, Dangs, Gonds, Santhal, Uraon, Baigas, Gadabas, Marias, Kui, Maridia, Koyi, Sora, Jaura, Ho, Savara, Chenchu, Redid, Irulas, Yenadis*, and a host of other tribes (Map No.II.3).

The process of isolation of the region can be explained with the help of the 'Z' Pattern communication system hypothesis propounded by F.J. Richards⁶. There was a consistent pattern of migration of people and culture on a set of 'Z' pattern of communication system linking Himalayas with the *Cape Comorin* as shown in the Map No.II..4.

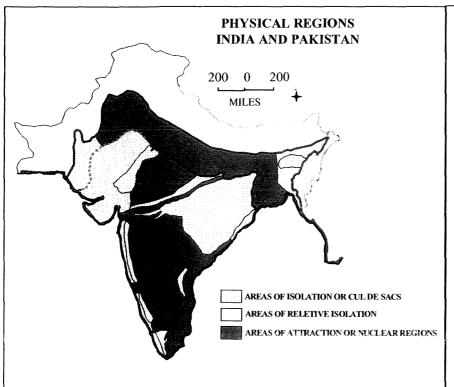
⁴. Ibid, Subbarao, Bendapudi, pp. 126-140.

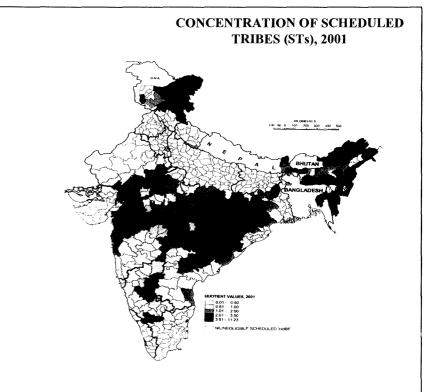
⁵. Spate, O.H.K (1967), "India and Pakistan, Land, People and Economy", New Delhi, B. I. Publication, p. 178

^{6.} Richards, F.J., (1932), "Geographic Factors in Indian Archaeology", *Indian Antiquity*, Vol. LXII, pp.231-43.

Map No.II.3

AREAS OF ISOLATION AND CONCENTRATION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES POPULATION



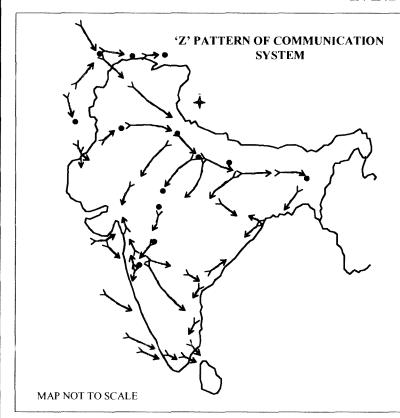


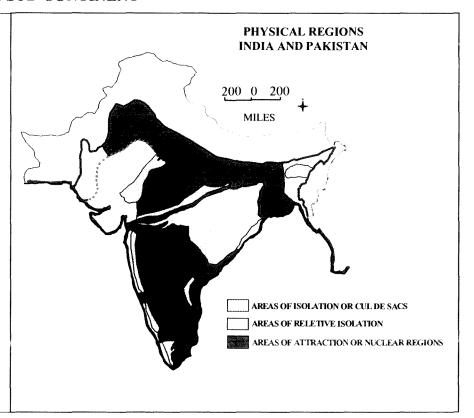
Source: Spate, O.H.K. et al (1954), "India and Pakistan: A General And Regional Geography",

Source: Census of India-2001, Registrar General & Census, Commissioner of India

Map No. II.4

'Z' PATTERN OF COMMUNICATION SYSTEM AND REGION FORMATION IN INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT



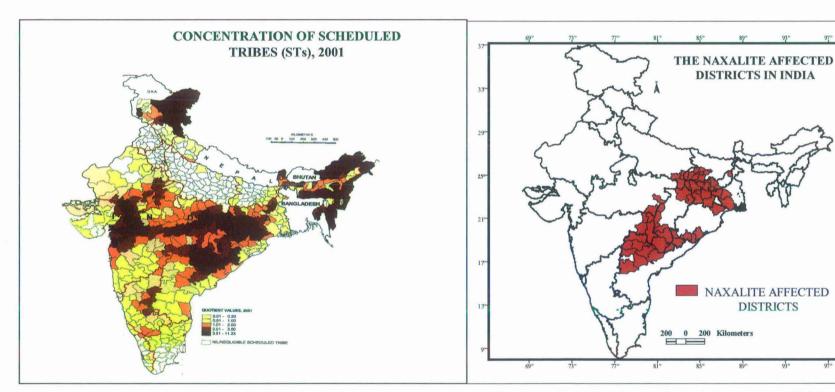


Source: Richards, F.J., (1932), Geographic Factors in Indian Archaeology

Source: Spate, O.H.K. et al (1954), "India and Pakistan: A General & Regional Geography",

Map No. II.5

CONCENTRATION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES AND NAXALITE AFFECTED DISTRICTS IN INDIA



Source: Census of India-2001, Registrar General & Census Commissioner of India

Source: Inter-Ministry Task Group On Redressing Growing Regional Imbalances, Planning Commission, Government of India.

Areas of isolation or refugee zones are demarcated by the streams of the movements. It received the immigrants from three sides i.e. on the North and North-West from *Gangatic Plain* and *Narmada-Son* region respectively, and on the South from *Godavari-Krishna* river basins. In recent time, after the colonization of coastal areas, another streams of migrants moved to this blind- alleys of civilization.

Prof. Haimendorf explains, "It is a phenomena peculiar to India, that through the ages, great civilizations have arisen without obliterating all that has gone before: the older and the more static culture gave way not by disintegration but by seeking refugee in remote areas, uncongenial to civilization based on advanced agricultural economy. There can be no doubt that the so-called aboriginals inhabiting such refuge areas represent comparatively old and primitive type. ⁷

"Zone and Strata" Concept of Griffith Taylor also explains the pattern of inhabitance of the people in the subcontinent. If there is a centre where evolution is taking place, then, after a reasonable lapse of time, the various differentiated classes will be found to be ranged in zones so that the most primitive is at the margins and the most advanced at the centre of series of zones. 8

It is the region which is of prime importance in the present study. The areas of complete isolation now coincide with the tribal belt of central India, which forms one of the major conflict zones of India. This central tribal belt corresponds with the naxalite affected areas as shown in the Map No.II.6. The detail and in-depth study of areas of isolation can be proved a linchpin in explanation of the phenomena and its spatial coordinates.

II.4 Areas of Isolation: An Historical Perspective

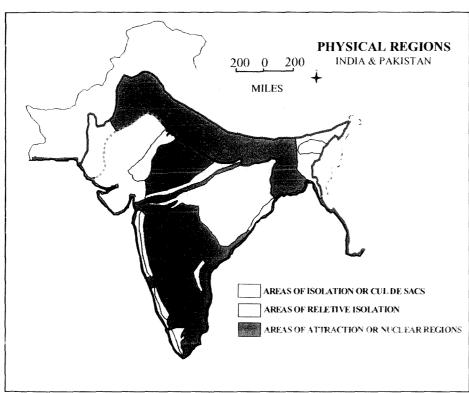
Areas of isolation have maintained its isolated identity in one or the other form through out the history. The perennial nuclear region owing to its fertile soil and huge potential of surplus generation had an edge economically over the areas of isolation. On the other hand isolated cultures develop in the areas of isolation, which have a low agricultural potential.

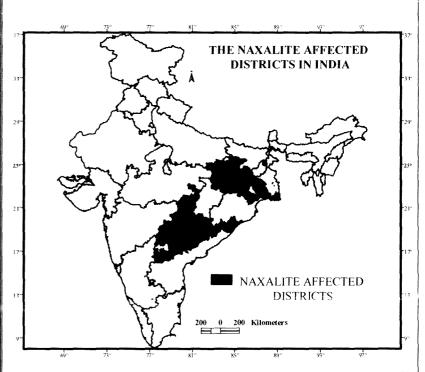
⁷. Haimendorf, C.F.(1948), "Cultural Strata in Deccan". Man, Art No.99.

⁸ Taylor. Grifith. (Ed.) (1953), "Geography in the Twentieth Century", London, Mthuen.

Map No. II.6

AREAS OF ISOLATION AND NAXALITE AFFECTED DISTRICTS IN INDIA





Source: Spate, O.H.K. et al (1954), "India and Pakistan: A General And Regional Geography",

Source: Inter-Ministry Task Group On Redressing Growing Regional Imbalances, Planning Commission, Government of India.

The tendency of isolation derived from the primitive agrarian techniques and consequent less dynamic modes of social organization resulted into the emergence of hierarchical, tribal, princely systems of limited political authority. The tribal chieftainships have always maintained a large degree of autonomy in terms of local political traditions cultural and values in the isolated regions. Though, quite often the development of empires in the plains or plateaus had challenged and destroyed the independence of these entities in their historical path. ⁹

II.5 Areas of Isolation in the Sixth Century B.C.

Buddhist texts "Angutra Nikaya and Digha Nikaya provides some understanding of the Indian regional structure as it evolved over time. Small tribal chiefdoms were the main political organization in cul-de sacs characterized by community ownership and use of resources. The social relationships were based on kinship, and there was absence of institutionalized social stratification. The economy was self sustained. ¹⁰

The period between sixth century B.C. and seventieth century A.D. was characterized by the emergence and disintegration of the big empires in the north Indian plain. But by and large there was an absence of centralized power in India. The central Indian tribal belts remained isolated in the same period. The Mughal Empire came up with a sign of centralized power in India. The territorial integration of India was by and large done by the British.

II.6 Areas of Isolation in the Seventeenth Century

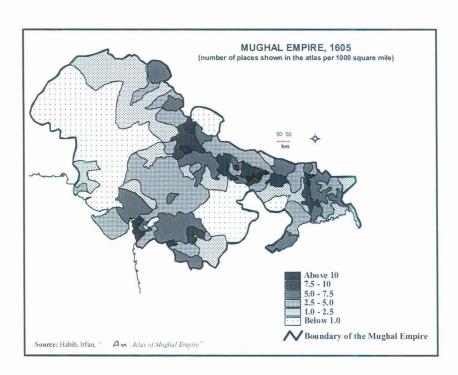
The areas even in the 17th century remained isolated. Penetration into the isolated regions was avoided right from the time of *Ashoka* to *Akbar*. Accept subas like *Gondwana*. *Berar* and independent state of *Golkonda*, the major parts of the study areas remained unsubjugated. It was still inaccessible and inhabited by aboriginals. *Irfan Habib* in his Atlas of the *Mughal Empire* shows the areas in detail from political and economic

29

⁹ .De Barun (1967): "An Historical Perspective on Theories of Regionalization in India" in Robert I. Crane(ed.).Regions and Regionalism in South Asian Studies: An Exploratory Study, Monograph and Occasional Papers Series, Monograph No. 5. Duke University, pp.48-88.

¹⁰ Ibid, Ahmed Aijazuddin, pp. 97-109.

perspective. The areas of isolation have shown the lowest density of places and larger part remained unsubjugated even under the Mughal as shown in Map No.II.7.



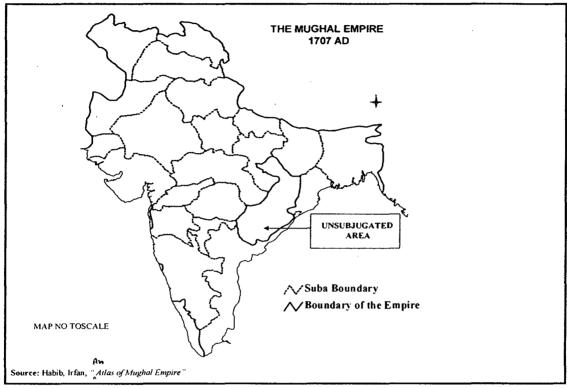
Map No. II.7

It may be because of inhospitable physical and social and also low potential of surplus generation in the region. The economic map shows that the study areas has been labeled as *the great central Indian forests* dotted with few diamond mining centers in between. No major or minor routes of transport are passing through the area. Most of The major routes of transport passed through the rim of the region. These are the indication of the degree of isolation of the region during the *Mughal* period.

Even in the beginning of the eighteenth century, large extent of the areas of isolation remained unsubjugated as shown in the Map No.II.8. Once again it reveals the same story, but after the death of *Aurangjeb*, *Suba of Hyderabad* emerged as a strong independent state in south India. The emergence of the Hyderabad state came up with few significant socio-economic changes. Exploitative landlordism and *Vetti* or the practices of free and forced labour and exaction took roots in the state of Hyderabad in

general and Telangana in particular¹¹. It led to the building of discontents in the state especially in rural areas.

Map No.II.8



II.7 Areas of Isolation under the British Rule

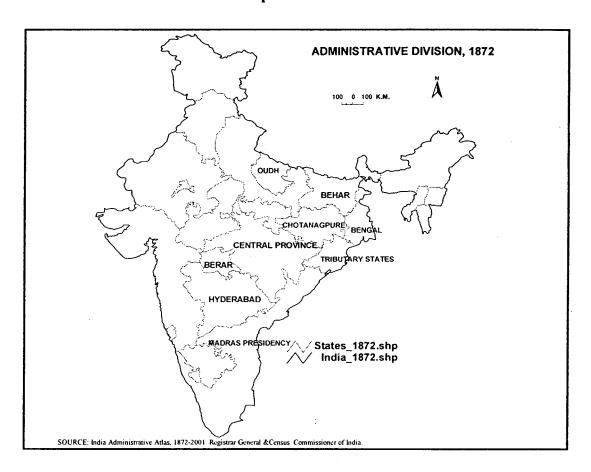
The areas of isolation were primarily divided into the small chieftains and princely states in 1857. The central province came into being under a chief commissioner in 1862 and was formed by merging nineteen districts and fifteen princely states (Map No. II.9). The important British districts were *Chindwara*, *Mandlah*, *Belaspoor*, *Ryepoor*, *Bhundara*, *Nagpoor* and *Chanda*. Out of fifteen princely states like *Makrai*, *Kawarda*, *Nandgaon*, *Chhuikhadan*, and *Khairagarh* are at isolated locations surrounded by the British territories, whereas other feudatory states are adjoining to princely states of Hyderabad, *Chotanagpur*, and tributary states of Orissa. ¹²

¹¹. Rao, K Ranga. (1978), "Peasant Movement in Telangana" in M.S.A.Rao (ed.), Social Movement In India, vol. I., New Delhi Manohar Publication, pp.149-168.

¹² Schwartzberg, J.E. (ed.) (1978), Historical Atlas of South Asia, Chicago, University Of Chicago Press, pp.109-10.

Therefore, the political setup of the region clearly reflects the tribal dominance in the region. The existence of the small chiefdoms and princely states in the region are according to the tribal political culture.

Map No.II.9

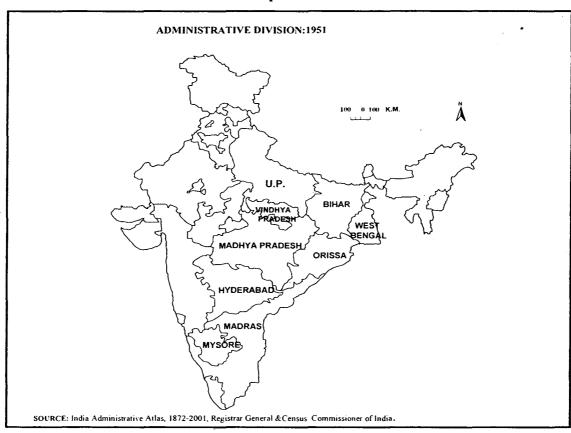


With the advent of the British, the Christian missionaries also came to India. There is no doubt that they have played a very crucial role in providing relief to the tribal people of central tribal belt in one or the other way. The efforts especially in the areas of health care and education are commendable. But there are controversies on their role in the religious arena. Here one can argue that for the people who are at the door steps of death, the bread is much more important than the religion. Exploiting these circumstances, the missionaries in the British era and various religious organizations in the post independent era attacked the cultural identity of the tribal people in many ways

e.g. conversion into *Christiatianity* and *Hinduism*, suppression of their local languages (Gondi)¹³.

II.8 Areas of Isolation after Independence

The princely states and chiefdoms were incorporated in major states like Hyderabad, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Bihar as shown in the Map No.I.10. This particularly shattered the original nature of the region. Moreover, carving out of the states



Map No.II.10

of Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand, and demand of the separate states of *Vidarbha* and *Telangana* in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh, respectively can be seen as an expression of the process of historical regionalism of the cul-de-sacs in the present time.

¹³. Garg, Ruchir, (2008), "Roots And Causes: The Case Of Dandakaranya", in P.V.Raman, (ed.), "The Naxal Challenge: Causes, Linkages, And Policy Options", New Delhi, Dorling Kindersley (India) Pvt. Ltd, p.36.

II.9 Political Economy of Areas of Isolation

The Areas of isolation of central India are rich in the various natural resources. Highly diverse flora and fauna and various type of mineral resources are found in abundance here. High concentration of tribes is another characteristic of the region. Owing to its socio-ecological background, primary activities like hunting gathering, primitive form of agriculture practices like shifting cultivation and backward subsistence farming dominate here. "Shifting cultivation is called 'Bewar' or 'Daheja' in Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh, 'Podu' or 'Penda' in Andhra Pradesh, 'Pama Dabi' or 'Koman' or 'Bringa' in Orissa; 'Kumari' in Western Ghats, 'Valra' or 'Waltra' in Rajasthan and 'Kuruwa' in Jharkhand". Discovery of the importance of natural resources attracted the outsiders to the region in large number. British were the first to come to this region in search for raw materials, mineral resources, and timber, and also for spreading Christianity.

The Concept of mode of production complemented with the concept of Resource Use as propounded by Madhav Gadgil and Ramchandra Guha can be proved as a very useful framework in developing a comprehensive understanding of the political economy of the areas of isolation. The mode of production analysis begins with the economic infrastructure –the so-called relations of production and productive forces –without investigating the ecological context, i.e. the soil, water, animal, mineral and vegetative bases of society in which the infrastructure is embedded¹⁵. The concept of Modes of Resource Use extends the realm of production to include flora, fauna, water and minerals. It investigates the forms of property, management and control, and of allocation and distribution, which govern the utilization of natural resources in different societies over different historical periods¹⁶. Identification of the ecological impact of various modes, and assessing the consequences of these different modes for the pattern, distribution and availability of natural resources are the other advantages of the Mode of Resource Use concept.

¹⁶ . Ibid. p.13

¹⁴ .Daschoudhuri, R.K. (1999): Manpower Power And Economic Development In Arunachal Pradesh, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department Of Geography, NEHU, Shilong. p.108.

¹⁵ .Gadgil, Madhav and Guha, Ramchandra (2002), "This Fissured Land: An Ecological History of India", New Delhi, Oxford University Press, P.12.

In this section an attempt has been made to examine the ecological as well as social, economic and political impact of various modes under the various rules through the different periods with special reference to the areas of isolation of central India. The questions like, whether the encroachment in the cul de sacs can be treated as one of the root cause of present day uprising in the form of naxalite movement, or whether the over exploitation of natural resources and superimposition of alien culture over the original tribal culture resulted in the discontent in the region. The next section tried to probe into these vital issues.

II.10 Conquest and Control of Areas of Isolation

The ruling dynasty of the pre-colonial India had almost followed the non-interventionist approach towards the areas of isolation. It permitted them to rule without any major upheavals from these areas. Even the Mughal, were unable or even unwilling to radically alter the existing pattern of resource use and the social structures in which they are embedded¹⁷.

A drastic change experienced in social, economic, political as well as ecological scenario with the advent of British. They brought industrial mode of resource use with them. It enormously enlarged the possibilities of transforming resources from one form to another, and of transporting them over large distances. With these technological advances, a great range of objects became commodities. The object whose demand grew indefinitely, almost limitlessly was certainly wood. Over a period of time, the communal ownership of environmental commons were questioned and converted into the private and state property.

In a nutshell, the following characteristics of the industrial mode of resource use are central to a proper understanding of the ecological encounter between India and colonial power¹⁸:

- elevation of commercial over subsistence uses.
- the delegitimization of the community
- the abandoning of restraints on resource exploitation

¹⁷. Manusci N(1965): "Storio Do Mongor Or Mogul India", Calcutta, editions Indian.

^{18 .}Ibid, Gadgil, and Guha, p.113.

Various forests acts were formulated to assert it. It facilitated the acquisition of those forest areas that were earmarked for railway supplies. The colonial state started to assert control over woodland, earlier controlled by the local communities, and proceeded to work these forests for commercial timber production. All these steps led to:

- an intervention in the day to day life of Indian villagers which, was unprecedented in its scope
- the colonial state radically redefined property rights, imposing on the forest a system of management and control whose priorities sharply conflicted with earlier system of local use and control.

The species like Teak, Pine and Deodar promoted by colonial foresters in different ecological zones were invariably of very little use to rural population, the species replaced (e.g. Oak, Termenalia) were intensively used for fuel, fodder, leaf manure and small timber by the local communities.

In the process, the colonial forestry marked an ecological, economic and political watershed in Indian forest history. The consequences of it were far from imagination. In brief, many hunters and gatherers and their rituals declined towards extinction e.g. *Chenchu* of then Hyderabad state, *Birhor* of Chhotanagpur, *Hill Reddies* of then Hyderabad state, *Bison Marias* of Baster¹⁹.

The Shifting or the Jhum cultivation was the characteristics form of agriculture over large parts of India, especially in hilly and forested tracts. The communities whose main occupation was shifting cultivation e.g. Baiga of central India, Saora tribes of Ganjam, Koya and Konda of Gudem and Rampa Hill tracts of Andhra Pradesh were subjected to direct influence of the new laws.

UN Dhebar Committee also pointed out the suppression of tribal rights in the forest. As a consequence of the forests laws introduced by the British, and continued by the governments of independent India, "the tribal who formerly regarded himself as the lord of the forest, was through a deliberate process turned into a subject and placed under

¹⁹Ibid. Gadgil, Madhav and Guha Ramchandra, p.148.

the forests department". The committee further commented that there is a feeling amongst the tribes that all the arguments in favour of preservation and development of forests are intended to refuse them with their demands. They argue that when it is a question of industry, township, development work or projects of rehabilitation, all these plausible arguments are forgotten and vast tracts are placed at the disposal of outsiders who mercilessly destroy the forest wealth with or without necessity. ²⁰

II.11 Displacement and Forced Eviction

Displacement is a common phenomenon in the central tribal belt of India. It takes place on account of developmental projects such as large irrigation projects, industrial and mining projects, power plants, declaration of sanctuaries and national parks, setting up of field firing and testing ranges and a myriad other activities of the state itself.

While, the study area is rich in the forests, mineral, water resources, the displacement threatens the very existence of the tribal people. An official data is not available of persons displaced by the various developmental projects. However, some unofficial studies have given some estimates of persons affected due to displacement. *Dr. Walter Fernandes* estimated the figure at around 60 million for the period from 1947-2004, involving 25 million hectares, which includes 7 million hectares, of forests and 6 million hectares, of other common property resources (CPR). ²¹ The tribals constitute 40 per cent of the total displaced or affected persons by the projects, while they are only 8.08 per cent of the countries population. ²²

The displacement in many places resulted in protests. The protests in Kalinganagar and Kashinagar people's movement against Utkal Alumina in Rayagada districts of Orissa can be treated as few examples of these types of protests. It also created a new class division in society. The displacement on the one side created a new group of homeless and jobless people, at the same time provided employment to another group of hitherto jobless or unemployed people.

Affected Areas, Government of India, New Delhi, p.15.

²⁰. Guha Ramchandra (2007), "Adivasis, Naxalites and Indian Democracy", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.XLII, No.32, August11, p.3307.

²¹ Fernandes W. (2008), "The Human Cost Of Development-Induced Displacement", in *India Social Development Report*, Council Of Social Development, New Delhi, Oxford University Press ²² Report of an Expert Group to Planning Commission (2008): Development Challenges in Extremist

Therefore, the displacement has aggravated the existing problem of the tribal people in the study area. Recognizing the seriousness of the problem the government of India formulated The *National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy*, 2007, which is a significant departure from the earlier policies in this direction. The main features of the policy are as follows:

- It aims at minimizing large scale displacement as far as possible, by stipulating the acquiring of the minimum possible areas of land and that too of wasteland, degraded land or un-irrigated land.
- Where large numbers of families are affected (400 in plain areas or 200 in tribal/hilly area, DDP blocks or area mentioned in scheduled V or VI) social impact assessment (SIA) has been made mandatory.
- Where ST people are displaced in sizeable numbers, a well thought out tribal development plan must be put in place.
- Preference would be given to the allotment of land for land in command areas and Fishing Rights in water bodies.

II.12 Uprising Against the New System

Colonial conquest and control of forests led to a furious reaction by the forest dwellers and related community. It not only threatened the livelihood of this community but also exerted restrictions on their rituals and other practices. Discontent started to build up among the tribes. It found expression in the form of some small as well as few large scale protests against the forest administration.

Kol and Bhumj revolts of early 19th century, the Santhal 'Hool' of 1855, the Birsa Munda-led 'Ulugulan' in the 1890s, the uprising in Baster in 1911, the protests in Gudem-Rampa in the 1920s, and the Warli revolt of 1945-46.most often, these protests had to do with the alienation of land or the expropriation of forests. They were quelled only with the use of force, often very substantial force. ²³

The cumulative impact of market forces and the state intervention forced the abandonment of the *Jhum* in favour of the plough or wage labour. State intervention and

²³. Ibid, Guha Ramchandra, p.3307.

later through rise in population led to sharp decline in the *Jhum* cycle. The same things happened in other socio-cultural practices in the region.

Hamza Alavi²⁴, Kathleen Gough²⁵, H.P. Sharma, Madhav Gadgil, Ramchandra Guha and various other scholars surveyed the peasants' protests of British India and came up with some interesting arguments. There were characteristics regularities in the forms of these protests. They were notably against the attempt of forest department to abrogate traditional rights over the forests. In essence, state monopoly and its commercial exploitation of the forest ran contrary to the subsistence ethics of peasants.

II.13 Forest Administration in Post Independent India

No significant changes were observed between the management under colonial power and post colonial forestry regimes at least in term of the system of ownership. The state forest department has managed to uphold its monopoly over forest ownership and management.

National forest policy (1952), uphold the fundamental concepts of its predecessor, the forest policy of (1894), which reinforced the right of the department to exclusive control over the forest production and management. With the integration of the princely states into the Indian union, the forest department in fact considerably enlarged its domain in the early years of independence.

The one major significant shift in the 1947 situation has been the rapid expansion of forest based industry. *Madhav Gadgil and R.Guha* argued that the demand of the commercial- industrial sector have replaced the strategic imperial needs as the cornerstones of forest policy²⁶. However, the control and management of forest resources have graduated from one stage to another which have strengthen the hold of the state over the forests.

Four stages of the industrial forestry have been identified in the post independent India as shown in the Table NoII.01.

²⁴ .Hamza Alavi, (1973), "Peasants And Revolution", in Kathleen Gough and hari p. Sharma (ed.) "Imperialism And Revolution In South Asia", New York, Monthly Review Press.

^{25 .}Gough, Kathleen, (1976), "Indian Peasant Uprising", Bulletin Of Concerned Asian Scholars, Vol. VIII, No.3, (Jul.-sep.), pp.2-18

²⁶ Gadgil, Madhav and Guha, Ramchandra: op. cit. p. 185-186.

Table: II. 1. Four Stages of Industrial Forestry

Periods	Method	Species	Agency	Prime Beneficiary
1947	Selective felling	Indigenous commercial species	Forest department	Industry
1960-75	Clear felling and monoculture	Chiefly exotics	Forest department	Industry
1975	Farm forestry	Chiefly exotics	Commercial farmers	Commercial farmers and industry
1985	Import and captive plantation	Exotics	Joint sector	Industry, importers

Source: Gadgil, Madhav and Guha, Ramchandra (2002), "This Fissured Land: An Ecological History of India", New Delhi, Oxford University Press, P.193

It is clearly shown in the Table that with the changing nature of industrial forestry; the original owners of the forest could not find any place at any stage and level. In fact, they were the most disadvantaged section in the whole process. They were left homeless in their own home land and forced to leave their traditional occupation and genre-de-vie.

It was the second time; they were colonized by the higher culture. But it has proved more disastrous than the former one. Their fate is at stake. In case of their first displacement from the perennial nuclear region, at least they had the shelter to hide themselves in the most disadvantageous regions. The main sources of food have been taken away by stopping their hunting or by introducing new taboos²⁷. Some how, they managed to adopt the new geo-ecological settings and started to develop entirely new genre-de-vie. But at the second colonization, now the only one option left before them to fight to claim their rights. The ongoing naxalite movement in the region may be seen as an extended and deformed form of its predecessor small scale peasant protests.

Growing concern over the environment in the nineties and beginning of the new millennium forced forest management agencies to take steps for the protection of the forests. It led to a paradigm shift in the approach of the agencies. Now, they are thinking to pay the forest dwellers for the environmental services, which they (forest dwellers) render in the protection of the forest ecology. This new concept would be certainly in the interest of both the stake holders.

²⁷ .Report of The Committee(Headed By Varrier Elwin) On Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks, Delhi, Manager of Publication, 1960, pp.20, 192, etc.

Realizing the fact, the government in recent times has taken few steps, which should have taken earlier. Parliament of India passed a bill in December, 2006 entitled "Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005. Through the bill the rights have given only to those families that have been:

- living in forests since last 75 years, or
- living in the forest since last three generations

Now, according to the provision of the bill they would have right to use and sell the forests products and also the right over forest land to them. Government has already started to formulate law for the smooth transfer of the rights. It would prove a milestone in solving the persistent problem of forests dwellers provided it is implemented properly.

To conclude the above discussion, it can be said that the study of the Naxalite affected region in its historical perspective provides certain valuable insights to understand the spatial coordinates of naxal affected region.

- Naxalite affected region almost corresponds with the areas of isolation as defined by B. Subbarao, which was a refugee zone.
- This region shows the high concentration of scheduled tribe (STs) population.
- The forest cover is high in this region.
- While, Mahajanapadas and subsequently, the larger states emerged in the Indo-Gangetic plain, whereas the areas of isolation inhabited the scores of semi-feudal states and chiefdoms.
- Large parts of Areas of isolation or contemporary Naxalite affected region remained unsubjugated till the arrival of British because of its geo-ecological uniqueness.
- The region has been labeled as the great central Indian forests dotted with few diamond mining centers and lack of transports routes.
- The semi-feudal states and chiefdoms were incorporated in various states through the state reorganizations, first under the British rule and later under the Indian Republic. But the original nature of the region has persisted till now, which reflects in the demand of separate states of *Vidarbha* and *Telangana*, creation of the states of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh and backwardness of the southern Orissa, southwestern West Bengal and south-eastern Uttar Pradesh.

Realization of the economic importance of the resource of the region, various attempts were made to exploit these resources. British were first to enter the region for timber. Now, the displacement due to the various developmental works is a common phenomenon in this region. The consequences of the whole process can be summarized as follows:

- The gener-de-vie of the tribals has been seriously threatened due to encroachment of the outsiders in the region. Their various economic practices and rituals have been restricted. Many tribes reached to their extinction stage. It resulted in various small scale and few large scale protests and rebellion under the tribal leaders. All these formed one of the major factors for breading of Naxalite movement in the region.
- Forest administration in the name of ecological conservation has also put many restrictions upon the people of the region.
- Developmental projects and efforts of the ecological conservations led to the diminishing of the Common Property Resources (CPR) which is vital for various needs of the poor people of the region.
- The formulations and implementations of the "Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005 and the National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy, 2007 show the significant departure from the earlier policies of the government. These two policies would prove milestone in solving the persistent problems of the people especially the tribals of the region.

CHAPTER-III

LEVELS OF DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL-EAST INDIA

"The goals of geography are changing. The new men see the objective of geography as the same as that for medicine- to postpone death and reduce suffering".

-R.E. Kasperson¹

Geography has experienced a perceptible change in the themes of research from the earlier emphasis on the location of industries, supermarkets and highways to maximize profit, to poverty and growing inter-regional and inter-personal disparities. In the opinion of some critiques, geography was experiencing yet another revolution, which was described by D.M.Smith as "Radical Revolution". It represented a natural reaction on the part of professional geographers to intellectual, social, and political climate of the time. Indeed, no discipline can exist in complete isolation, from contemporary sociopolitical cross-current. In due course of time, The Relevance movement bifurcated in two streams, namely the liberal stream and the radical (Marxist) stream.

Liberalism connotes a combination of belief in democratic capitalism, alongside a strong commitment to execute action with a view to minimizing social and territorial inequalities in levels of human well being. It represents commitment to ensure a certain minimum standard of living through state intervention to the less privileged sections of society. Welfare geography tries to address the question of redistribution in a spatial context, and is inevitably concerned with issues of inequity and social justice in the distribution of public goods and bads. Its primary focus is on "who gets what, where and how". The requirement of social indicators felt to delineate the territorial and social inequality. Factors such as income, employment, housing, health, education, law and order, poverty and certain demographic variables may be taken into considerations. Studies may also focus on individual aspects of social well being, such as inequality in access to health-care facilities or education or inequality in the distribution of household and housing amnesties.

On the other hand, radical Marxist focuses on to induce geographer to take expeditions to the poorest and the most depressed areas with a view to obtaining unbiased

¹ .Kasperson, R.E. (1971), "The Post Behavioural Revolution In Geography", British Columbia Geographical Series, No.12, pp. 5-20.

² .Smith, D.M. (1971). America! America? Views On a Pot Melting -2, Radical Geography- The Next Revolution, *Area*. Vol.3, pp.153-157.

firsthand information about them. It was believed that by becoming a person of the region in question, the geographer, by virtue of the experience gained, shall be able to appreciate better the kind of inputs to improve the lot of the local residents. Such a participatory fieldwork prepares the geographer to take planning with the people rather than planning for the people.

In the latter half of 1980s, the welfare and radical Marxist perspective had converged to produce more useful research outcomes. Thus, the post-modernist geography of 1990s stands out as a unified discipline, which combines the best of every tradition. Now there is a consensus among geographer that all the traditions are different but complementary to each other, which equips researcher with better tools of research in the service of society.

Knox (1975)³ divided the concept of welfare (levels of living) into three set of variables to facilitate measurement and mapping. These include physical needs (nutrition, health and shelter), cultural needs (education, leisure, recreation, and security), and higher needs (that could be purchased with surplus income). In this perspective the major task of geographer as a social scientist is to chart out inequities in society in spatial context with a view to inform the decision–makers, and thereby facilitating more meaningful policy formulation. Moreover, combined with it is a related task of educating and informing the public i.e. to create public awareness. The present study has been done in the same perspective.

There are diverse views on the naxalite movement. The sociologist like M.S.A. Rao⁴ termed it as a social movement. While the Subalterns⁵ see it as a response to the inequities that are embedded in the existing social structure, modes of production (feudal and capital) and the problem of the continuation of the unjust social order. Naxalite groups started this movement to alter the exiting social structure completely through capturing the state power. On the other hand, government treats it as one of the major internal security challenge as reflected in the various statements of Prime Minister of India. As a student of geography without going deep into these controversies, a holistic

³ .Knox, P.L. (1975), "Social Well Being: A Spatial Perspective", Oxford, Oxford University Press.

⁴. Roa, M.S.A, ed., (2006), "Social Movements In India", New Delhi, Manohar Publishers.

⁵ .Guha, R., ed.,(1982), "Subaltern Studies I: Writing On South Asian History And Society", Delhi, Oxford University Press.(The Whole Series)

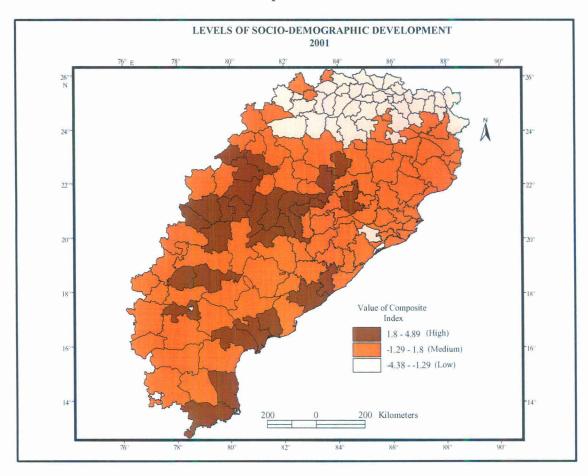
approach has been adopted to study the naxalite phenomena in its spatial perspective putting its various pros and cons together.

Here, an attempt has been made to chart out inequities in the society and subsequently to explain the Naxalite Movement in its spatial and social perspective. One should note that the causes of the complex phenomena like Naxalite Movement are varied depending on characteristics of a region, social, economic and cultural background etc. It is not only confined to the difficult and forested areas but also covers large contiguous tracts in the plains. Therefore, the causes are complex. Hence for a holistic understanding of the phenomena, selection of suitable indicators is very crucial. However, it is not easy to evolve suitable indicators to catch all the pros and cons of Naxalite problem. In the present study, an attempt has been made to capture the nuances of the phenomena by evolving various indicators of development:

III.1. Levels of Socio- Demographic Development

Indicators like percentage urban population to the total population, Work Participation Rate, Sex Ratio, and Literacy Rate (rural) have been selected under the socio-demographic indicator. Map No.III.1 shows the composite index of the socio-demographic indicators. Most of the districts of Bihar, Jharkhand and Uttar Pradesh show the low level of socio-demographic indicators. Out of such districts many of them are Naxalite affected. On the other hand, the district of Andhra Pradesh and Chhattisgarh indicate high level of composite index value. In this category many districts are also Naxalite affected. But, one can point out that there is an obvious north south divide

Map No.III.1



revealed in the spatial pattern. Therefore, in the northern districts the demographic indicators are significant. These districts show the low level of rural literacy, sex ratio, work participation rate and urbanization. Therefore, the socio-demographic indicators may explain the naxal problem in the districts of the states like Jharkhand, Bihar, and U.P. The indicator is significant up to certain extent in the state of Orissa and Chhattisgarh, but it does not show statistically significant relation in the districts of Andhra Pradesh.

Table No. III. 1
Levels of Socio-Demographic Development

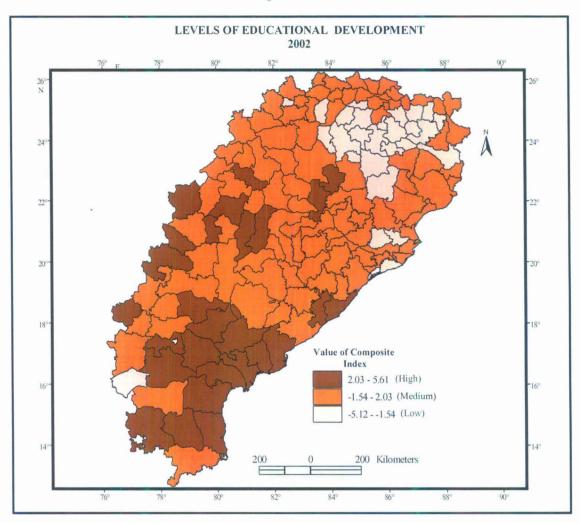
CATEGORY	DISTRICTS
нісн	Dindori, Karimnagar, Visakhapatnam, Jabalpur, Mandla, Nizamabad, Rangareddi, Vizianagaram, Nellore, Sambalpur, Wardha, Chittoor, Jashpur, Raipur, Chandrapur, Raigarh, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Mahasamund, Bhandara, Kanker, Balaghat, Gondiya, Durg, Dhamtari, Nagpur, Rajnandgaon.
MEDIUM	Dumka, Jajapur, Dhanbad, Birbhum, Hazaribagh, Malkangiri, Nabarangapur, Baleshwar, Dhenkanal, Varanasi, Puruliya, Jaunpur, Kodarma, Koraput, Satna, Lohardaga, Bidar, Nuapada, Umaria, Bhadrak, Pashchimi Singhbum, Dantewada, Mayurbhanj, Anugul, Mahbubnagar, Bankura, Mau, Kalahandi, Balangir, Rewa, Gulbarga, Jagatsinghapur, Kendujhar, Katni, Puri, Sonapur, Ranchi,Rayagada, Baudh, Surguja, Medak, Raichur, Gumla, Medinipur, Shahdol, Khordha, Barddhaman, Bargarh, Cuttack, Debagarh, Kendrapara, Nalgonda, Kandhamal, Latur, Nanded, Chhindwara, Purbi Singhbhum, Bastar, Sundargarh, Ganjam, Warangal, Kurnool, Gadchiroli, Khammam, Adilabad, Bilaspur, Anantapur, Prakasam, Kawardha, Korba,Gajapati, Yavatmal, Jharsuguda, Haora, Srikakulam, Koriya, Janjgir – Champa, Hugli, Cuddapah, Seoni, East Godavari.
LOW	Begusarai, Samastipur, Vaishali. Buxar, Bhagalpur, Banka, Kaimur (Bhabua), Garhwa, Munger, Sonbhadra, Bhojpur, Godda, Mirzapur, Bhadohi, Palamu, Deoghar, Jamui, Pakaur, Saran. Rohtas, Sahibganj, Lakhisarai, Sheikhpura, Chatra, Chandauli, Allahabad, Nawada, Aurangabad, Giridih, Ballia, Patna, Nalanda, Gaya, Jehanabad, Bokaro, Maldah, Murshidabad, Sidhi, Nayagarh, Ghazipur

Note: The highlighted districts denote the Naxalite Affected Districts

III.2 Levels of Educational Development

The indicators selected for showing the levels of educational development shows low value of composite index in the districts of Jharkhand and Bihar and most of the district of the category are naxal affected. All most districts of Orissa and Chhattisgarh show the medium level of composite index. While the naxal affected districts of Andhra Pradesh show the high level of educational development. It is also true in case of districts of Rajnandagaon (Chhattisgarh), Dindori (M.P.), Bhandara (Maharashtra).

Map No.III.2



Therefore, one can point out that in these districts the naxal problem does not reveal statistically significant relationships. However, it is very much statistically significant in case of Bihar and Jharkhand.

Table No. III.2
Levels of Educational Development

CATEGORY	DISTRICTS
нісн	Rajnandgaon, Rangareddi, Jashpur, Durg, Dindori, Karimnagar, Vizianagaram, Anantapur, Prakasam, Cuddapah, Guntur, Krishna, Bhandara, East Godavari, West Godavari, Khammam, Latur, Raigarh, Srikakulam, Balaghat, Warangal, Nalgonda, Mahbubnagar, Chhindwara, Yavatmal, Wardha, Nellore.
MEDIUM	Patna, Sahibganj, Nayagarh, Malkangiri, Korba, Gumla, Ghazipur, Bhagalpur, Sheikhpura, Rayagada, Bastar, Sonapur, Dantewada, Nuapada, Rohtas, Kalahandi, Lakhisarai, Sambalpur, Hugli, Samastipur, Nawada, Bidar, Chandauli, Murshidabad, Ballia, Debagarh, Khordha, Puruliya, Baleshwar, Koriya, Purbi Singhbhum, Mandla, Balangir, hadrak, Bargarh, Haora, Jagatsinghapur, Munger, Mau, Sonbhadra, Bankura, Varanasi, Visakhapatnam, Mirzapur, Ganjam, Jaunpur, Vaishali, Saran, Jharsuguda, Birbhum, Mayurbhanj, Nalanda, Gulbarga, Nizamabad, Maldah, Allahabad, Surguja, Nabarangapur, Buxar, Bhojpur, Katni, Kendrapara, Medinipur, Seoni, Koraput, Bilaspur, Kandhamal, Sundargarh, Nanded, Cuttack, Anugul, Begusarai, Nagpur, Mahasamund, Gajapati, Gadchiroli, Adilabad, Satna, Baudh, Kawardha, Kanker, Rewa, Janjgir – Champa, Shahdol, Chandrapur, Chittoor, Raipur, Sidhi, Medak, Umaria, Gondiya, Jabalpur, Kendujhar, Kurnool, Dhamtari.
LOW	Deoghar, Garhwa, Bokaro, Pakaur, Giridih, Chatra, Jajapur, Kodarma, Dumka. Banka. Jamui, Palamu, Gaya, Pashchimi-Singhbum, Aurangabad, Raichur, Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Dhanbad, Lohardaga, Jehanabad, Barddhaman, Puri. Godda, Kaimur (Bhabua), Bhadohi, Dhenkanal.

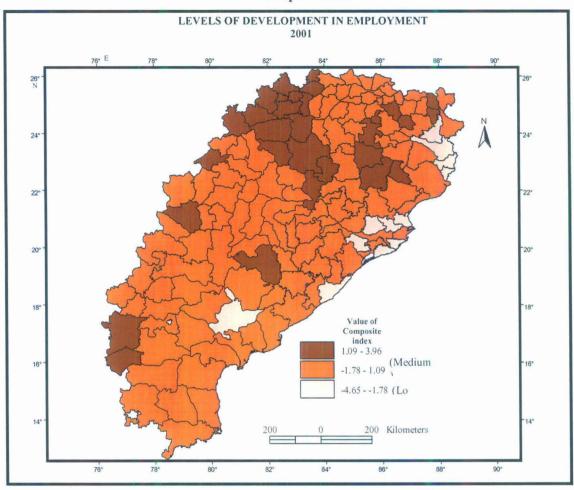
Note: The highlighted districts denote the Naxalite Affected Districts

III.3 Levels of Development in Employment

It includes the indicators like percentage employed population to the total working population who are able to work, percentage marginal workers not seeking available to work, and percentage workers other than primary sector.

As far as the distributional pattern of employment status is concerned, there is no clear cut pattern observed. The districts like *Khammam* and *Srikakulam* of Andhra Pradesh, *Barddhaman*, *Haora*, *Hugli*, *Birbhum* of West Bengal and *Jajpur*, *Puri Nayagarh*. *Dhenkanal*, *Bhadrak* of Orissa show the low level of employment status. The observed pattern shows that the naxal affected districts fall under the category of either high or medium level of employment.

Map No.III.3



Therefore, one can infer that the selected employment indicators are less significant in explaining the naxal problem. All most all naxal affected districts fall under the medium employment status.

Table No. III. 3
Levels of Development in Employment

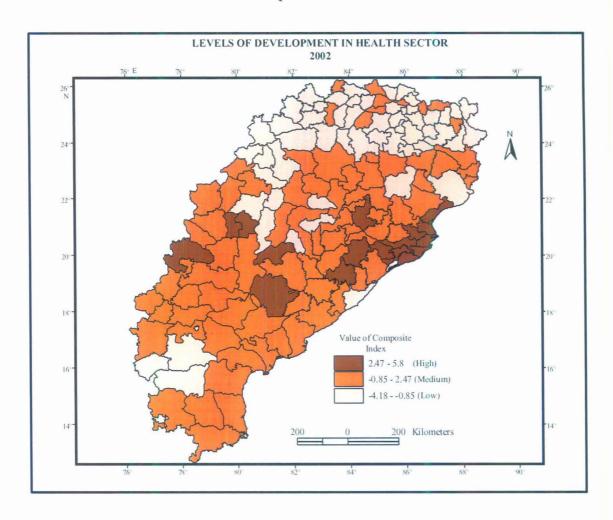
CATEGORY	DISTRICT
нібн	Allahabad, Jabalpur, Ranchi, Raichur, Hazaribagh, Chandauli, Nagpur, Bastar, Satna, Surguja, Gulbarga, Raigarh, Sidhi, Sonbhadra, Pashchimi- Singhbum, Purbi- Singhbhum, Ghazipur, Rewa, Koriya, Jashpur, Jamui, Jaunpur, Sahibganj, Mirzapur, Kodarma, Pakaur, Deoghar, Mau, Bhadohi, Varanasi.
MEDIUM	Mahbubnagar, Nuapada, Gadchiroli, Visakhapatnam, Debagarh, Baleshwar, Puruliya, Warangal, Adilabad, Kendujhar, West- Godavari, Khordha, Malkangiri, Mandla, Vizianagaram, East- Godavari, Bankura, Medak, Medinipur, Nabarangapur, Dindori, Nalgonda, Murshidabad, Kendrapara, Prakasam, Guntur, Maldah, Sonapur, Kurnool, Bokaro, Dhanbad, Umaria, Anugul, Kawardha, Chandrapur, Rajnandgaon, Balangir, Dhamtari, Baudh, Bhandara, Koraput, Yavatmal, Munger, Bargarh, Chittoor, Mayurbhanj, Rangareddi. Cuddapah, Chatra, Anantapur, Gajapati, Karimnagar, Jharsuguda, Nizamabad, Seoni. Cuttack, Kalahandi, Vaishali, Shahdol, Palamu, Nellore, Rayagada, Sambalpur, Krishna, Ganjam, Wardha, Bilaspur, Saran, Bhojpur, Buxar, Nanded, Kandhamal, Godda, Gondiya, Mahasamund, Rohtas, Durg, Begusarai, Lakhisarai, Kanker, Balaghat, Lohardaga, Samastipur, Bidar, Bhagalpur, Kaimur (Bhabua), Chhindwara, Gaya, Garhwa, Giridih, Janjgir – Champa, Raipur, Aurangabad, Dumka, Korba, Patna, Nawada,
LOW	Barddhaman, Haora, Jajapur, Puri, Nayagarh, Hugli, Dhenkanal, Birbhum, Khammam , Srikakulam, Jagatsinghapur, Bhadrak.

Note: The highlighted districts denote the Naxalite Affected Districts

III.4 Levels of Development in Health Sector

The indicators selected for measuring the level of development in Health sector include primary health centre per *lakh* population, mean age at marriage for girls, percentage women getting antenatal checkup, percentage institutional delivery and percentage children age 12-36 months received full immunization. Districts of Jharkhand, Bihar and Chhattisgarh show the low level of health status and many of these are Naxalite affected districts. Mahbubnagar, Kurnul and Srikakulam of Andhra Pradesh fall under the category of low level. Other districts of Andhra Pradesh are also not in the better conditions. Very less number of districts fall under the high level of health status. Surprisingly, the heart of naxal activities i.e. the districts of Dantewada and Kanker show the high level of health status.

Map No.III.4



Therefore, one can infer that the health indicator is significant in explaining the naxal activities in the districts of the states of Jharkhand, Bihar and Chhattisgarh.

Table No. III. 4 Levels of Development in Health Sector

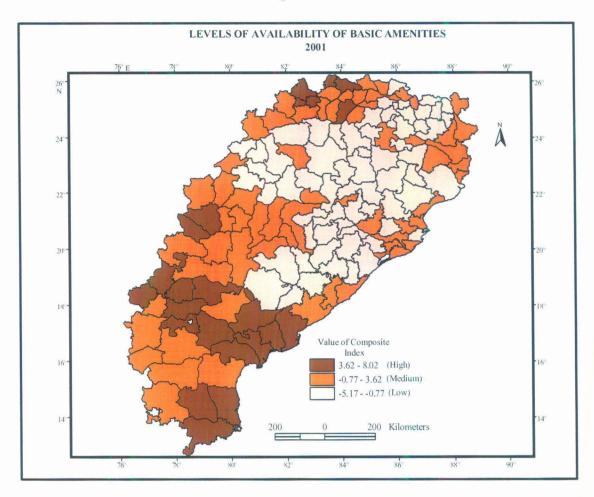
CATEGORY	DISTRICT
HIGH	Yavatmal, Jajapur, Kanker, Rayagada, Gondiya, Bhandara, Nayagarh, Sambalpur, Cuttack,
	Baleshwar, Kendrapara, Bhadrak, Khordha, Kandhamal, Puri, Jagatsinghapur, Dantewada.
	Seoni, Koriya, Surguja, Chandauli, Gulbarga, Purbi Singhbhum, Raipur, Durg, Koraput,
	Jabalpur, Nuapada, Ranchi, Saran, Pakaur, Jehanabad, Rangareddi, Bilaspur, West Godavari,
	Bhagalpur, Nanded, Mandla, Aurangabad, Korba, Patna, Barddhaman, Mau, Anantapur,
	Munger, Haora, Guntur, Nellore, Visakhapatnam, Latur, Gadchiroli, Nalgonda, Bidar, Chittoor,
MEDIUM	Prakasam, Medak, Baudh, Vizianagaram, Warangal, Kendujhar, Gajapati, Raigarh, Sonapur,
	Ganjam, Gumla, Kalahandi, Krishna, Balangir, Adilabad, Debagarh, Puruliya, Mayurbhanj,
	Nagpur, Nizamabad, Anugul, Bankura, Chandrapur, Nabarangapur, East- Godavari, Hugli,
	Bastar, Karimnagar, Chhindwara, Jashpur, Khammam, Lohardaga, Cuddapah, Malkangiri,
	Wardha, Sundargarh, Bargarh, Dhenkanal, Jharsuguda.
	Sidhi, Maldah, Godda, Deoghar, Sonbhadra, Mirzapur, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, Umaria, Dumka,
	Bokaro, Jamui, Samastipur, Vaishali, Chatra, Satna, Giridih, Rewa, Janjgir - Champa, Gaya,
	Katni, Murshidabad, Shahdol, Nawada, Mahasamund, Begusarai, Palamu, Pashchimi-
LOW	Singhbum, Kawardha, Lakhisarai, Buxar, Banka, Ballia, Garhwa, Mahbubnagar, Birbhum,
	Sheikhpura, Bhadohi, Nalanda, Varanasi, Medinipur, Kaimur (Bhabua), Hazaribagh,
	Raichur, Sahibganj, Dhanbad, Rajnandgaon, Allahabad, Bhojpur, Kurnool, Balaghat,
	Srikakulam, Rohtas, Dhamtari. Dindori, Kodarma.

Note: The highlighted districts denote the Naxalite Affected Districts

III.5. Levels of Availability of Basic Amenities

The map showing spatial distribution of basic amenities represents an interesting pattern. The districts in the states of Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa and Chhattisgarh fall under the category of low level of availability of basic amenities and these states form the heart of Naxalite activities.

Map No.III.5



There are Non-Naxalite affected districts, which are in this category. They may be seen as vulnerable to Naxalite activities. On the other hand, in the high level category with few districts of U.P. and Bihar all most all other districts belong to Andhra Pradesh. Out of these districts five are naxal affected but the naxal activities show a declining trend. Therefore, one can infer that the availability of the household amenities is very crucial in the strategy needed to contain naxalism.

Table No. III. 5
Levels of Availability of Basic Amenities

CATEGORY	DISTRICT
нісн	Rohtas, Nellore, East Godavari, Nalgonda, Cuddapah, Khammam, Nanded, Jaunpur, Bhadohi, Chittoor, Medak, Varanasi, Guntur, Ballia, Mau, Latur, Rangareddi, Krishna, Karimnagar, Nagpur, Nizamabad, West- Godavari, Wardha.
MEDIUM	Janjgir - Champa, Murshidabad, Puri, Koriya, Munger, Vaishali, Bhadrak, Balaghat, Kanker, Hazaribagh, Jharsuguda, Jajapur, Maldah, Rajnandgaon, Seoni, Dhamtari, Jehanabad, Kaimur (Bhabua), Vizianagaram, Haora, Bankura, Srikakulam, Jagatsinghapur, Birbhum, Jabalpur, Begusarai, Baleshwar, Patna, Durg, Gadchiroli, Cuttack, Gulbarga, Rewa, Aurangabad, Raichur, Raipur, Visakhapatnam, Anugul, Mirzapur, Satna, Mahbubnagar, Khordha, Chandauli, Saran, Gondiya, Allahabad, Dhanbad, Barddhaman, Buxar, Chhindwara, Adilabad, Ghazipur, Bhojpur, Yavatmal, Kurnool, Hugli, Bidar, Chandrapur, Bhandara, Anantapur, Warangal, Prakasam
LOW	Pakaur, Balangir, Sahibganj, Malkangiri, Dantewada, Garhwa, Pashchimi Singhb, Lakhisarai, Godda, Nuapada, Lohardaga, Gumla, Jamui, Nabarangapur, Dindori, Dumka, Chatra, Kalahandi, Sonapur, Bastar, Debagarh, Gajapati, Jashpur, Deoghar, Giridih, Banka, Rayagada, Palamu, Ranchi, Bargarh, Koraput, Kandhamal, Purbi- Singhbhum, Nawada, Baudh, Sheikhpura, Sonbhadra, Surguja, Mandla, Mayurbhanj, Kendujhar, Sundargarh, Puruliya, Gaya, Korba, Mahasamund, Bokaro, Sidhi, Bilaspur, Ganjam, Samastipur, Bhagalpur, Nalanda, Nayagarh, Sambalpur, Raigarh, Shahdol, Kendrapara, Kawardha, Dhenkanal, Katni, Medinipur, Umaria, Kodarma

Note: The highlighted districts denote the Naxalite Affected Districts

III.6 Levels of Well-off

Since poverty is negatively related to the development. It has been reversed to make it positively related to the development. It includes indicators like percentage of household not going hungry and percentage population above poverty line (APL). Map No. III.6 represents the pattern of well-off in the selected region. The districts of *Rayagada*, *Baudh*, *Kalahandi*, *Sonapur*, *Mayurbhanj* of Orissa, *Bankura*, , *Maldah*, *Puruliya* of West Bengal, *Sahibganj*, *Palamu*, , *Dumka*, . *Bokaro*, *Pashchimi-Singhbum* of Jharkhand and *Balaghat* district of Madhya Pradesh are the poverty ridden districts. Except few districts, all form the core of naxal violence. Surprisingly, no district of Bihar falls under the category. The high prosperous category presents a mixed picture. All most all districts of Andhra Pradesh belong to the highly prosperous category. The districts of *Bastar*,

Dantewada, and Kanker, of Chhattisgarh and Malkangiri and Koraput which are core area of naxal activities are in the medium category of prosperity.

Map No.III.6

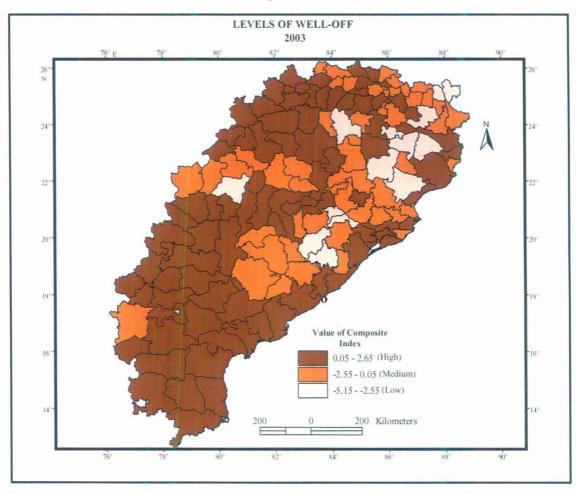


Table No.III.6

Levels of Well-Off

CATEGORY	DISTRICT
нідн	Dhamtari, Mahasamund, Nawada, Raipur, Ganjam, Bargarh, Raichur, Jaunpur, Saran, Bhandara, Gondiya, Nanded, Kendrapara, Shahdol, Umaria, Baleshwar, Wardha, Jamui, Rohtas, Mahbubnagar, Khammam, Kawardha, Rajnandgaon, Dhanbad, Vaishali, Ghazipur, Cuttack, Debagarh, Kaimur (Bhabua), Jashpur, Raigarh, Gaya, Durg, Medinipur, azaribagh, Deoghar, Chittoor, Chandrapur, Koriya, Surguja, Patna, Yavatmal, Mirzapur, Sidhi, Ranchi, Sonbhadra, Nagpur, East- Godavari, Latur, Barddhaman, Gadchiroli, Allahabad, Bidar, Bhadohi, Varanasi, Rewa, Jabalpur, Katni, Chandauli, Satna, Hugli, Aurangabad, Warangal, Puri, Khordha, Jehanabad, Anantapur, Visakhapatnam, Nayagarh, Kurnool, Vizianagaram, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Nellore, Cuddapah, Rangareddi, Prakasam, Krishna, Medak, Srikakulam, Nalgonda, Karimnagar, West Godavari, Guntur.
MEDIUM	Koraput, Purbi Singhbhum, Kodarma, Dhenkanal, Giridih, Nuapada, Nabarangapur, Bilaspur, Janjgir – Champa, Korba, Godda, Chatra, Kandhamal, Malkangiri, Lohardaga, Anugul, Garhwa, Kendujhar, Balangir, Banka, Samastipur, Gumla, Pakaur, Nalanda, Gajapati, Haora, Jharsuguda, Seoni, Dindori, Mandla, Birbhum, Mau, Murshidabad, Jajapur. Gulbarga, Begusarai, Chhindwara, Sambalpur, Sundargarh, Ballia, Bhagalpur, Bhojpur, Jagatsinghapur, Bastar, Dantewada, Kanker, Bhadrak, Lakhisarai, Munger, Sheikhpura, Buxar.
LOW	Rayagada, Baudh, Balaghat, Puruliya, Kalahandi, Bankura, Sahibganj, Palamu, Maldah, Sonapur, Dumka, Mayurbhanj, Bokaro, Pashchimi- Singhbum.

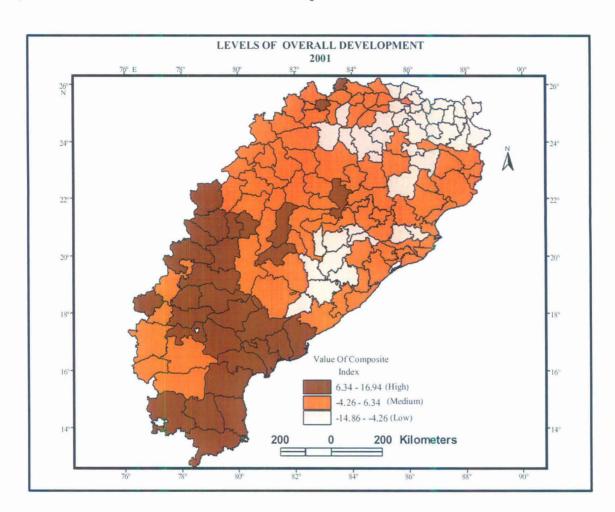
Note: The highlighted districts denote the Naxalite Affected Districts

III.7 Levels of Overall Development

A level of development has been derived from addition of the value of composite indices of Socio-Demographic, Educational, Employment, Health, Housing Amenities, and Prosperity Index. The resultant map depicts very interesting result. Districts of states like Jharkhand, Bihar, West Bengal, U.P., and Orissa show the low level of development. In Jharkhand the core districts (*Lohardaga, Palamu, Garhwa, and Giridih*) of Naxalite activities represent the low level of development. However, one of the worst naxal affected state i.e. Chhattisgarh falls under the medium level of development. On the other hand, districts of Andhra Pradesh show the high level of development. Therefore, one can infer that except in the case of Andhra Pradesh, the other naxal affected districts can be

explained in terms of levels of development. The three districts of Karnataka show the medium level of development.

Map No.III.7



These districts are the adjoining district of the Naxalite affected districts of Andhra Pradesh. Therefore, these districts can easily come under the influence of naxalite. Despite of showing high levels of development, the four districts of *Vidarbha* are Naxal affected.

Table No. III. 7
Levels of Overall Development

CATEGORY	DISTRICT
HIGH	Durg, Mau, Adilabad, Varanasi, Kanker, Raigarh, Khammam, Anantapur, Medak, Warangal, Chhindwara, Chandrapur, Prakasam, Chittoor, Nalgonda, East – Godavari, Gondiya, Yavatmal, Rangareddi, Latur, Bhandara, Cuddapah, Guntur, Nizamabad, Nellore, West –Godavari, Karimnagar, Krishna, Nagpur, Wardha.
MEDIUM	Mayurbhanj, Purbi Singhbhum, Ranchi, Haora, Buxar, Gumla, Bankura, Mirzapur, Sidhi, Hazaribagh, Dhanbad, Korba, Aurangabad, Umaria, Debagarh, Mandla, Barddhaman, Jehanabad, Nayagarh, Bhojpur, Bilaspur, Patna, Saran, Raichur, Medinipur, Dindori, Kendujhar, Ghazipur, Janjgir — Champa, Rohtas, Bargarh, Shahdol, Gajapati, Katni, Bastar, Kawardha, Surguja, Chandauli, Allahabad, Seoni, Mahasamund, Ballia, Bhadrak, Ganjam, Gulbarga, Dantewada, Anugul, Baleshwar, Balaghat, Mahbubnagar, Puri, Kandhamal, Satna, Koriya, Jaunpur, Rewa, Jharsuguda, Visakhapatnam, Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bhadohi, Gadchiroli, Jagatsinghapur, Kendrapara, Hugli, Bidar, Srikakulam, Dhamtari, Raipur, Rajnandgaon, Cuttack, Kurnool, Khordha, Jabalpur, Jashpur, Nanded, Vizianagaram.
LOW	Godda, Chatra, Garhwa, Palamu, Bokaro, Dumka, Giridih, Banka, Deoghar, Pakaur, Sahibganj, Jamui, Pashchimi Singhbum, Maldah, Samastipur, Nuapada, Lakhisarai, Gaya, Malkangiri, Sonbhadra, Nawada, Vaishali, Kalahandi, Sheikhpura, Sonapur, Puruliya, Murshidabad, Bhagalpur, Kodarma, Koraput, Rayagada, Jajapur, Dhenkanal, Kaimur (Bhabua), Nabarangapur, Birbhum, Lohardaga, Balangir, Begusarai, Nalanda, Baudh, Munger.

Note: The highlighted districts denote the Naxalite Affected Districts

To conclude the discussion it can be said that the ongoing developmental process constitute one of major factors which can explain the complex problem like naxal menace. In fact various factors in combination control most of the social phenomena in space. In the above discussion, it has been observed that the ongoing development processes are able to explain the Naxalite activities in some specific areas. Each and every *pays* (region) has its own *genres de vies* (ways of living or culture). Therefore, one significant factor of a particular region can become insignificant in another region. However, the sector wise performance of each development index and their relationship with area of Naxalite influence can be summarize as:

- The demographic indicator is very much significant in explaining the naxal activities in the states of Jharkhand, Bihar and U.P.
- The naxal problem in the states of Jharkhand can be explained in terms of educational indicator.

- The employment indicator is not as much significant as other selected indicator in the context.
- The health indicator is correlated with the Naxalite activities in the state of Jharkhand, Bihar, and to some extent in Chhattisgarh.
- Availability of housing amenities is significant indicator in explaining naxal activities especially in the states of Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa and Chhattisgarh.
- Poverty is one of the major causes of discontent in the states of Orissa, West Bengal, and Jharkhand.
- Finally, the overall level of development indicates a correlation between Naxalite activities and the level of development except in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

The composite index of levels of overall development reflects the end product of the interplay of various dimensions of development. Its utilization in planning has implications of considerable significance. A planner in Naxalite affected region meaningfully utilizes the disaggregated indices, the combined indices of each attribute and finally the composite index, firstly, to diagnose the nature and extent of malady, secondly, to prescribe the suitable set of prescriptive measures for the specific situation obtaining in a district, and finally, to monitor the progress of implication as well as make mid-course corrections.

CHAPTER-IV DISPARITY AND CORRELATES OF NAXALITE MOVEMENT

"If American traditions have continue to emphasize the importance of limiting the role of the state, while western Europe has adopted the model of the welfare state and the former socialist countries the model of a socially transforming state. India has adopted the model which exists for its own shake. It exists to provide every thing that Indians need and require: sovereignty, unity, welfare, jobs for all, social justice. Of course no state can serve everybody's interests and the Indian state has succeeded in doing so."

-Brass Paul (1990)¹

Indian constitution sets ideals like justice (social, economic, political), liberty, equality and fraternity in the preamble. Emphasis has been put on the democratic means to achieve these ideals. Further the section on *Fundamental Rights* and *Directive Principle of State Policy* tried to make the balance between means and ideals. Indian state since the adoption of the constitution has endeavored to achieve the stated ideals of Indian constitution. In the last sixty years since its inception, one of the major achievements of Indian state is the sustenance of democracy in one form or the other, while other south Asian or the third world countries failed to do so. Along with certain sweet achievements some inherent distortions have also been evolved in the process. Indian state tried to evolve mechanism to eliminate or minimize the distortions. Seventy third and seventy fourth amendments of the constitution aimed at devolution of power to grassroots level institutions can be cite as one the major initiative in this direction.

Through the amendment, the process of evolution of democracy from bottom to up has been initiated. No matter, its speed is very slow. However, one of the major encouraging outcomes of this initiative is the election of women representatives more than the prescribed thirty three percent reserved seats for them (women). It has happened in one of the most backward state of the country i.e. Bihar in the recent elections of PRIs representatives. The states have been implementing various schemes through these grass root level elected institutions effectively. However, these institutions are still in their childhood stage. There is no doubt that with maturing of these institutions, the scenario in the remote rural areas will drastically change.

¹ Brass, Paul (1990): "The Politics of India since Independence", Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. P. 19

India is a country of marked regional disparity. It is inherited from the colonial rule of over 200 hundred years. After destroying the rural based world class handicrafts and handlooms industries the colonial rulers promoted the semi-processing industries at a few intermediate towns located in the hinterland of major ports. The process of the destruction of the rural based skill, expertise, knowledge, culture continued all through the colonial rule. Westernization also started in few cities especially in the presidency towns. The urban centers, which were few in numbers became the hub of the major non primary economic activities and services like health, education (western clerical education), and entertainment. Even within a region, the rural urban inequities had very severe outcomes. In the context of the naxal affected region, it may be proved as a major explaining factor.

This process continued even in the post independence period. The Recession of agriculture with insignificant decrease in the dependent population led to the deterioration of rural economy. The performance of agriculture in the post reform era is not encouraging in any way. This manifested in the high indebtedness of farmers and in various cases of farmers suicides.

The naxal affected region, where the economy is mainly based on primary sector and one of the most backward regions of the country has experienced very high level of rural-urban inequities. In this section of study, the rural-urban inequality would be examined taking various appropriate indicators to study the structural correlates of extremist movement in affected regions.

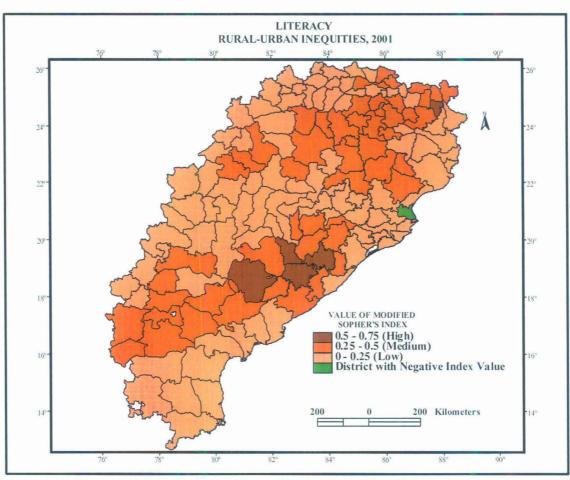
IV. Rural-Urban Inequities

Analyzing rural-urban inequality with respect to the present study would be proved as linchpin in tracing out the roots of present uprising, especially in the era of globalization, when the inequality is on rise and growth with equity becomes the buzzword.

IV.1 Inequities in the Level of Literacy

Alphabetization is one of the crucial elements in the modern civilization. It provides the basal spectrum of the multilevel educational pyramid; and therefore, it may

be viewed as an important input and is vitally linked with the totality of the development process. The spatial pattern of alphabetization and its regional variation has a special significance in understanding the imbalances as well as inequities in national development.



Map No.IV.1

The inequities in education between the rural and urban segments of population are a function of the varied nature of the two sectors of economy. Education is urban oriented and the process of its diffusion into the rural areas has been painfully slow. The problem got further aggravated due to the limited interaction between the rural and the urban sectors of economy.²

² .Raza Moonis et.al .(1990), "School Education In India: The Regional Dimension", New Delhi, National Institute Of Educational Planning And administration (NIEPA).p.401

The marked disparities in socio-economic conditions across regions led to the variation in the level and response to educational opportunities; and as consequence certain region acquire relative advantage over the others in terms of human resource development and human capital formation

Map No.IV.1 depicts that the core naxal affected districts of the states of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Orissa and Andhra Pradesh show the high rural-urban inequities in literacy. The ignorance and illiteracy in the rural areas make the rural folks a fertile ground to grow the Naxalites. On the other hand, it deprives the rural mass from their rights. As opposed to this, the plain areas of Chhattisgarh, Bihar and West Bengal have low inequity.

Table No. IV.1
Inequality in Literacy (Rural-Urban)

CATEGORY	DISTRICTS
HIGH	Nabarangapur, Rayagada, Pakaur, Koraput, Dantewada.
MEDIUM	, Adilabad, Balangir, Baudh, Nizamabad, Rangareddi, Shahdol, Khammam, Nalgonda, Sundargarh, Kodarma, Korba, Patna, Raichur, Warangal, Bhagalpur, Dindori, Hazaribagh, Mandla, Nawada, Ranchi, Vizianagaram, Gulbarga, Medak, Purbi Singhbhum, Gaya, Visakhapatnam, Begusarai, Bokaro, Jamui, Maldah, Surguja, Kalahandi, Mayurbhanj, Nuapada, Gumla, Lohardaga, Samastipur, Kandhamal, Pashchimi Singhb, Dumka, Mahbubnagar, Palamu, Chatra, Gajapati, Garhwa, Deoghar, Giridih, Godda, Bastar, Sahibganj, Sonbhadra, Malkangiri
LOW	Jagatsinghapur, Puri, Dhamtari, Kendrapara, Rajnandgaon, Haora, Medinipur, West Godavari, Baleshwar, Cuttack, Durg, Jajapur, Jharsuguda, Latur, Varanasi, Wardha, Barddhaman, Bhadohi, Bhandara, Gondiya, Hugli, Khordha, Mahasamund, Mau, Raigarh, Ballia, Cuddapah, Kanker, Krishna, Nagpur, East Godavari, Janjgir – Champa, Nanded, Balaghat, Jaunpur, Nayagarh, Yavatmal, Bhojpur, Dhenkanal, Guntur, Raipur, Rohtas, Sambalpur, Sonapur, Bargarh, Chandrapur, Chittoor, Dhanbad, Ghazipur, Jehanabad, Nellore, Rewa, Satna, Umaria, Bankura, Birbhum, Chandauli, Debagarh, Kendujhar, Lakhisarai, Mirzapur, Murshidabad, Saran, Vaishali, Anugul, Aurangabad, Bidar, Sheikhpura, Anantapur, Buxar, Jabalpur, Jashpur, Kurnool, Nalanda, Prakasam, Chhindwara, Koriya, Banka, Seoni, Bilaspur, Kaimur (Bhabua), Katni, Kawardha, Puruliya, Srikakulam, Allahabad, Ganjam, Munger, Gadchiroli, Karimnagar, Sidhi
NEGATIVE	Bhadrak

Note: The highlighted districts denote the Naxalite Affected Districts

Recognizing the seriousness of the problem, Government of India in partnership with states launched the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) to ensure that all children up to

elementary school going age enroll by 2010. With significant success in enrolling children in schools, the SSA's thrust areas are now on the reduction of dropouts and improving quality of student learning. To meet the purpose The National Programme of Mid-Day Meal was launched in 1995, which now covers approximately 97million children.³ It is now extended up to the class 8th standard.

Since, the universalization of elementary education has become an important goal, it is also essential to push this vision forward to move towards universalization of secondary education. It has been therefore decided to launch a centrally sponsored scheme viz. Scheme for Universalisation of Access to Secondary Education (SUCCESS) and improvement of quality at secondary stage during the Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-12).⁴

IV.2. Rural-Urban Inequities in Electrified households

In the modern day lifestyle, electricity has become one of the important necessities of life not only in urban but also in the rural areas. Use of appliances using electricity has been increasing many folds over the years. Even in primary sector, its demand has increased with leaps and bounds.

Bihar, Jharkhand and the central districts of Orissa show the high level of inequities in the percentage of households electrified (Map No.IV.2). On the other hand, the inequity is very low in case of the states of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, M.P., central plain districts of Chhattisgarh and coastal Orissa. The districts showing the high level of inequity are the naxal affected districts.

³ Economic Survey, 2007-08: Economic Division, Ministry of Finance, Government of India, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, pp.250-251.

⁴ .Ibid, (Economic Survey), p.251.

Map No.IV.2

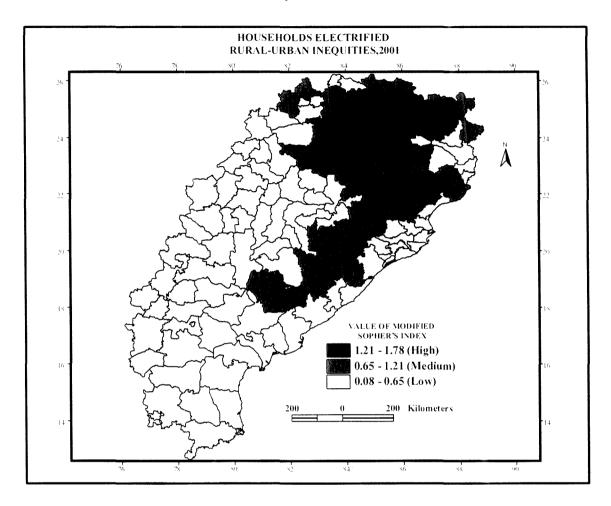


Table No. IV.2
Rural-Urban Inequities in Electrified Households

CATEGORY	DISTRICTS
High	Gaya, Jehanabad, Pakaur, Gumla, Nawada, Bhojpur, Chatra, Dumka, Garhwa, Nalanda, Sahibganj, Giridih, Palamu, Lohardaga
Medium	Aurangabad, Nabarangapur, Saran, Godda, Jamui, Pashchimi Singhb, Sonbhadra, Deoghar, Kaimur (Bhabua), Buxar, Kandhamal, Malkangiri, Samastipur, Banka, Koraput, Balangir, Patna, Ranchi, Purbi Singhbhum, Kalahandi, Mayurbhanj, Sheikhpura, Nuapada, Debagarh, Rayagada, Rohtas, Baudh, Begusarai, Bhagalpur, Sundargarh, Vaishali, Gajapati, Dantewada, Munger, Puruliya, Bokaro, Hazaribagh, Lakhisarai, Maldah, Ghazipur, Jashpur, Koriya, Kendujhar, Anugul, Surguja, Medinipur, Sambalpur, Chandauli, Allahabad, Kodarma, Sonapur, Murshidabad, Jaunpur.
Low	Bargarh, Ballia, Cuttack, Dhenkanal, Puri, Bankura, Mau, Nayagarh, Barddhaman, Ganjam, Jagatsinghapur, Kendrapara, Shahdol, Bastar, Birbhum, Dindori, Mirzapur, Haora, Jajapur, Baleshwar, Jharsuguda, Korba, Sidhi, Mahbubnagar, Bhadohi, Bhadrak, Khordha, Mandla, Visakhapatnam, Gadchiroli, Srikakulam, Varanasi, Adilabad, Vizianagaram, Rewa, Yavatmal, Dhanbad, Hugli, Umaria, Bilaspur, Nanded, Kanker, Kawardha, Chandrapur, Medak, Gondiya, Khammam, Katni, Raigarh, Nalgonda, Rangareddi, Satna, Balaghat, East Godavari, Nellore, Chittoor, Gulbarga, Prakasam, Warangal, Raipur, Bhandara, Kurnool, Seoni, Durg, Guntur, Jabalpur, West Godavari, Anantapur, Krishna, Cuddapah, Janjgir – Champa, Latur, Raichur, Nizamabad, Rajnandgaon, Bidar, Mahasamund, Dhamtari, Nagpur, Wardha, Karimnagar, Chhindwara.

Note: The highlighted districts denote the Naxalite Affected Districts

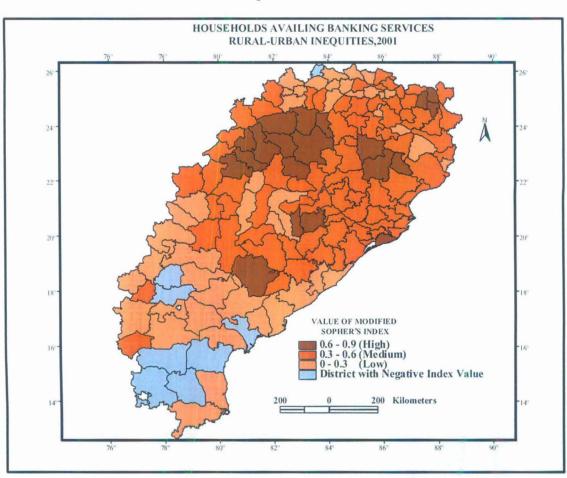
Rural electrification is one of the six components of "Bharat Nirman", the programme launched for the building infrastructure and basic amenities in rural areas in a time bound manner. Under this programme, the central government launched "Rajiv Gandhi Grameen Vidyutikaran Yojana" (RGGVY) in April 2005 with the goal of electrifying all unelectrified villages and hamlets and providing access to electricity to all households in the next five years. Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) would be associated with implementation and management of this programme.

Only simple electrification would not serve the purpose. The regular and required supply of electricity is more important than the electrification alone. It would be better if the steps are initiated to decentralize the centralized channel of supply through off-grid decentralized generation of electricity i.e. the grass root level institutions should encourage to meet their energy needs through their own decentralized renewable micro energy sources like biogas, solar energy, wind energy, and micro hydro-electric projects

etc. Initiatives are urgently required in this direction to ensure sustainable supply of energy in rural areas.

IV.3 Rural-Urban Inequities in Households Availing Banking Services

Districts in the states of Jharkhand, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, and Chhattisgarh show the high to medium level of rural-urban inequities in household availing banking services (Map No. IV.3).



Map No.IV.3

Districts in Andhra Pradesh show low inequity. Surprisingly few districts in Andhra Pradesh indicate higher percentage of rural household availing banking services than the urban households. Ironically, the most cases of farmers' suicides are very high in Andhra

Pradesh. Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh (including Chhattisgarh) have together seen 89,362 farmers' suicide between 1997 and 2005.⁵

Table No. IV.3
Rural-Urban Inequities in Households Availing Banking Services

CATEGORY	DISTRICT
HIGH	Ranchi, Nuapada, Puri, Umaria, Mandla, Purbi Singhbhum, Sahibganj, Pashchimi Singhb, Surguja, Dindori, Garhwa, Koriya, Balangir, Korba, Sidhi, Godda, Sonbhadra, Pakaur, Shahdol, Dantewada.
MEDIUM	Medinipur, Nayagarh, Chandrapur, Barddhaman, Kanker, Baudh, Murshidabad, Allahabad, Bhadrak, Birbhum, Chandauli, Janjgir — Champa, Kendrapara, Raichur., Aurangabad, Satna, Hugli, Kalahandi, Raigarh, Kendujhar, Baleshwar, Giridih, Kaimur (Bhabua), Munger, Chhindwara, Gondiya, Jamui, Nabarangapur, Rewa, Banka, Chatra, Durg, Gajapati, Rayagada, Bhandara, Dhenkanal, Gadchiroli, Hazaribagh, Kandhamal, Koraput, Maldah, Puruliya, Bidar, Bhagalpur, Jajapur, Jharsuguda, Jagatsinghapur, Bilaspur, Ganjam, Samastipur, Mayurbhanj, Patna, Cuttack, Deoghar, Sambalpur, Begusarai, Palamu, Dumka, Gumla, Khordha, Sonapur, Anugul, Bokaro, Gaya, Katni, Mahasamund, Malkangiri, Nawada, Seoni, Balaghat, Bargarh, Bastar, Lohardaga, Debagarh, Jabalpur, Jashpur, Sundargarh
LOW	Nellore, Chittoor, Guntur, Khammam, Mahbubnagar, West Godavari, Jaunpur, Warangal, Nalgonda, Adilabad, Bhadohi, Nanded, Rangareddi, Wardha, Srikakulam, Vizianagaram, Ballia, Karimnagar, East Godavari, Nagpur, Visakhapatnam, Varanasi, Ghazipur, Rohtas, Latur, Saran, Lakhisarai, Gulbarga, Kawardha, Raipur, Mirzapur, Buxar, Yavatmal, Bhojpur, Dhamtari, Haora, Kodarma, Vaishali, Jehanabad, Nalanda, Bankura, Dhanbad, Rajnandgaon, Sheikhpura,
NEGATIVE VALUE	Anantapur, Nizamabad, Prakasam, Cuddapah, Mau, Krishna, Medak, Kurnool,

Note: The highlighted districts denote the Naxalite Affected Districts

At all India level a large chunk of households especially rural households are still out of the purview of any institutional financial institution. NSSO in its 59th round of surveys (January- December, 2003) pointed out that 57.7 per cent of the outstanding amount was sourced from institutional channels (including government) and the balance 42.3 per cent from money lenders, traders, relatives and friends. Non-institutional sources of finance are very common in rural areas⁶. The non availability of the institutional sources of finance and lack of awareness among rural masses may be cited as the two significant reason of it.

⁶ Ibid, Economic Survey, p.174.

⁵ . Sainath, P. (2007), "One Farmer's Suicide Every 30 Minutes", The Hindu, November 15.

Various studies have shown that there is a positive correlation between farmers' suicides with their indebtedness. Therefore, the financial inclusion and reasonable rate of interests are the need of the hour. An Expert Group on Agricultural Indebtedness (headed by Shri. R. Radhakrishna) in its report submitted in July 2007, has recommended inclusion of financially excluded, the small borrower households, and adoption of risk mitigation measures for agriculture. ⁷

Recently announced 71680 *crore* (60000+11680 *crore*) farm loan waiver would not solve the problem of agrarian distress in a long run. It will provide only short lived relief to the farmers. Through the scheme, the farmers who have taken loan from the institutional sources will be benefited mainly. There is a need to correct the problem rooted deep in the structure itself.

IV. 4 Rural- Urban Inequities in Households Having Telephone

In the era of communication revolution, telephonic connectivity is critical for moving the country towards a knowledge- based society. Through the means of telephone one can connect with outside world and adjust its production, supply of goods and services accordingly. Telephone in combination with the other means of communication especially, transport has capacity to revolutionize the rural economy. On the other side, the inequities in rural and urban area with respect to the access of telephone services can be proved very fatal to rural areas. It would discourage the information transfer between rural and urban economy.

Map No. IV.4 depicts the North- South divide in the rural- urban inequities in households having telephones. The districts from the states of Jharkhand and few districts of Chhattisgarh represent high level of inequity. These are the two states, which form the core region of the Naxalite activities. The coastal Andhra and districts of Maharashtra show the low inequity, which are not affected by Naxalites.

Once again rural telephony too forms one of the six components of the "Bharat Nirman Programme (2005-2009)". Planning Commission is envisaging rural teledensity of 25 per cent from present meager level of only 1.86 per cent and to provide a whopping

⁷. Ibid, Economic Survey, pp. 174-175.

200 million rural telephone connections by 2012 for bridging the telephonic disparity between rural and urban India⁸.

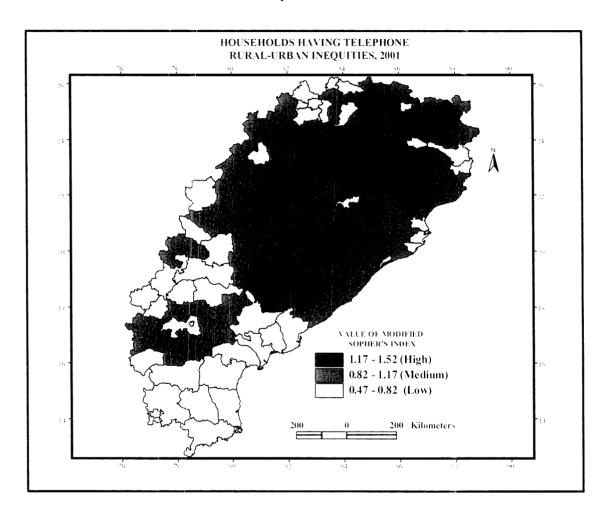
Table No. IV.4
Rural-Urban Inequities in Households Having Telephone

CATEGORY	DISTRICT
нібн	Pashchimi-Singhbum, Balangir, Purbi Singhbhum, Mahasamund, Dhamtari, Lohardaga, Pakaur, Sidhi, Dumka, Patna, Sahibganj, Koraput, Gaya, Garhwa, Godda, Ranchi, Gumla, Mayurbhanj, Kalahandi, Deoghar, Giridih, Chatra,
MEDIUM	Nagpur, Ghazipur, Munger, Nalgonda, Vizianagaram, Sonapur, Vaishali, Bhandara, Gadchiroli, Murshidabad, Birbhum, Kaimur (Bhabua), Nalanda, Dindori, Medak, Ganjam, Sheikhpura, Yavatmal, Hazaribagh, Saran, Jamui, Srikakulam, Haora, Gajapati, Jajapur, Malkangiri, Buxar, Mahbubnagar, Dhenkanal, Gondiya, Khordha, Gulbarga, Kendujhar, Seoni, Warangal, Bargarh, Baleshwar, Jabalpur, Janjgir – Champa, Sambalpur, Allahabad, Anugul, Balaghat, Baudh, Begusarai, Koriya, Puri, Katni, Visakhapatnam, Banka, Bokaro, Jehanabad, Kawardha, Medinipur, Nayagarh, Durg, Puruliya, Raipur, Bhagalpur, Cuttack, Nabarangapur, Satna, Bhojpur, Korba, Aurangabad, Maldah, Mandla, Samastipur, Kanker, Bankura, Kandhamal, Rajnandgaon, Nuapada, Sonbhadra, Raigarh, Rayagada, Sundargarh, Shahdol, Kodarma, Palamu, Rewa, Nawada,
LOW	West Godavari, Mau, Krishna, Guntur, Wardha, Bhadohi, Ballia, Barddhaman, Chandauli, Nizamabad, East Godavari, Cuddapah, Dhanbad, Jaunpur, Bidar, Lakhisarai, Chandrapur, Chittoor, Jagatsinghapur, Latur, Bhadrak, Chhindwara, Nanded, Prakasam, Hugli, Anantapur, Raichur, Kurnool, Nellore, Varanasi, Adilabad, Khammam, Rangareddi, Rohtas, Umaria, Jharsuguda, Karimnagar, Kendrapara, Mirzapur

Note: The highlighted districts denote the Naxalite Affected Districts

⁸ .Eleventh Five Year Plan Document, Planning Commission, Government of India, 2007.

Map No.IV.4



On the basis of selected indicators and discussion it can be concluded that Naxalite activities are mainly concentrated in the rural areas. The rural areas are still very far behind the urban areas in availability of basic services and the level of awareness. The high rural—urban inequities indicate the failure of the public service delivery mechanism especially in the rural areas. Therefore, the rural- urban inequities are one of the favourable factors in growing naxalite activities in rural areas. The rural-urban inequities become much more significant in the post reform globalization period.

Since beginning of the economic reform in 1990s, the agricultural sector has performed very badly. Since, the whole rural economy is based on agriculture; the situation in rural areas has become very grim.

The above discussion shows that the naxal affected districts represent the high level of rural-urban inequities with respect to the chosen indicators:

- The rural- urban inequities in literacy is significant in all most all naxal affected districts as they show the high inequities.
- Rural-urban inequity in households electrified is high in the states of Jharkhand,
 Bihar, and Orissa but not significant in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra
 and Chhattisgarh(except the district of *Dantewada*)
- High Rural-Urban Inequities in Households availing banking services have been observed in the states of Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, and Chhattisgarh.
- Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, and Chhattisgarh show the high rural- urban inequities in households having telephones. These states are badly affected by the Naxalites.

Union and the States Governments are looking very keen to bridge the increasing ruralurban gap. Both the governments have launched various schemes in this direction. But the effectiveness and efficiency of the public service delivery mechanism are under the question mark. There is a need to strengthen and to make the public service delivery mechanism effective and efficient. It will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER-V

GOVERNMENT AND THE NAXALITES CHALLENGE

"Long ago Mao Zedong propounded the thesis of "Fish in Water". 'Fish' were rural militants. Disgruntled disaffected and resentful poor peasantry, agricultural workers, forest dwellers, displaced persons and the like constitutes the 'water'. If their disaffection could be removed or substantially reduced water would evaporate and the fish would be left high and dry and they would cease to exist eventually. Harsh counter violence might not be the correct response as it had failed so far during the last four decades since the "spring thunder" of 1967."

-D. Bandyopadhyay¹

At the 60th anniversary of India's independence a simple query arise in every ones' mind, what we have achieved and what are the challenges Indian republic is facing even after sixty years since independence? It is true that we have achieved many of set goals but during the same period many other new challenges have evolved and some existing problems aggravated in due course of time. One can cite Naxalite problem as one of the major challenge to democracy in India². Then it may be asked how a democratic state like India can fight the rise of Maoist Extremism in the tribal areas? It might do so in the following two ways:

So far the union and state governments responded one or the other way to various movements operating in the country. As far as the Naxalite movement is concerned, the first positive response was the attempt made by the first united front government of west Bengal in 1967 to handle the first phase of Naxalite movement. Shri Hare Krishna Konar then Revenue Minister in West Bengal government, proposed a policy to the united front government, directed to wean away the angry peasantry from militancy by a massive programme of vesting of ceiling- surplus lands of the big zamindars and landowners.³ Along with it government also cracked heavily on Naxalite militants. The two prone

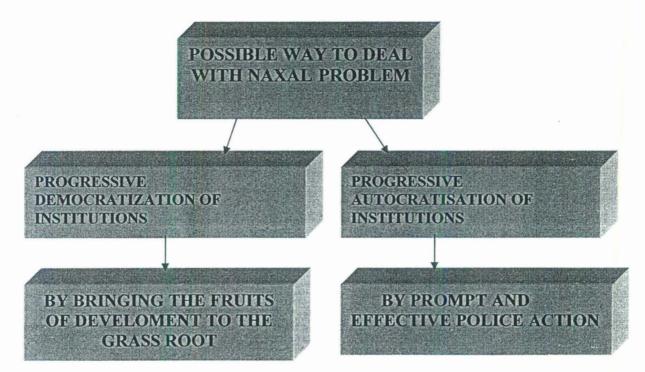
¹. Bandyopadhyay D. (2007): "Rural Unrest", Yojana, vol.51. February, p.14.

² .Butola B.S. (2004), "Human Rights and Nationalized Civilization" in R. R. Dhamala and S. Bhattacharjee(ed.), "Human Rights And Insurgency: The North East India", Delhi, Shipra pp.163-178.

³. Report Of An Expert Group To Planning Commission (2008): Development Challenges In Extremist Affected Areas, Government Of India, New Delhi

strategies yielded the desired results in West Bengal. ⁴ The policy was in accordance with the Mao Zedong thesis of "fish in water". Now at the moment it can be asked whether it can be applied to the other parts of the country to wipe out the naxal problem.

Figure No. V.1



In the early 1970s, other parts of the country also witnessed acute social and agrarian unrest arising out of the widespread social discrimination against the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe, and exploitation of agricultural workers and tenants farmers. Undivided Bihar and agency areas of Andhra Pradesh were the new areas of discontent.

Recognizing the acuteness the problem union government responded it by producing a document on the causes of agrarian discontent, highlighting the failure of implementation of land reform laws and minimum wages act. In 1971, the then home

⁴ .Kohli Atul, (1992), "Democracy and Discontent India's Growing Crisis of Governability", Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.pp.123-153.

minister Mr. Y.B. Chavan made the now famous statement that the government of India would not allow the green revolution to become a red revolution. Under the guidance of Indira Gandhi, the government of India issued a series of guidance to implement land reform laws and plug loopholes in the existing laws. However, the land ceiling and the minimum wages act for the agricultural workers was implemented imperfectly. If at that time these acts were implemented properly, the scene of the rural areas would have quite different from what it is today. Even today, there is dearth of the good policies and programmes in India but problem still lies in their proper implementation and the effectiveness of the implementing agencies.

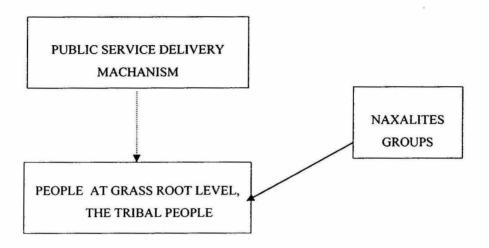
From the early 70s to the middle 80s, the policy formulated by the central government and the planning commission from time to time used to reiterate the commitment to reduction in regional and inter-social group inequality of income and wealth .With the paradigm shift of economic policy from 1991, all these other values of egalitarianism, equity, control of exploitation, social and economic and political justice become less important. However, the policies currently being followed by the government of India are the antithesis of what one would prescribe. Instead of making tribal partners in economic development, they marginalized them further. And instead of efficient police action we have the outsourcing of law and order, as in case of "Salwa Judum Campaign" in Chhattisgarh where the state government has set up a vigilante army that runs a parallel administration in the region⁵.

V. Bringing the Fruits of Development to Grass Roots

Naxalites typically operate in a vacuum created by inadequacy of administrative and political institutions, espouse local demands and take advantage of prevalent disaffection and perceived injustice among the underprivileged and remote segment of population. "The areas in central east India where unrest is prevailing covers ten states (like Telangana of Andhra Pradesh, northern and southern parts of Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, and Vidarbha region of Maharaashtra) are minimally administered. State interventions both for development and for law and order had been fairly low. In fact there is a kind of vacuum

⁵ .Guha Ramchandra (2007), "Adivasis, Naxalites and Indian Democracy", *EPW*, Vol. XLII, No.32, August 11, p3310.

of administration in these areas which is being exploited by the armed movement, giving some illusory protection and justice (in the form of people's court) to the local people". It can be shown in the following way:



V.1 Developmental Initiatives by the Union Government

The major objective of the Radical Marxist geography is to induce geographer to take expeditions to the poorest and the most depressed areas. The special focus is on the participatory field work, which prepare the geographer to take planning with the people rather than planning for them. In the era of decentralization, the micro- regional planning becomes the buzzword. In this regard the importance of the grass root level institution in participatory planning has been recognized by many. To, see their happening the In this line government of India has taken various steps and started to implement many developmental programmes through the Panchayati Raj Institutions. To, name some of the most significant ones are:

V.1.1 The Backward Regions Grant Fund (BRGF) Programme Under the Backward Districts Initiative (BDI) component of the Rashtriya Samvikas Yojana (RSVY), which covered 147 districts, an amount of Rs.45 crore per district had been allocated on a non-

⁶. Report of an Expert Group to Planning Commission (2008): Development Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas, Government of India, New Delhi, p.80.

lapsable basis. The scheme of *Backward Regions Grant Fund* (BRGF) has now been initiated in 250 districts replacing BDI in 2007.

Table No. V. 1

Districts under the Backward Region Grant Fund Programme

	DISTRICTS
DISTRICTS UNDER BRGFP	Adilabad, Anantapur, Chittoor, Cuddapah, Karimnagar, Khammam, Mahbubnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Nizamabad, Rangareddi, Vizianagaram, Warangal, Aurangabad, Banka, Begusarai, Bhagalpur, Bhojpur, Buxar, Gaya, Jamui, Jehanabad, Kaimur (Bhabua), Lakhisarai, Munger, Nalanda, Nawada, Patna, Rohtas, Samastipur, Saran, Sheikhpura, Vaishali, Bastar, Bilaspur, Dantewada, Dhamtari, Jashpur, Kanker, Kawardha, Korba, Koriya, Mahasamund, Raigarh, Rajnandgaon, Surguja, Bokaro, Chatra, Deoghar, Dhanbad, Dumka, Garhwa, Giridih, Godda, Gumla, Hazaribagh, Kodarma, Lohardaga, Pakaur, Palamu, Pashchimi Singhbhum, Ranchi, Sahibganj, Bhandara, Chandrapur, Gadchiroli, Gondiya, Nanded, Yavatmal, Balaghat, Dindori, Katni, Mandla, Rewa, Satna, Seoni, Shahdol, Sidhi, Umaria, Balangir, Baudh, Debagarh, Dhenkanal, Gajapati, Ganjam, Jharsuguda, Kalahandi, Kendujhar, Koraput, Malkangiri, Mayurbhanj, Nabarangapur, Nuapada, Rayagada, Sambalpur, Sonapur, Sundargarh, Chandauli, Jaunpur, Mirzapur, Sonbhadra, Bankura, Birbhum, Maldah, Medinipur, Murshidabad, Puruliya, Bidar, Gulbarga, Raichur
DISTRICTS NOT UNDER BRGFP	East Godavari, Guntur, Hyderabad, Krishna, Kurnool, Nellore, Prakasam, Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, West Godavari, Durg, Janjgir-Champa, Raipur, Purbi Singhbhum, Latur, Nagpur, Wardha, Chhindwara, Jabalpur, Anugul, Baleshwar, Bargarh, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Jagatsinghapur, Jajapur, Kandhamal, Kendrapara, Khordha, Nayagarh, Puri, Allahabad, Ballia, Ghazipur, Mau, Sant Ravidas Nagar Bhadohi, Varanasi, Barddhaman, Haora, Hugli.

Note: The highlighted districts denote the Naxalite Affected Districts

The main objective of the BRGF is to redress regional imbalances in development. The financial resources will be directed towards supplementing and converging existing developmental inflow into identified districts, so as to⁷:

- Bridge critical gaps in local infrastructure and other development requirements that are not being adequately met through existing inflow,
- Strengthen, to this end the panchayat and municipality level governance was to be fine tuned with appropriate capacity building, to facilitate

⁷. Backward Region Grant Fund: Programme Guidelines, Ministry of Panchayati Raj, Government Of India.p.4.

- participatory planning, decision making, implementation and monitoring that is reflecting of local needs
- Provide professional support to local bodies for planning, implementation and monitoring their plans.
- Improves the performance and delivery of critical functions assigned to panchayats, and counter possible efficiency and equity losses on account of inadequate local capacity.

Therefore, one can say that the lack of finance and the administrative and governance capacities experienced by the PRIs have been tried to address through the BRGF. It is hoped that implementation of the said plan letter and spirit then it is expected to mitigate regional imbalance. Moreover, it would also contribute towards poverty alleviation, preparation of effective participatory plans in accordance to the local resource base, while promoting accountability and responsiveness among the Panchayats and Municipalities. As shown in TABLE NO. V.1. All the Naxalite affected districts are covered by the BRGF Programme; it can be proved a proactive approach in countering naxal problem. All the naxal affected districts are under the BRGFP and those constitute only the most backward districts of the country. Therefore, it is one another evidence of backwardness of the naxal affected districts.

V.1.2. Pradhan Mantri Gram Sadak Yojana (PMGSY) offers enormous opportunity for rural road connectivity. For certain Naxalite affected areas, it has been decided that 3-year perspective plans would be prepared for covering all eligible habitations under PMGSY. The State Governments have been requested to identify and prioritize unconnected habitations having population of 500 and above in plain areas and 250 and above in tribal areas for preparing detailed project reports as per PMGSY programme guidelines.

The study group named Impact Assessment of PMGSY pointed out that the scheme has positive impacts on various sectors of rural economy in the study area. These

sectors are agriculture and allied sectors, employment, industry, health, education, social aspects, transport, urbanization, poverty alleviation⁸.

V.1.3. National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme (NREGP) was initially implemented in 200 districts from February, 2006 and was extended to 330 districts since April 2007 and, is now extended to all districts in the country (except metropolises).its main focus is to universalize this demand-driven programme for wage-employment. The main objectives of the programme are to build a social security network in rural India, revive village economies, promote social equity empowering rural laborers and to create rural infrastructural much needed for the sustainable rural development. This programme has the potential to provide big push in the region of distress in India. Through its multiplier effect it will not only provide employment but also rejuvenate the rural economy through watershed management, rain water harvesting, forest management(will lead to initiate long term measure against drought and flood that have been the banes of Indian agriculture) and building infrastructural assets. "The expenditure incurred on the employment guarantee would be non-inflationary in nature because it will spure agricultural growth upon whose foundation a whole range of sustainable livelihood could be built".

In its two years of implementation many positive impacts have been observed. "The large numbers of unlettered households have made the effort to come forward to register; migration has reduced in several villages in Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Orissa, and Rajasthan; wages rates less than the minimum wage were raised in many states; women participation increased significantly even in the districts of Rajasthan and Eastern UP; moreover, unemployment allowance were sought and actually paid in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa; the maintenance of muster rolls has become a feature in several other districts" -

Various individual like P. Sainath, Jean Dreze and NGOS through social audit have pointed out many flaws in the implementation of the programme. One of the major

⁸. Impact Assessment of PMGSY, Ministry of Rural Development, Government of India, March 2004.

⁹. Shah Mihir (2007). Employment Guarantee, Civil Society and Indian Democracy, *EPW*, Vol. No. , November 17.p. 46.

¹⁰. Mathur Lalit (2007), "Employment Guarantee: Progress So Far", EPW, Vol. No. December 29, p. 19.

problems identified is the corruption at various levels. Non payment and under payment of the wages, false entry in the muster rolls, violations of the guidelines are the other flaws identified. Many lives became the victim of corruption in the programme. *Narayan Hareka* of Orissa (Koraput District) and *Lalit Mehta*, a civil engineer by profession of Jharkhand (*Palamu District*) are such recent victims¹¹.

The NREGA Programme did provide some relief, but this programme provides employment opportunity only for the unskilled workers. It is significant because with the growth in number of educated man and women there are no corresponding increase in the employment opportunities for skilled and educated workers in the rural areas.

The above schemes are in addition to other schemes like **Bharat Nirman**, **National Rural Health Mission (NRHM)**, **National Horticulture Mission(NHM)**, **Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)**, **Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) Scheme** and Various income-generating, public-utility and social-security schemes of other Ministries like Rural Development, Agriculture, Panchayati Raj and Tribal Affairs. Accredited Social Health Activists (ASHA) under the national rural health mission are providing basic health services to remote rural areas.

In totality, these provide an immense opportunity to address the development aspects relevant to naxalism, provided the implementation is done in a systematic and qualitative manner and closely monitored.

V.1.4. Another step in this direction has been the enactment of The Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 on 02.01.2007, which seeks to recognize and vest the forest rights and occupation of forest land to the forest dwelling scheduled tribes and other traditional forest dwellers who have been residing in such forests for generations but whose rights could not be recorded. The Rules have been notified on 01.01.2008. It has been discussed earlier.

V.2 Government on the Law and Order Front

As mentioned earlier the government has adopted a two pronged strategy to deal with the problem. It has introduced many programmes to mitigate the grievances of the

^{11.} Mishra Ashutosh and Gupta A.K.(2008), "NREGS Shaheeds", Down To Earth, vol. 17, No.3, June 16-30, pp.48-49.

rural people sympathetically but committed to deal the naxal problem with a firm hand. Some of the important features of the strategies are as follows:

V.2.1 Security Initiatives¹²

- The Government remains committed to deal effectively with the naxalites indulging in violence.
- Naxalism being an inter-State problem, the States will adopt a unified approach and pursue a coordinated response to counter it.
- The States will further improve police response by strengthening Special Task Forces/Special Police Units in terms of numbers and training in jungle warfare, improving basic police infrastructure in terms of additional manpower and filling up of vacancies, increasing the number of police stations, adequate provision for modern weaponry, demining and improvement in telecommunication equipment, mobility etc., and strengthening special intelligence machinery for collection and use of actionable intelligence etc.
- The States will continue to pursue effective and sustained police action against naxalites individually and jointly.
- The States will also focus on effective implementation of development schemes to ensure accelerated socio-economic development. Adequate security and other measures will also be taken to facilitate uninterrupted development activities in Naxal affected areas.
- There will be no peace dialogue by the affected States with naxal groups unless they give up crime, violence and arms.
- The States will formulate and implement effective surrender and rehabilitation policies for Naxalites.
- The Central Government will continue to supplement the efforts and resources of the affected States on both security and development fronts and brings about greater coordination between the States to effectively tackle the problem.

¹² . <u>Status Paper on Internal Security Situation as on 31/03/2008</u>, Ministry Of Home Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi.pp.35-37.

"A new scheme for special infrastructure in naxalite affected areas, with Rs. 500 crores in the XI plan period, is being finalized to provide critical mobility to the police by upgrading existing roads / tracks in inaccessible areas, provide secure camping grounds and helipads at strategic locations in remote and interior areas, provide secure police stations / outposts by strengthening those at risk of attack due to their dilapidated condition, upgrade and strengthen approach roads to police stations / outposts where there is risk of attack by improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and landmines and provide for critical needs, specific to the areas / districts where holistic anti-naxalite measures are being taken in a focused manner".

V.2.2 Trends of Naxal Related Violence

The naxal problem has been in India since mid 1960s. Over four decades these movements have been seen many up and downs. It has spread to new areas and hold over the traditional ones. But, it appears that the Naxalite movement has got new impetus particularly under the era globalization and liberalization. There has been consolidation of the naxal affected areas in the central tribal belt of India and it has created alarming situation in many states. In the following paragraphs efforts have been made to probe into the spatial temporal coordinates of naxal related violence in the much talked two pronged strategies adopted by the union and state governments.

Trend analysis of naxal violence gives the scenario of the Naxalite activities over time. From the analysis one can infer causes and consequences of the decline or rise in the activities. Trends over space (here states)* can be treated as an outcome indicator of the policies adopted to deal with problem by the union as well as various state governments.

At all India level there is no perceptible change observed in any component of the naxal violence except in the case of Naxalites killed. The trend line of naxalite killed shows some perceptible change. First it decreases with lowest number in the year 2004,

¹³. Overview of the Internal Security Situation, Ministry Of Home Affairs(2007), Government of India, p.36

^{*} It would have been appropriate to study the trend at the level of lower administrative unites like district/taluk/block etc, but due to unavailability of authentic information at these levels, the study is confined to the state level only.

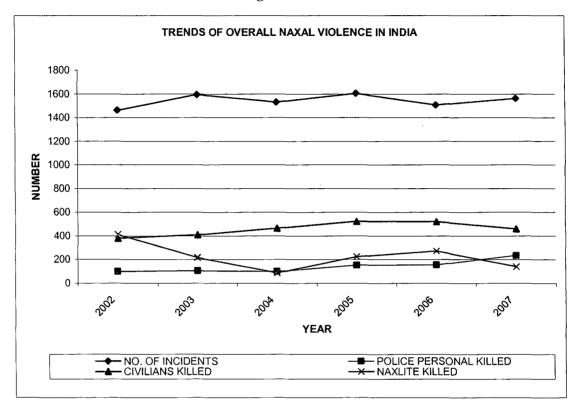


Figure No.V.2

again it rises but after the year 2006, it shows the declining trends. Simultaneously, the number of police personal killed also on the rise. It is at its maximum in the year 2007. The trend line of the civilian killed also show a rising trend with a sign of decline in the year 2007 (Figure No. V.2).

Therefore, one can say that the Naxalite problem persist as one of the major challenging problem with no perceptible change in its intensity. It also represents the ineffectiveness of the adopted policies of the government at the national level. It reminds of the serious limitation in the formulation and effective implementation of effective and proactive policies.

Chhattisgarh constitute one of the hot spots of the naxal activities in India. "In 2007, till the end of November, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand together accounted for 68.16% of the total incidents and 76.42% of the total casualties. Higher number of incidents and casualties in Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand are mainly due to increased use of

improvised explosive devices (IEDs) and landmines by Naxalites, attacks on security forces, killings of people who resist Naxalite atrocities/ extortion/ violence and continuous counter-operations by security forces against Naxalites". ¹⁴

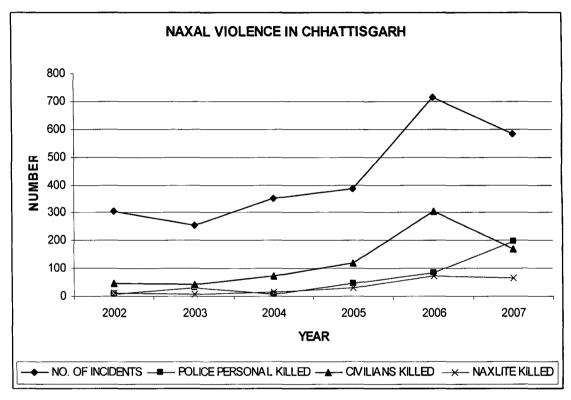


Figure No.V.3

In case of Chhattisgarh the rise in the violence observed in the period of 2005-2006 (Figure No. V.3). This period also corresponds with the period of controversial Salwa Judum campaign (formed in 2005). It started as a "spontaneous people's movement" and a "peace mission". Villagers go in procession to other villages and "convince" them to join. But with the passes of time the campaign become violent. The word convince replaced with the forced evacuation and relocation of the tribal people in the state of Chhattisgarh. The impact of Salwa Judum in the Dantewada district has been studied by several fact-finding committees composed of activists, academics, journalists, and retired civil servants. Their reports have demonstrated that the campaign has led to an

¹⁴ .Ibid, p.32.

escalation of violence. On the one side Salwa Judum cadres have burnt villages abused women; on the other hand Naxalites have attacked and killed those they see as working in the service of state. An atmosphere of fear and insecurity pervades the district. As many as 50,000 people have been displaced from their homes. These tribal refugees live in a pitiable condition, in tents exposed to elements, and with no access to healthcare or gainful employment¹⁵. Therefore one can say that the Salwa Judum has not yielded the desired result. Contrarily, it has aggravated the situation. Supreme Court of India recently intervened through a PI L in this issue.

The situation in Jharkhand has become grim in recent past. Number of incidents

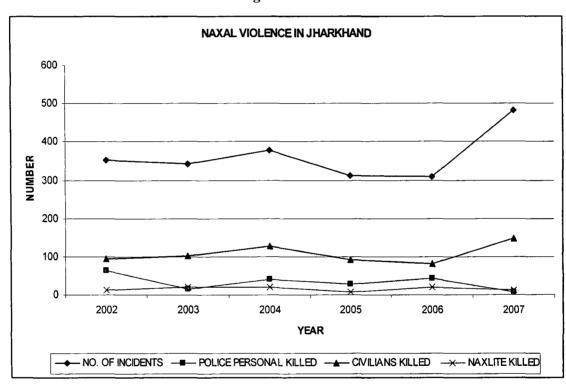


Figure No.V.4

of naxal violence shows an increasing trend since 2006 (Figure No. V.4). However, the number of police personal killed shows declining trend. All most all districts are Naxalite affected in this particular state. The redressal of public grievances is at its minimum level. Naxalites themselves are having a free run in the rural areas, because elections to the

^{15 .}Opcit. (Guha), pp.3310-11.

local bodies (panchayats) have not been held in Jharkhand. Obviously, the first step should be to hold these elections so that the machinery to deal with the people's problem, particularly in the tribal belt, is activated. ¹⁶

In such a scenario the support base of Naxalites have increased. Therefore, one can infer that the state of Jharkhand has become a new hotspot of naxal violence since 2006. The number of incidents increased from 310 to 482 during 2006-07. The increasing number of the civilian killed is one of the serious causes of concern. Especially, when the trends of the police personal killed and naxalite killed show a declining trends. The number of civilian killed is rising with the rising number of incidents.

Andhra Pradesh among all the naxal affected state show an encouraging outcome on the front of naxal violence (Figure No.V.5). Various component of the naxal related

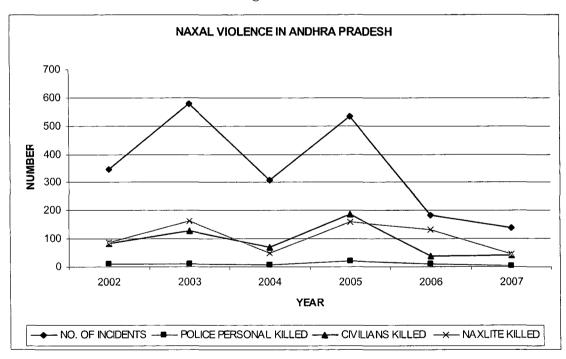


Figure No.V.5

violence is at their lowest point in last five years. It may be the outcome of the Greyhounds and certain developmental initiatives of government of Andhra Pradesh.

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¹⁶ .Harivansh, (2008), "Roots And Causes: The Case Of Jharkhand", in P.V.Raman, (ed.), "The Naxal Challenge: Causes, Linkages, And Policy Options", New Delhi, Dorling Kindersley (India) Pvt. Ltd, p.22.

Greyhounds, the brain child of a tough super cop K.S.Vyas established way back in 1989as specialist commandoes to fight Naxalites. ¹⁷

Orissa on the other hand show an increasing trend of naxal violence. After 2002 first it declined and again it is showing an increasing trend since 2006 (Figure No. V.6). Here one can argue that the decreasing trends of violence in Andhra Pradesh correspond with

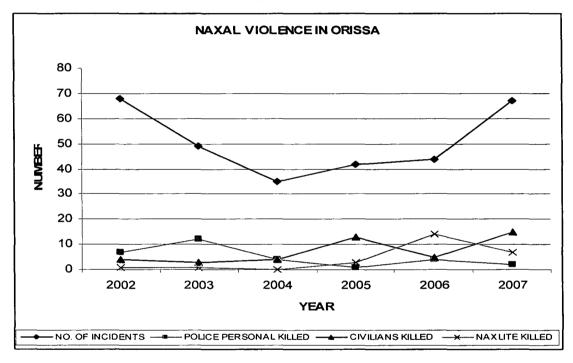


Figure No.V.6

Pradesh and may be moving towards Orissa. Many recent events of violence in the Southern Orissa like that in Nayagarh and recently in Malkangiri districts indicate towards it. The incidence of poverty is one of the common phenomena in southern Orissa as discussed in chapter three of the study. The developmental initiatives of the governments are proving far from the expectations of the people of the region.

¹⁷. Shanker M.S. (2007): "Greyhounds-The Answer to Extremist Violence", Yojana, Vol.51, February, p.29.

To conclude, the poor governance, mismatch between the aspiration of the people and public services provided, unaddressed people grievances, exploitation in the various form, create the fertile ground for the extremist groups to grow. With certain popular action among the local people the extremist group created their support base. Here one can not ignore the fact that there is a serious dissatisfaction among the local people over a range of issues of livelihood. Therefore, there is a need to reach the un-reached and address their grievances. The most suitable way of reaching is the decentralization of power. There is a need to empower Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) financially, functionally, technically, and with expertise of various kinds. There is a need to promote participatory planning and utilization of the local resource base for the betterment of the local people. The Backward Region Grant Fund Programme (BRGFP) if implemented properly would be a milestone in this direction.

On the security front there is a need of raising the level of security concern among the people in general. The state should refrain from taking the steps like Salwa Judum. In fact, the policy related to the law and order should be complementary to the developmental initiative of government. Because even development is the single most important remedy that has the potential to put forward the sustainable solution of the problem. As the naxal violence is on rise in the state of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Orissa, a special and combined attention of both States as well as the Union is needed.

CHAPTER-VI SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY AND CONLUSIONS

The whole discussion can be summarized as follows:

- I. The study of the Naxalite affected region in its historical perspective provides certain valuable insights to understand the spatial coordinates of naxalite affected region.
 - **I.1** Naxalite affected region almost corresponds with the areas of isolation as defined by *B. Subbarao*. This was a refugee zone and referred by some scholar as blind alleys of civilization. The naxalite affected region still inherits some of the characteristics of the areas of isolation.
 - **I.2** this region shows the high concentration of scheduled tribe (STs) population.
 - **I.3** The forest cover is high in this region and Naxalite affected districts corresponds with the districts showing high forest cover.
 - **I.4** While, *Mahajanapadas* and subsequently the larger states emerged in the Indo-Gangetic plain, the areas of isolation inhabited the scores of semi-feudal states and chiefdoms.
 - **I.5** Large parts of Areas of isolation or contemporary Naxalite affected region remained unsubjugated till the arrival of British because of its geo-ecological uniqueness.
 - **I.6** The region has been labeled as the great central Indian forests dotted with few diamond mining centers and lack of transports routes in the Mughal Period.
 - **I.7** The semi-feudal states and chiefdoms were incorporated in various states through the state reorganizations first under the British rule and later under the Indian Republic. But the original nature of the region has persisted till now, which reflects in the demand of separate states of *Vidarbha* and *Telangana*, creation of the states of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh and backwardness of the southern Orissa, south-western West Bengal and south-eastern Uttar Pradesh.
- II. Realizing the economic importance of the resource of the region by the colonial and post colonial administration, various attempts were made to exploit these resources. British were first to enter the region for timber mineral resources and also to spread Christianity. But subsequently these regions were subjected to forced out migration of

labourers to the tea plantations in the north-east region as well as to other countries. This was the first stage of displacements. Now, the displacement due the various developmental works is a common phenomenon in this region. The consequences of the whole process can be summarized as follows:

- II.1 The genres de vie (ways of living or culture) of the tribals has been seriously threatened due to encroachment by the outsiders in their pays (region). Their various economic practices and rituals have been restricted. The situation is so alarming that many tribes reached to their extinction stage. It resulted in various small scale and few large scale protests and rebellion under the tribal leaders. All these are also contributed in the breading of Naxalite movement in the region.
- II.2 Forest administration in the name of ecological conservation has also put many restrictions upon the people of the region.
- **II.3** Developmental projects and efforts of the ecological conservations led to the diminishing of the Common Property Resources (CPR) which is very vital for various needs of the poor people of the region.
- II.4 The formulations and implementations of the "Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005 and the National Rehabilitation and Resettlement Policy, 2007 show the significant departure from the earlier policies of the government. These two policies would prove milestones in solving the persistent problems of the people especially the tribals of the region.
- III. The ongoing developmental process constitutes one of major the factors which can explain the complex problem like naxal menace. In fact various factors in combination control most of the social phenomena in space. Here, it has been observed that the ongoing developmental processes are able to explain the Naxalite activities to some extent. Each and every region has its own genere-de-vie. Therefore, one significant factor of a particular region can become insignificant in the other region. However, the sector wise performance of each development index and their relationship with districts of Naxalite influence can be summarize as:

- III.1. The socio-demographic indicator is very much significant in explaining the naxal activities in the states of Jharkhand, Bihar and U.P. because these districts show the low levels of socio-demographic development.
- III.2 Most of the districts of Jharkhand show the low level of educational development. Therefore, the naxal problem in the states of Jharkhand can be explained in terms of educational indicator.
- III.3 The employment indicator is not as much significant as other selected indicators in the context because it does not show any clear pattern.
- III.4 The health indicator is correlated with the Naxalite activities in the state of Jharkhand, Bihar, and U.P. and to some extent in Chhattisgarh. These states depict the low level of development in the health sector. But, one of the core area of naxalite activities i.e. Dantewada show the high level of development in this sector.
- III.5 Availability of housing amenities is significant indicator in explaining naxal activities especially in the states of Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa and Chhattisgarh.
- III.6 Poverty is one of the major causes of discontent in the states of Orissa, West Bengal, and Jharkhand.
- III.7 Finally, the overall level of development indicates a correlation between Naxalite activities and the level of development except in the state of Andhra Pradesh.

Therefore, it is very clear from the above discussion that a differential strategy is needed to contain the naxal problem. The composite index of levels of overall development reflects the end product of the interplay of various dimensions of development. Its utilization in planning has implications of considerable significance. A planner in Naxalite affected region meaningfully utilizes the disaggregated indices, the combined indices of each attribute and finally the composite index, firstly, to diagnose the nature and extent of malady, secondly, to prescribe the suitable set of prescriptive measures for the specific situation obtaining in a district, and finally, to monitor the progress of implication as well as make mid-course correction.

V. On the basis of selected indicators and discussion it can be concluded that Naxalite activities are mainly concentrated in the rural areas. The rural areas are still very far behind the urban areas in availability of basic services and the level of awareness. The high rural-urban inequities indicate the failure of the public service delivery mechanism especially in the rural areas. Therefore, the rural- urban inequities are one of the favourable factors in growing naxalite activities in rural areas.

Since beginning of the economic reform in 19990s, the agricultural sector has performed very badly. Since, the whole rural economy is based on agriculture; the situation in rural areas has become very grim.

The rural-urban inequities become much more significant in the post reform globalization-liberalization period. It is evident from the study that the naxalite affected districts represent the high level of rural-urban inequities with respect to the chosen indicators:

- V.1 The rural- urban inequities in literacy is significant in all most all naxal affected districts as they show the high inequities.
- **V.2** Rural-urban inequity in households electrified is high in the states of Jharkhand, Bihar, and Orissa but not significant in the states of Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Chhattisgarh (except the district of *Dantewada*)
- **V.3** High Rural-Urban Inequities in Households availing banking services have been observed in the states of Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, and Chhattisgarh.
- V.4 Jharkhand, Bihar, Orissa, and Chhattisgarh show the high rural- urban inequities in households having telephones. These states are badly affected by the Naxalites.
- VI. Union and the states governments are looking very keen to bridge the increasing rural-urban gap. Both the governments have launched various schemes in this direction. But the effectiveness and efficiency of the public service delivery mechanism are under the question mark. There is a need to strengthen and to make the public service delivery mechanism effective and efficient. One of the most effective ways to do it would be the devolution of power not only on the paper but on the ground.
- VI.I The poor governance, mismatch between the aspiration of the people and public service provided, unaddressed people grievances, exploitation in the various form,

form the fertile ground for germination of extremist group. With certain popular action among the local people the extremist group created their support base. Here one can not ignore the fact that there is a serious dissatisfaction among the local people over a range of issues of livelihood. Therefore there is a need to reach the unreached and address their grievances. The most suitable way of reaching is the decentralization of power. There is a need to empower Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) financially, functionally, technically, and with expertise of various kinds. There is a need to promote participatory planning and optimum use the local resource base for the betterment of the local people. The Backward Region Grant Fund Programme (BRGFP) if implemented properly would be a milestone in this direction.

VI.2 On the security front there is a need of raising the level of security concern among the people in general consciousness. The state should refrain from supporting initiative like Salwa Judum, which in spite of providing any relief to the *tribals* it increases the problems of the people. In fact, the policy related to the law and order should be complementary to the developmental initiative of government. Because the development is the single most important remedy that has the potential to put forward the sustainable solution of the problem. As the naxal violence is on rise in the state of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Orissa, a special and combined attention of both states as well as the union is needed.

The redressal of socio-economic injustice rooted deep into the societal moors is one of the most urgent demands of the hour. Proportional Representation of each section of the society in the mainstream developmental process holds the key to address these long persisted problems of injustice especially in the central tribal belt of India. There is a need of some tangible grass roots level action to implement government schemes in the spheres of health, education, basic amenities, employment, and to ensure rights of the local people on their Jal, *Jameen, and Jangle*. Government initiatives alone without the active participation of civil society can not yield the desired results. As in the case of NREGA, civil society through social audits has been succeeding in checking corruption to some extent. There is need to encourage and promote such type of initiatives in the other fields also.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: All Indicators of Development

		Socio-Demogra	raphic Indicators		Educat	ional Indica	itors
	percentage	Work	Sexratio(total)	'Literacy	% of served	%	%
	urban	Participation		Rate(rural)	Habitations	Primary	Primary
	population	Rate	İ			Schools	Schools
	to the total			l	}	with	with
	population					more	Pupil
	1	-		İ		than	Teacher
]		ONE	Ratio
				}		Teacher	<= 20
Adilabad	26.53	45.1	989	46.3	83.78	66.87	29.60
Anantapur	25.26	48.8	958	51.6	87.41	78.81	29.44
Chittoor	21.65	46.8	982	63	48.57	77.77	43.58
Cuddapah	22.59	44.8	974	60	66.50	86.64	36.35
East Godavari	23.50	39.6	993	62.2	90.12	82.91	27.70
Guntur	28.80	49.1	984	58.1	94.01	87.69	19.17
Karimnagar	19.44	49	998	50.2	87.65	79.26	27.88
Khammam	19.81	48.3	975	51.6	85.25	81.45	32.55
Krishna	32.08	44	978	64.7	93.70	80.25	27.25
Kurnool	23.16	49.4	965	48.9	97.70	84.18	11.22
							
Mahbubnagar Madak	10.57	51.9 48.4	972 974	40.7	87.35	90.37	28.95
Medak	14.36				94.98	78.08	16.44
Nalgonda	13.32	49.1	966	53.5	81.86	94.53	26.44
Nellore	22.45	45.4	984	61.4	88.84	95.29	48.30
Nizamabad	18.11	49.4	1017	47.7	94.46	57.43	17.00
Prakasam	15.28	50.3	971	54.5	94.49	84.36	20.51
Rangareddi	54.20	40.2	944	52.6	96.72	76.07	21.50
Srikakulam	10.98	47.4	1014	52.9	77.68	79.10	41.93
Visakhapatnam	39.95	41.8	985	47.5	58.31	65.37	26.34
Vizianagaram	18.33	52.2	1009	46.1	78.97	80.63	32.31
Warangal	19.20	48.3	973	51.7	82.45	86.12	33.87
West Godavari	19.74	44.1	991	71.8	91.50	88.60	21.37
Aurangabad	8.45	33.3	934	55.5	42.00	71.88	0.08
Banka	3.51	39.6	908	42.1	48.12	61.49	0.58
Begusarai	4.58	31.8	912	46.5	72.73	92.51	6.33
Bhagalpur	18.67	35.3	876	44.4	68.71	72.57	1.87
Bhojpur	13.93	29.1	902	56.8	77.92	83.10	2.98
Buxar	9.20	29.1	899	55	65.82	90.55	2.44
Gaya	13.70	36.8	938	46.2	49.16	61.38	1.57
Jamui	7.38	42.7	918	40.2	52.09	58.96	1.49
Jehanabad	7.37	38.4	929	54.1	52.95	73.58	0.91
Kaimur	7.37	30.1	727	31.2	32.75	73.30	0.71
(Bhabua)	3.24	34.4	902	54.4	61.95	72.14	0.53
Lakhisarai	14.68	36.5	921	45.6	74.25	71.94	2.23
Munger	27.94	29.1	872	52.8	77.97	76.85	1.28
Nalanda	14.92	38.1	914	50.4	70.09	84.96	
Nawada	7.65	37.3	946	44.7	57.90	84.96	3.11 1.31
Patna	·	30.2	873	51.4		59.47	
	41.57				83.41	78.76	3.68
Rohtas	13.33	30.4	909	59.2	64.38	+	0.97
Samastipur	3.64	31.6	928	43.9	47.71	90.92	0.37
Saran	9.19	26.5	966	50.3	60.81	89.35	1.56
Sheikhpura	15.47	37	918	46	81.38	65.37	2.72
Vaishali	6.87	28.8	920	49.3	69.28	84.53	1.05
Bastar	9.95	52.6	1011	39.6	49.10	73.26	14.12
Bilaspur	24.35	42.9	971	57.6	73.58	83.05	9.69
Dantewada	7.23	52.8	1016	26.2	48.76	63.02	24.65
Dhamtari	13.24	50.1	1004	74.2	85.83	85.06	17.77
Durg	38.15	41.4	982	71.3	92.79	94.49	8.89
Janjgir -							
Champa	11.03	43.7	998	64.3	83.19	91.24	8.93
Jashpur	4.60	53.5	999	62.8	54.21	91.88	31.85
Kanker	4.82	54.1	1005	72.3	72.97	81.82	22.37
Kawardha	7.68	49.9	1002	53.4	90.35	85.51	7.51
Korba	36.27	42.6	964	51.5	45.02	74.83	12.73
Koriya	29.81	47.7	946	56.8	35.53	82.18	19.87
					22.23	02.10	• 7.07

Mahasamund	11.35	47.9	1018	65.6	81.19	82.68	12
Raigarh	13.39	47.5	994	68.6	71.68	95.31	28
Raipur	30.42	41.9	980	63.5	84.69	91.11	9
Rajnandgaon	18.05	50.6	1023	76	83.37	91.04	14
Surguja	6.96	49.8	972	52.4	43.87	87.56	17
Bokaro.	45.26	28.7	894	47.7	38.85	57.14	1.
Chatra	5.31	37.8	959	41.2	39.60	59.19	1.
Deoghar	13.72	37.1	914	44.5	33.17	49.74	1.
Dhanbad	52.37	27.7	874	58.2	46.83	67.54	7.
Dumka	6.53	44.2	961	45.5	41.06	60.45	3.
Garhwa	4.12	38.9	934	37.7	25.13	63.39	0
Giridih	6.43	33.8	982	42	40.10	58.75	1
Godda	3.53	40.3	926	41.6	47.50	75.40	5
Gumla	5.48	48.9	993	49.8	59.91	71.72	7
Hazaribagh	23.23	34.7	950	50.9	42.74	75.29	1
Kodarma	17.37	35	1001	47.4	45.55	58.17	1.
Lohardaga	12.67	42.1	976	49	33.18	81.47	3.
Pakaur	5.13	44.1	957	28.3	36.12	57.54	2.
Palamu	5.96	37.8	935	42.7	39.71	62.87	5.
Pashchimi			0.55		40.70		١.
Singhbhum	16.85	44.1	975	44.2	43.73	66.47	4.
Purbi	65.00	240	020	510	40.04	00.24	_
Singhbhum	55.03	34.9	930	51.8	40.04	90.34	9.
Ranchi	35.11	38.7	938	54	37.13	72.10	4.
Sahibganj	10.58	41.8	942	33.4	40.36	77.30	11
Bhandara	15.47	47.3	981	76.5	91.55	89.74	19
Chandrapur	32.11	44.9	948	67.7	81.25	90.82	11
Gadchiroli	6.93	51.2 48.3	976 1005	58.3 77	85.05	84.03	10
Gondiya	11.95				88.00	77.26	22
Latur	23.57	40.4	935	68.9	89.20	73.53	38
Nagpur Nanded	64.26	37.8	932 942	75.6	72.70	46.93	52
Wardha	23.96 26.28	41.8	935	76.9	74.52 93.66	78.03 89.78	15 32
Yavatmal	18.60	45.5	942	70.6	83.75	88.18	36
	12.95	50.3	1022	66.7	96.14	82.17	28
Balaghat Chhindwara	24.45	42.2	952	60.5			
Dindori	4.63	57	991	52.8	85.49 86.67	82.07 79.67	39 27
Jabalpur	57.05	37.2	908	63.8	77.91	89.88	_
Katni	21.17	41.7	941	58.5	65.27	84.28	16 9.
Mandla	10.28	51.9	996	56.5	66.96	68.52	15
Rewa	16.24	43.7	941	59.2	65.24	90.37	18
Satna	20.62	39.9	925	61	84.85	86.21	9.
Seoni	10.35	48.8	981	63.2	68.27	79.67	14
Shahdol	25.27	43.3	957	52.2	60.72	84.97	28.
Sidhi	14.26	41.4	932	48.8	69.05	85.33	24
Umaria	16.11	42.2	946	56.5	91.77	83.54	13
Anugul	13.90	39.8	941	66.1	46.07	83.13	31
Balangir	11.54	41.9	984	52.7	55.13	79.32	11
Baleshwar	10.89	31.9	953	69.5	65.98	67.85	16
Bargarh	7.69	44.1	976	62.7	47.78	78.63	17
Baudh	4.83	45.7	984	56.4	79.45	80.26	18.
Bhadrak	10.58	28.9	974	74.3	44.02	93.84	3.9
Cuttack	27.39	33.9	938	73.6	74.65	75.79	19.
Debagarh	7.33	46.1	980	59	50.96	66.93	25.
Dhenkanal	8.71	33.4	961	68	44.10	83.33	2.5
Gajapati	10.19	53.1	1031	37.6	60.40	84.13	24.
Ganjam	17.60	41.3	998	56.5	43.86	81.18	19.
Jagatsinghapur	9.88	31.2	963	78.7	61.40	77.09	10.
Jagaisingnapur Jajapur	4.49	27.5	972	71	47.91		15.
Jharsuguda	36.47	37.2	946	66.7	70.23	42.33	11.
Kalahandi	7.50	46.5	1001			74.85	
raianandi				43.5	47.81	82.09	7.6
Kandhamal	6.80	47.2	1008	50.1	55.71	94.22	9.7

Kendujhar	13.64	39.8	977	56.9	55.54	92.58	27.23
Khordha	42.92	30.6	902	74.1	47.46	61.93	32.79
Koraput	16.81	48.3	999	27.3	58.70	82.90	18.11
Malkangiri	6.87	49.1	997	27.9	47.03	74.54	11.61
Mavurbhani	7.00	46.2	980	49.5	54.96	82.60	13.71
Nabarangapur	5.78	49.5	991	31.3	42.34	84.63	21.69
Nayagarh	4.29	33.3	938	69.8	45.33	76.40	9.44
Nuapada	5.66	46	1007	40.3	50.32	72.11	15.76
Puri	13.58	30	968	77.3	53.87	67.99	7.65
Rayagada	13.89	48	1028	29.9	42.62	80.17	10.92
Sambalpur	27.12	45	969	62.8	52.73	70.14	16.81
Sonapur	7.39	43.7	966	61.7	40.01	84.56	8.15
Sundargarh	34.37	40.4	957	55.3	50.43	74.56	33.10
Allahabad	24.45	33.9	879	56	48.47	77.35	24.47
Ballia	9.77	28.8	953	56.7	75.57	63.90	13.90
Chandauli	10.56	32.1	922	57.8	35.93	78.36	21.06
Ghazipur	7.68	31.4	976	58.3	31.43	91.91	4.37
Jaunpur	7.40	31.1	1014	58.7	- 51.41	90.54	5.65
Mau	19.44	32.3	986	60	52.40	90.57	3.14
Mirzapur	13.54	33.8	897	53	40.35	95.99	6.43
Sant Ravidas							
Nagar Bhadohi	12.82	28.7	917	56.5	21.71	94.18	4.58
Sonbhadra	18.82	36.8	898	40.7	38.69	95.23	6.79
Varanasi	40.16	31.3	903	61.9	47.86	91.56	6.08
Bankura	7.37	44.7	952	62	42.95	97.31	2.54
Barddhaman	36.94	35.5	922	65.8	49.53	73.96	3.71
Birbhum	8.57	37.4	950	59.9	40.88	97.61	6.06
Наога	50.36	33.7	906	72.8	35.22	90.18	13.03
Hugli	33.47	36.9	947	71	29.14	97.34	4.12
Maldah	7.32	40.7	948	47.8	47.83	96.33	5.61
Medinipur	10.24	39	955	73.9	40.26	93.83	16.20
Murshidabad	12.49	34.2	952	52.3	36.17	94.95	4.53
Puruliya	10.07	44.5	954	53.2	33.80	97.77	5.09
Bidar	22.96	37.1	949	56.7	30.59	95.59	6.43
Gulbarga	27.23	43.1	966	42.3	52.32	97.19	2.08
Raichur	25.20	43.9	983	42.5	52.47	62.23	4.60

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	%pop.not	ors of Emplo	yment %	phc	mean	Healthcar	e Indicators	% children
	Seeking/	marginal	workers	per	age at	women	institutional	age 12-36
	available	workers	other	lakh	marriage	getting	delivery	manths
	work to	not	than	pop.	for girls	antenatal		received full
	the able	seeking	primary	1 1		checkup		immunization
	working	available	sector					
Districts	pop.	to work						
Adilabad	90.81	53.70	34.07	3	18.3	8.6	52.8	64.8
Anantapur	92.99	61.45	33.29	2	18.5	3.3	50.4	67.7
Chittoor Cuddapah	91.00	63.18	32.63 37.63	3	18.8	2.2	57.7 64.5	67.5 62.5
East Godavari	88.39	55.69	35.94	2	18.3	4.9	78.9	67.1
Guntur	91.59	58.00	32.88	2	17.9	4.2	64.3	61.8
Karimnagar	93.41	58.52	37.53	2	18.3	0.8	72.2	81.5
Khammam	91.27	50.24	25.51	3	18.0	3.1	61.7	78.5
Krishna	89.91	60.98	41.53	2	18.6	1.0	68.4	67.6
Kurnool	93.15	59.04	30.49	2	17.8	10.7	32.2	66.0
Mahbubnagar	93.44	51.35	26.15	2	17.9	18.3	48.2	28.2
Medak	92.35	55.15	31.57	2	18.5	1.9	67.8	62.7
Nalgonda	93.49	56.19	30.83	2	17.4	5.7	63.6	74.8
Nellore	90.98	63.03	37.00	2	18.3	1.2	73.7	48.4
Nizamabad	93.12	55.38	42.46	2	18.9	3.8	60.8	76.8
Prakasam	92.55	59.24	29.03	3	17.8	3.0	53.2	66.5
Rangareddi	81.69	53.76	57.91	1	18.8	7.9	64.1	51.8
Srikakulam	89.26	50.51	30.64	3	17.1	4.3	31.3	62.7
Visakhapatnam	81.88	51.94	44.78	2	19.2	16.1	50.0	50.1
Vizianagaram	91.54	55.85	31.21	3	18.9	2.9	42.1	66.3
Warangal West Godavari	90.95	55.13 56.61	31.58 30.60	2	18.3 17.8	1.5 3.2	73.9	58.9 55.9
Aurangabad	90.71	80.82	21.44	3	17.8	62.2	21.3	32.6
Banka	95.00	81.73	16.77	2	16.9	61.5	25.4	25.6
Begusarai	88.52	71.95	32.32	2	17.5	66.5	15.7	21.4
Bhagalpur	88.11	72.64	34.29	2	18.3	51.5	29.2	42.8
Bhoipur	88.33	75.78	25.16	2	17.3	48.4	37.4	32.3
Buxar	88.73	76.76	23.88	2	16.7	61.8	30.4	22.0
Gaya	91.24	79.21	21.92	2	17.0	67.0	23.6	14.4
Jamui	94.63	81.73	32.20	2	17.0	56.3	23.5	13.1
Jehanabad	92.33	82.51	19.26	3	17.0	66.4	35.1	16.8
Kaimur	1 1	_						
(Bhabua)	93.23	79.56	18.25	2	17.9	59.9	33.6	12.5
Lakhisarai	93.21	75.68	21.98	2	17.1	59.6	25.4	23.2
Munger	78.58	67.22	42.97	3	17.8	51.9	38.8	26.4
Nalanda Nawada	91.13	81.74 80.89	22.28 19.98	2 2	16.9	66.6	30.8	21.8
Patna	93.10 80.57	72.86	46.77	2	16.4 17.8	64.9 47.6	26.1 45.3	25.4 39.9
Rohtas	88.91	74.91	27.55	2	17.8	47.6	39.7	24.6
Samastipur	90.41	77.51	24.03	2	16.6	76.6	11.1	16.0
Saran	87.82	74.41	27.40	2	18.6	67.3	15.9	35.3
Sheikhpura	93.24	82.10	19.48	4	15.1	63.0	23.1	18.5
Vaishali	88.76	72.82	26.00	2	16.8	53.6	23.1	26.1
Bastar	97.29	83.06	19.75	4	19.7	34.3	25.1	44.9
Bilaspur	92.87	66.80	30.32	2	19.9	28.8	19.7	50.7
Dantewada	97.16	83.96	10.72	5	21.8	13.3	38.5	76.5
Dhamtari	96.62	64.07	22.27	2	19.2	9.5	18.9	68.5
Durg	91.32	66.47	35.98	2	18.9	2.5	21.6	80.0
Janjgir -		T				T	T	
Champa	95.72	77.18	19.92	2	18.3	26.0	11.3	47.7
Jashpur	98.25	90.97	14.97	4	19.5	27.9	20.1	62.7
Kanker	97.52	76.77	15.07	3	20.3	28.1	28.9	73.0
Kawardha	97.33	69.82	12.41	2	17.6	20.2	15.9	63.2
Korba	92.86	70.80	33.34	3	18.5	11.8	18.3	73.9
Koriya Mahasamund	94.75 95.98	86.52 74.96	24.08 17.90	3 2	17.5 18.5	34.8 8.1	9.2	61.9 54.5

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Raigarh	96.61	82.36	22.37	3	19.6	16.1	24.3	66.9
Raipur	92.27	64.28	41.72	2	19.3	16.4	17.3	66.5
Rajnandgaon	96.26	65.66	19.96	2	18.9	24.8	22.5	45.1
Surguja	97.44	86.16	15.50	3	17.6	28.2	19.5	54.8
Bokaro	72.51	60.42	55.90	1	18.6	27.5	25.2	33.3
Chatra	93.25	71.01	20.13	2	17.4	51.6	17.2	26.8
Deoghar	93.89	80.53	39.50	1	16.8	64.2	22.2	9.2
Dhanbad	72.21	57.84	60.62	1	18.5	32.1	36.3	47.8
Dumka	94.90	76.05	23.70	1	18.3	59.3	19.6	14.7
Garhwa	95.56	77.85	18.75	2	17.2	65.8	20.1	26.7
Giridih	92.74	70.85	32.16	2	17.4	52.7	22.5	21.0
Godda	93.29	73.50	22.85	2	16.3	64.6	9.8	7.6
Gumla	95.54	83.34	14.20	3	21.8	41.2	13.3	30.2
Hazaribagh	89.72	76.24	38.08	1	18.5	46.9	22.1	50.2
Kodarma	93.10	78.24	41.67	3	17.1	37.9	38.7	28.6
Lohardaga	92.77	77.20	21.19	5	19.0	22.6	24.2	50.5
Pakaur	97.35	83.18	29.66	3	18.5	61.0	15.3	23.9
Palamu	91.25	72.42	23.63	2	17.7	62.6	15.8	23.0
Pashchimi	02.00	77.01	22.55	_		40.5		
Singhbhum	93.29	77.86	33.57	2	19.0	49.5	15.0	17.9
Purbi	00.00	(7.55	15.5	١.	1	240	42.7	21.2
Singhbhum	80.38	67.55	65.15	1	20.1	24.9	43.7	36.2
Ranchi	83.48	78.21	41.08	2	19.1	31.0	24.7	51.3
Sahibganj	95.24	82.80	31.42	3	17.4	53.0	21.8	20.2
Bhandara	93.32	60.30	32.45	3	20.4	1.2	40.8	89.2
Chandrapur	92.57	58.12	34.80	3	20.3	3.1	41.5	64.0
Gadchiroli	95.14	56.96	18.45	5	18.9	11.2	20.5	36.9
Gondiya	94.54	62.63	36.06	3	21.4	0.8	36.7	80.4
Latur	94.43	76.74	27.84	2	17.8	6.2	51.2	77.7
Vagpur	87.83	60.95	61.56	1	21.2	3.5	73.1	50.9
Nanded	92.99	70.87	26.40	2	18.1	11.0	39.3	72.4
Wardha	91.42	66.78	32.00	2	20.2	0.9	64.2	68.0
Yavatmal	95.09	66.42	22.21	3	19.3	3.5	53.1	78.0
Balaghat	95.67	71.32	24.88	2	20.1	9.2	21.5	48.2
Chhindwara	93.86	73.43	26.14	4	19.6	34.5	25.9	46.8
Dindori	97.14	68.67	8.96	4	17.4	26.2	18.3	38.6
Jabalpur	82.28	61.98	64.01	1	20.5	9.3	42.4	50.2
Katni	93.10	68.94	39.40	2	19.1	16.0	18.9	39.3
Mandla	95.83	62.05	17.33	3	19.0	18.6	20.2	55.8
Rewa	94.84	83.11	26.12	2	18.3	23.6	22.4	35.2
Satna	93.62	74.92	35.44	2	16.9	60.0	20.7	23.1
Seoni	95.85	69.74	19.83	2	18.6	16.7	27.2	62.0
Shahdol	92.91	69.36	25.40	3	17.6	30.4	14.1	33.8
Sidhi	96.69	85.15	18.43	2	15.8	69.5	6.2	10.7
Jmaria	93.30	66.50	21.48	2	17.7	25.4	27.5	21.1
Anugul	80.41	64.92	40.96	3	20.0	25.6	37.1	49.4
Balangir	84.10	65.95	35.61	3	19.3	12.5	37.9	63.7
Baleshwar	78.15	66.21	32.19	4	20.0	32.4	28.0	67.2
Bargarh	88.28	68.37	28.94	4	19.0	12.0	32.1	74.0
Baudh	89.68	68.82	25.31	3	18.9	13.3	34.4	65.7
hadrak	73.92	65.88	31.51	4	21.5	27.3	35.2	52.9
Cuttack	72.18	65.62	56.79	2	21.5	13.6	52.2	72.7
ebagarh	86.97	59.75	28.52	3	19.8	27.3	32.4	50.8
Dhenkanal	67.54	59.03	38.38	3	19.7	19.8	47.6	60.1
Bajapati	94.70	68.84	22.06	4	19.4	25.1	21.3	44.8
Ganjam	85.33	65.46	41.66	3	19.2	23.6	32.7	57.5
lagatsinghapur	62.59	67.70	43.12	4	22.7	20.2	61.5	46.0
lajapur	61.18	60.28	40.57	3	22.0	27.6	36.2	38.8
harsuguda	77.13	66.08	49.02	3	20.0	13.8	37.2	76.6
Kalahandi	91.76	71.60	23.70	3	19.7	25.6	30.6	53.8
Kandhamal	93.27	68.04	30.11	6	19.4	30.6	32.4	56.8
Kendrapara	76.16	73.67	30.95	3	22.2	20.5	42.3	60.9
Kendujhar	83.30	63.10	31.37	4	19.8	27.8	19.9	37.8
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Khordha	59.65	58.48	68.84	3	22.1	19.1	52.9	60.3
Koraput	90.66	64.18	31.08	4	18.4	28.5	19.3	26.3
Malkangiri	93.20	66.39	14.77	6	18.0	45.7	10.7	39.3
Mayurbhanj	89.52	64.29	33.39	4	19.2	22.3	32.4	46.1
Nabarangapur	92.91	63.47	21.16	4	19.0	42.2	25.1	45.2
Nayagarh	72.13	57.13	32.48	4	19.6	28.1	38.3	60.1
Nuapada	89.99	55.55	25.62	3	18.6	21.3	24.9	46.1
Puri	65.68	60.43	35.51	3	22.8	16.1	60.6	68.6
Rayagada	92.50	68.67	27.47	5	19.7	28.0	20.2	54.3
Sambalpur	81.90	62.44	49.68	3	20.6	13.0	44.3	73.3
Sonapur	87.22	68.58	24.82	3	19.4	15.5	29.8	64.6
Sundargarh	84.84	69.59	49.24	3	20.5	24.7	32.2	61.5
Allahabad	79.55	76.39	48.28	2	18.2	68.0	20.0	21.2
Ballia	84.77	79.67	32.86	2	18.0	11.2	33.5	47.9
Chandauli	89.00	75.34	40.33	2	17.5	55.0	30.7	39.1
Ghazipur	90.44	83.52	31.26	2	17.9	12.7	24.4	31.1
Jaunpur	91.27	85.76	32.51	2	17.2	21.4	24.9	31.4
Mau	89.66	82.47	47.30	3	18.5	48.6	27.5	31.9
Mirzapur	92.61	78.87	40.65	2	16.5	43.1	20.9	23.3
Sant Ravidas							,,,,,	
Nagar Bhadohi	87.96	80.04	64.72	2	17.2	68.0	23.2	25.2
Sonbhadra	93.72	78.56	31.35	2	16.5	39.7	15.8	25.6
Varanasi	84.67	81.25	72.84	1	17.7	53.0	36.4	36.8
Bankura	82.45	62.20	35.09	3	18.1	3.8	62.3	67.4
Barddhaman	47.38	48.71	51.99	2	18.0	6.9	58.9	60.2
Birbhum	72.31	56.21	39.64	2	17.6	8.8	48.1	43.2
Haora	34.78	41.51	85.91	i	19.8	8.6	56.7	58.3
Hugli	52.70	54.47	62.52	1	19.5	6.5	75.2	73.6
Maldah	79.26	61.31	44.91	1	17.2	4.9	27.4	46.9
Medinipur	76.51	62.89	42.27	2	17.6	6.1	43.7	53.1
Murshidabad	71.04	64.25	50.01	2	18.1	26.0	33.2	27.9
Puruliya	82.07	57.80	38.93	3	18.3	13.5	48.9	65.5
Bidar	85.80	72.12	37.39	3	18.0	12.7	45.6	63.0
Gulbarga	92.37	78.83	32.20	3	17.7	20.0	31.1	48.4
Raichur	95.11	77.09	28.39	3	17.2	30.0	20.6	45.3

Particle	<u></u>		Basic Ameni	ties Indicator	S	Indicator	s of Well-off
h h banking telephone te	* · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·						% OF HH
Districts		1			i		•
Districts			1		1		HUNGRY
Districts							
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Adilabad 33.28 2.61 21.02 45.09 81.5 100 Anantapur 35.47 3.20 8.69 67.27 77.6 100 Cuddapah 34.62 3.74 12.62 72.01 83.3 100 Cuddapah 34.62 3.74 12.62 72.01 83.3 100 Cuddapah 24.07 4.58 27.18 56.14 82.4 94.4 Guntur 27.49 4.92 25.37 56.10 92.5 100 Karinnagar 28.10 3.51 53.85 83.36 92.1 99.4 Karinnagar 28.10 3.51 53.85 83.36 92.1 99.4 Karinnagar 30.74 4.20 23.04 55.90 91.5 86 Krishna 31.21 6.13 27.15 67.91 87.8 100 Kurmool 30.32 3.40 9.88 62.75 80 99.8 Mahbubnagar 28.23 3.40 9.88 62.75 80 99.8 Mahbubnagar 28.23 2.60 13.82 42.77 73.6 93.1 Medak 35.82 3.49 27.23 58.36 90.5 99.3 Malponda 27.05 3.73 29.58 60.69 89 100 Nellore 28.29 3.65 26.24 61.42 86.7 98.5 Nizamabad 37.30 5.59 33.90 70.97 81.9 100 Prakasam 37.98 3.16 13.93 57.44 91 98.4 Rangareddi 33.23 5.21 26.61 63.44 86.9 99.8 Kangagaram 27.09 2.02 6.38 41.46 82.5 99.2 Warangal 27.71 2.50 30.72 63.93 80.1 98.3 West Godavari 28.86 7.45 36.98 61.69 89.4 99.8 West Godavari 28.86 7.45 36.98 61.69 89.4 99.8 West Godavari 28.86 7.45 36.98 61.69 89.4 99.8 Washapatham 29.14 2.11 8.75 44.95 84.2 97.5 Vizianagaram 27.09 2.02 6.38 41.46 82.5 99.2 Warangal 27.71 2.50 30.72 63.93 80.1 98.3 West Godavari 28.86 7.45 36.98 61.63 91.3 100 Aurangabad 33.50 1.0 3.59 3.55 3.59 80.1 98.3 West Godavari 28.86 7.45 36.98 61.63 91.3 100 Banka 19.21 0.76 16.05 3.65 63.8 86 Begusarai 19.99 1.80 38.53 14.45 44.9 99.9 Bhagalpur 19.24 1.31 26.44 10.83 63.8 92.9 Bhagalpur 19.24 1.31 26.44 10.83 63.8 92.9 Bhagalpur 19.24 1.31 26.44 10.83 63.8 99.8 Bhagalpur 19.24 1.31 26.44 10.83 63.8 99.8 Banka 19.21 0.76 16.05 3.65 63.8 86 Begusarai 19.99 0.88 47.53 1.51 77.1 100 Kaimur (Bhabua) 23.09 1.25 37.18 9.00 59.7 100 Lakhisarai 5.55 0.44 26.14 1.79 55.8 97.7 Bhagalpur 15.81 0.81 1.43 4.49 99.9 Bhagalpur 15.81 0.81 1.43 36.22 14.15 55.8 99.8 Banka 19.21 0.76 16.05 3.65 6.99 5.33 98.2 Gaya 16.70 0.80 31.26 1.72 64.4 98.8 Bhapara 28.87 1.30 46.06 67.4 98.8 Bhapara 19.00 1.15 27.53 5.80 37.9 99.4 Shalanda 20.96 1.10 30.08 3.85 37.9 99.4 Shalanda 20.96 1.10 30.08 3.85 37.9 99.7 Shalanda 20.97 1.50 2.50 3.0				within			
Anantapur 35.47 3.20 8.69 67.27 77.6 100 Chittoor 34.01 4.51 14.79 64.67 63.9 100 Chittoor 34.01 4.51 14.79 64.67 63.9 100 Chittoor 34.01 4.51 14.79 64.67 63.9 100 Chittoor 34.01 4.51 14.79 64.67 63.9 100 East Godavari 24.07 4.58 27.18 56.14 82.4 94.4 Guntur 27.49 4.92 25.37 61.00 92.5 100 Chittoor 27.49 4.92 25.37 61.00 92.5 100 Chittoor 34.04 15.00 10.00 1	Districts			premises			1
Chitnoor 34.01 4.51 14.79 64.67 63.9 100 Cuddapah 34.62 3.74 12.62 72.01 83.3 100 East Godavari 24.07 4.58 27.18 56.14 82.4 94.4 Guntur 27.49 4.92 25.37 61.00 92.5 100 Karismagar 28.10 3.51 53.85 83.33 92.1 99.4 Khammam 30.74 42.0 23.04 55.90 91.5 86 Krishna 31.21 6.13 27.15 67.91 87.8 100 Kumool 30.32 3.40 95.8 62.73 80 99.8 Mabubnagar 28.23 2.60 13.82 42.77 73.6 93.1 Medak 35.82 34.9 2.22.8 83.6 90.5 99.3 Melor 22.3 5.5 3.73 29.58 60.69 89 100 Nelzamabad 37.30	Adilabad	33.28	2.61	21.02	45.09	81.5	100
Cuddapah 34.62 3.74 12.62 72.01 83.3 100 East Godavari 24.07 4.58 27.18 56.14 82.4 94.4 Guntur 27.49 4.92 25.37 61.00 92.5 100 Karimnagar 28.10 3.51 53.85 83.36 92.1 99.4 Karimnam 30.74 4.20 23.04 55.90 91.5 86 Krishna 31.21 6.13 27.15 67.91 87.8 100 Kurnool 30.32 3.40 9.58 62.75 80 99.8 Medak 35.82 3.49 27.23 58.36 90.5 99.1 Nellore 28.29 3.65 26.24 61.42 86.7 98.5 Nizamabad 37.30 5.59 33.90 70.97 81.9 100 Nizamabad 37.30 5.59 33.90 70.97 81.9 100 Visakhapatham 28.6 <td< td=""><td>Anantapur</td><td>35.47</td><td>3.20</td><td>8.69</td><td>67.27</td><td>77.6</td><td>100</td></td<>	Anantapur	35.47	3.20	8.69	67.27	77.6	100
East Godavari 24.07 4.58 27.18 56.14 82.4 94.4 Guntur 27.49 4.92 25.37 61.00 92.5 100 Karimnagar 28.10 3.51 53.85 83.36 92.1 99.4 Khamman 30.74 4.20 23.04 55.90 91.5 86 Krishna 31.21 6.13 27.15 67.91 87.8 100 Kumool 30.32 3.40 9.58 62.75 80 99.8 Mabubnagar 28.23 2.60 13.82 42.77 73.6 93.1 Medak 35.82 3.49 27.23 58.36 90.5 99.3 Nalgonda 27.05 3.73 29.58 60.69 89 100 Niclore 28.29 3.65 26.24 61.42 86.7 98.5 Nizamabad 37.30 5.59 33.90 70.97 81.9 100 Yisakhapatnam 37.98	Chittoor	34.01	4.51	14.79	64.67	63.9	100
Guntur	Cuddapah	34.62	3.74	12.62	72.01	83.3	100
Karimnagar 28.10 3.51 53.85 83.36 92.1 99.4 Khammam 30.74 4.20 23.04 55.90 91.5 86 Kurnool 30.32 3.40 9.58 62.75 80 99.8 Mabbubnagar 28.23 2.60 13.82 42.77 73.6 93.1 Medak 35.82 3.49 27.23 58.36 90.5 99.3 Nalgonda 27.05 3.73 29.58 60.69 89 100 Nellore 28.29 3.65 26.24 61.42 86.79 85.5 Nizamabad 37.30 5.59 33.90 70.97 81.9 100 Prakasam 37.98 3.16 13.93 57.44 91 98.4 Srikakulam 28.26 1.93 8.27 40.60 89.4 99.8 Visakhapatnam 29.14 2.11 8.75 44.95 84.2 97.5 Vizianagaram 27.09	East Godavari	24.07	4.58	27.18	56.14	82.4	94.4
Khammam 30,74 4,20 23,04 55,90 91,5 86 Krishna 31,21 6,13 27,15 67,91 87,8 100 Kumool 30,32 3,40 9,58 62,75 80 99,8 Mahbubnagar 28,23 2,60 13,82 42,77 73,6 93,1 Medak 35,82 3,49 27,23 58,36 90,5 99,3 Nalgonda 27,05 3,73 29,58 60,69 89 100 Nellore 28,29 3,65 26,24 61,42 86,7 98,5 Nizamabad 37,30 5,59 33,90 70,97 81,9 100 Prakasam 37,98 3,16 13,93 57,44 91 98,4 Rangareddi 33,23 5,21 26,61 63,44 86,9 99,8 Visakhapatnam 29,14 2,11 8,75 44,95 84,2 97,5 Vizanagara 27,09 2,	Guntur	27.49				92.5	100
Krishna 31.21 6.13 27.15 67.91 87.8 100 Kurnool 30.32 3.40 9.58 62.75 80 99.8 Medak 35.82 3.49 27.23 58.36 90.5 99.3 Medak 35.82 3.49 27.23 58.36 90.5 99.3 Nalgonda 27.05 3.73 29.58 60.69 89 100 Nellore 28.29 3.65 26.24 61.42 86.7 98.5 Nizamabad 37.30 5.59 33.90 70.97 81.9 100 Prakasam 37.98 3.16 13.93 57.09 81.9 100 Visakhapatam 28.26 1.93 8.27 40.60 89.4 99.8 Srikakulam 28.26 1.93 8.27 40.60 89.4 99.8 Vizianagaram 27.09 2.02 6.38 41.46 82.5 99.2 Warangal 27.71 2.50	Karimnagar	28.10	3.51	53.85		92.1	
Kumool 30.32 3.40 9.58 62.75 80 99.8 Mahbubnagar 28.23 2.60 13.82 42.77 73.6 93.1 Medak 35.82 3.49 27.23 58.36 90.5 99.3 Nalgonda 27.05 3.73 29.58 60.69 89 100 Nellore 28.29 3.65 26.24 61.42 86.7 98.5 Nizamabad 37.30 5.59 33.90 70.97 81.9 100 Prakasam 37.98 3.16 13.93 57.44 91 98.4 Rangareddi 33.23 5.21 26.61 63.44 86.9 99.8 Yisakhapatnam 29.14 2.11 8.75 44.95 84.2 97.5 Vizalnagaram 27.09 2.02 63.8 41.46 82.5 99.2 Warangad 27.71 2.50 30.72 63.93 80.1 98.3 West Godavari 28.86		30.74				91.5	86
Mahbubnagar 28.23 2.60 13.82 42.77 73.6 93.1 Medak 35.82 3.49 27.23 58.36 90.5 99.3 Nalgonda 27.05 3.73 29.58 60.69 89 100 Nellore 28.29 3.65 26.24 61.42 86.7 98.5 Nizamabad 37.30 5.59 33.90 70.97 81.9 100 Nelsasam 37.98 3.16 13.93 57.44 91 98.4 Rangareddi 33.23 5.21 26.61 63.44 86.9 99.8 Srisakhalam 28.26 1.93 8.27 40.60 89.4 99.8 Vizianagaram 27.09 2.02 6.38 41.46 82.5 99.2 Vizianagaram 27.09 2.02 6.38 41.46 82.5 99.2 Warangal 27.71 2.50 30.72 63.93 80.1 90.3 Warangal 27.71	Krishna ,	31.21	6.13			87.8	
Medak 35.82 3.49 27.23 58.36 90.5 99.3 Nalgonda 27.05 3.73 29.58 60.69 89 100 Nellore 28.29 3.65 26.24 61.42 86.7 98.5 Nizamabad 37.30 5.59 33.90 70.97 81.9 100 Prakasam 37.98 3.16 13.93 57.44 91 98.4 Rangareddi 33.23 5.21 26.61 63.44 86.9 99.8 Srikakulam 28.26 1.93 8.27 40.60 89.4 99.8 Visakhapatnam 29.14 2.11 8.75 44.95 84.2 97.5 Vizianagaram 27.09 2.02 6.38 41.46 82.5 99.2 Warangal 27.71 2.50 30.72 63.93 80.1 98.3 West Godavari 28.86 7.45 36.98 61.63 41.5 77.1 99.5 Banka							
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Prakasam 37.98 3.16 13.93 57.44 91 98.4 Rangareddi 33.23 5.21 26.61 63.44 86.9 99.8 Visakhapatnam 29.14 2.11 8.75 44.95 84.2 97.5 Vizianagaram 27.09 2.02 6.38 41.46 82.5 99.2 Warangal 27.71 2.50 30.72 63.93 80.1 98.3 West Godavari 28.86 7.45 36.98 61.63 91.3 100 Aurangabad 24.76 0.78 48.61 4.15 77.1 99.5 Banka 19.21 0.76 16.05 3.65 63.8 86 Begusarai 19.09 1.80 38.53 14.45 44.9 99.9 Bhagalpur 19.24 1.31 26.44 10.83 63.8 92.9 Bhojpur 33.61 1.03 59.01 3.31 53.3 98.2 Gaya 16.70	Nellore			 			
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	Koriya Mahasamund	11.84	0.62	12.11	55.20	67.8	92.7

Daireath	1 1656	1.23	1 0.51	1 5000	1 70	ا مدم
Raigarh Raipur	16.56 23.70	1.23	8.51 12.03	56.80	67.8	95.9
Rajnandgaon	23.26	1.08	9.92	61.26	57.1	100
Surguja	17.74	0.47	17.36	24.43	64.1	100
Bokaro	24.53	0.93	13.60	16.28	50.6	80.9
Chatra	20.27	0.39	9.11	4.00	68.2	79.3
Deoghar	22.68	0.67	8.69	8.29	68.6	97.7
Dhanbad	36.50	1.60	20.30	46.81	68.6	95.5
Dumka	19.67	0.66	6.94	4.32	44.7	82.5
Garhwa	14.43	0.59	8.76	4.03	44.7	92.2
Giridih	23.47	0.66	9.47	5.88	50.6	83.8
Godda	15.15	0.65	7.66	6.69	44.7	88.5
Gumla	20.43	0.66	5.54	2.80	54.3	92.3
Hazaribagh	32.32	1.12	17.62	18.68	68.2	97.7
Kodarma	33.82	0.85	13.19	14.90	68.2	75.5
Lohardaga	17.98	0.75	6.58	4.58	40.7	93.1
Pakaur	9.98	0.54	3.17	3.39	40.7	97.8
Palamu	19.49	1.04	12.37	4.79	40.7	80.9
Pashchimi Singhbhum	16.54	0.64	3.97	7.04	54.3	79.7
Purbi Singhbhum	21.61	1.09	9.10	13.03	62.7	77.6
Ranchi	19.34	1.24	7.71	10.59	67.4	99.9
Sahibganj	13.02	0.58	9.98	3.77	44.7	79.2
Bhandara	28.52	2.37	27.39	66.07	55.3	99.4
Chandrapur	36.11	2.58	21.79	51.73	68.8	98.1
Gadchiroli Gondiya	24.46	1.55	20.10	40.70	70.1 55.3	100
Latur	29.52	3.28	26.49 41.67	55.00 68.76	72	99.4 98.6
Nagpur	46.16	2.97	39.13	77.73	68.2	99.9
Nanded	34.38	2.83	33.28	53.65	56.1	99.9
Wardha	50.39	3.99	36.26	76.83	55.1	100
Yavatmal	34.90	1.94	24.04	48.34	66.1	99.5
Balaghat	14.43	1.31	20.76	54.83	39.8	76.6
Chhindwara	25.21	2.21	14.91	82.28	47.1	99.1
Dindori	9.87	0.69	4.11	34.86	39.8	100
Jabalpur	15.60	2.05	10.58	69.96	73.4	99.5
Katni	17.28	1.34	8.34	57.16	73.4	99.5
Mandla	13.87	0.98	7.18	45.15	39.8	100
Rewa	22.38	1.02	26.19	46.42	70.8	100
Satna	24.76	1.30	19.56	56.88	73.7	100
Seoni	15.52	1.53	14.99	64.26	44.4	97.9
Shahdol	14.11	0.76	30.45	31.63	66.6	95.3
Sidhi	17.47	0.63	21.24	31.47	66.6	100
Umaria	15.70	1.28	19.70	42.62	66.6	95.3
Anugul	26.01	2.75	20.62	21.13	52.4	89
Balangir	9.21	1.11	5.63	9.96	50.7	91.3
Baleshwar	22.17	1.93	26.06 5.52	27.44	57.1	99.2
Bargarh Baudh	12.62 20.57	1.66 1.22	10.90	25.10 10.56	64.2 31.5	94.7 75.2
Bhadrak	19.93	2.12	19.99	22.15	57.1	96.3
Cuttack	20.34	2.12	26.43	30.49	73.3	94.1
Debagarh	18.32	0.44	12.92	8.96	61.2	99.1
Dhenkanal	20.60	1.78	16.82	22.43	52.2	82.1
Gajapati	17.71	1.73	4.67	11.82	56.1	92.2
Ganjam	19.64	2.28	6.96	26.47	56.1	97.5
Jagatsinghapur	24.23	2.27	24.17	17.11	73.3	89.1
Jajapur	15.75	2.05	27.73	28.25	73.3	88.1
Jharsuguda	22.56	1.86	17.35	31.54	61.2	91.1
Kalahandi	17.37	0.88	7.10	9.78	25.1	84.7
Kandhamal	25.00	1.02	7.45	7.92	31.5	95.3
Kendrapara	23.33	1.45	15.12	23.96	73.3	92.4
Kendujhar	22.52	1.25	11.86	13.08	37.2	96.2
Khordha	20.04	3.10	23.47	37.94	78.4	99.1
Koraput	22.82	1.16	5.64	9.00	19.2	94.9

Malkangiri	16.44	0.55	4.24	6.58	19.9	<u> </u>
Mayurbhanj	23.82	0.96	11.32	11.84	33.9	8
Nabarangapur	19.12	0.76	5.84	5.00	19.9	9
Nayagarh	24.47	1.51	10.34	24.53	78.4	1
Nuapada	12.96	0.98	6.67	10.49	25.1	9
Puri	18.11	2.12	19.77	24.17	78.4	
Rayagada	20.49	1.16	6.15	11.16	19.9	7
Sambalpur	19.98	2.18	12.81	21.71	61.2	9
Sonapur	13.69	1.28	6.58	15.63	50.7	7
Sundargarh	20.32	1.58	9.76	16.96	61.7	9
Allahabad	34.40	2.99	17.33	28.61	74.5	9
Ballia	47.56	2.14	49.02	20.31	53.4	9
Chandauli	32.61	2.50	22.26	21.82	73.5	1
Ghazipur	47.52	1.56	26.32	16.79	59.6	9
Jaunpur	51.99	2.73	26.09	26.84	60.1	9
Mau	43.97	2.93	43.88	30.59	46.6	
Mirzapur	29.32	2.63	14.48	29.67	67.8	9
Sant Ravidas Nagar Bhadohi	39.63	4.66	19.01	39.04	73.5	9
Sonbhadra	21.92	1.36	10.29	10.10	67.8	1
Varanasi	38.89	4.04	23.13	48.19	73.5	9
Bankura	36.73	1.22	12.08	24.01	41.2	8
Barddhaman	33.16	3.23	22.81	26.08	82.2	9
Birbhum	33.76	1.74	12.34	23.59	47.6	9
Haora	33.67	1.92	5.42	31.17	73.4	- 8
Hugli	32.57	3.43	17.05	44.97	84.3	9
Maldah	23.97	1.95	24.52	14.37	52.2	7
Medinipur	33.79	1.27	7.73	15.94	76.2	9
Murshidabad	22.18	1.35	27.24	13.71	44.1	9
Puruliya	27.37	1.05	6.95	13.61	33.3	8
Bidar	23.17	3.53	17.70	69.22	70.3	i
Gulbarga	20.77	2.10	10.02	60.40	57.8	9
Raichur	20.33	2.51	8.69	59.31	51.2	1

Appendix II: Calculations of the Standard Score (Z score)
Descriptive Statistics (Over All)

Variables	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Urbanization	149	3.24	64.26	17.5218	12.51389
'Work participation rate	149	26.50	57.00	41.0107	7.20512
Sex-ratio(total)	149	872.00	1031.00	959.2416	36.37244
Literacy rate(rural)	149	26.20	78.70	55.4483	11.66542
Percentage of served habitations	149	21.71	97.70	61.5178	19.83691
Percentage Primary schools with more than one teacher	149	42.33	97.77	79.6860	11.67982
Percentage Primary schools with pupil teacher ratio <= 20	149	0.00	52.62	14.3789	11.70195
Percentage pop. not seeking/ available work to the able working pop.	149	34.78	98.25	87.9666	10.04375
Percentage Marginal workers not seeking available to work	149	41.51	90.97	68.8993	9.82204
Percentage Workers other than primary sector	149	8.96	85.91	32.9805	13.13589
PHCs per lakh pop.	149	1.00	6.00	2.5570	.97525
Mean age at marriage for girls	149	15.10	22.80	18.6114	1.41505
Percentage Women getting antenatal checkup	149	0.80	76.60	27.7953	21.36907
Percentage Institutional delivery	149	6.20	78.90	34.3832	16.83363
Percentage Children age 12-36 months received full immunization	149	7.60	89.20	47.7349	19.51407
Percentage Rural hh banking	149	5.25	51.99	24.4184	8.71122
Percentage Rural hh telephone	149	0.39	7.45	1.8377	1.26178
Percentage Rural hh having drinking water facilities within premises	149	3.17	65.56	19.1138	12.52525
Percentage Rural hh electrified	149	1.51	83.36	31.3954	23.12092
Percentage Pop. Above the poverty line	149	19.20	92.50	61.1027	16.74194
Percentage of hh not going hungry	149	75.20	100.00	94.7872	6.75825

II.1. Socio-Demographic Indicators

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
urbanisation	149	3.24	64.26	17.5218	12.51389
'Work Participation Rate'	149	26.50	57.00	41.0107	7.20512
Sexratio(total)	149	872.00	1031.00	959.2416	36.37244
'Literacy Rate(rural)	149	26.20	78.70	55.4483	11.66542
Valid N (listwise)	149				

II.2. Educational Indicators

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
% of served Habitations	149	21.71	97.70	61.5178	19.83691
% Primary Schools with more than ONE Teacher	149	42.33	97.77	79.6860	11.67982
% Primary Schools with Pupil Teacher Ratio <= 20	149	.00	52.62	14.3789	11.70195
Valid N (listwise)	149				

II.3. Indicators of Employment

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
%pop.not Seeking/ available work to the able working pop.	149	34.78	98.25	87.9666	10.04375
% marginal workers not seeking available to work	149	41.51	90.97	68.8993	9.82204
% workers other than primary sector	149	8.96	85.91	32.9805	13.13589
Valid N (listwise)	149				

II.4. Indicators Healthcare

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
phc per lakh pop.	149	1.00	6.00	2.5570	.97525
mean age at marriage for girls	149	15.10	22.80	18.6114	1.41505
% women getting antenatal checkup	149	.80	76.60	27.7953	21.36907
% institutional delivery	149	6.20	78.90	34.3832	16.83363
% children age 12-36 manths received full immunization	149	7.60	89.20	47.7349	19.51407
Valid N (listwise)	149				

II.5. Indicators of Basic Amenities

•	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
% rural hh banking	149	5.25	51.99	24.4184	8.71122
% rural hh telephone	149	.39	7.45	1.8377	1.26178
% rural hh having drinking water facilities within premises	149	3.17	65.56	19.1138	12.52525
% rural hh electrified Valid N (listwise)	149 149	1.51	83.36	31.3954	23.12092

II.6. Indicators of Well-off

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
% pop. Above the poverty line	149	19.20	92.50	61.1027	16.74194
% OF HH not GOING HUNGRY	149	75.20	100.00	94.7872	6.75825
Valid N (listwise)	149				

Appendix III: Composite Indices (based on Z score) of Selected Indicators of Development

	Socio-	<u> </u>	Indicat	Indicators	Indicat	Indicators	Overall
	demogra	Educat	ors of	of	ors of	of well-off	indicators
	phic	ional	emplo	Healthcar	basic		
Distrists	indicator	indicat	yment	е	amenit		
	S 1 22	ors	1.10	1.20	ies	1.00	7.12
Adilabad	1.32	1.33	-1.18	1.30	2.37	1.99	7.13
Allahabad	-2.59	0.00	1.09	-1.19	1.80	1.32	0.42
Anantapur	1.34	2.52	-0.23	0.18	3.07	1.76	8.62
Anugul	-0.05	0.94	-0.55	1.58	0.58	-1.38	1.13
Aurangabad	-2.48	-2.87	0.63	-0.06	0.38	1.65	-2.76
Balaghat	3.61	3.15	0.40	-1.13	-0.42	-3.96	1.65
Balangir	0.09	-0.56	-0.49	1.25	-4.33	-1.14	-5.17
Baleshwar	-0.76	-0.63	-1.31	3.29	0.20	0.41	1.20
Ballia	-2.38	-0.68	0.77	-1.82	4.80	-0.15	0.54
Banka	-3.87	-3.41	0.77	-1.87	-2.90	-1.14	-12.42
Bankura	0.06	-0.44	-1.07	1.64	0.04	-3.36	-3.13
Barddhaman	0.65	-2.01	-4.65	0.11	2.17	1.23	-2.49
Bargarh	0.73	-0.55	-0.33	2.23	-2.85	0.17	-0.61
Bastar	1.07	-1.20	1.36	1.86	-3.27	-0.06	-0.24
Baudh	0.40	1.35	-0.42	0.90	-2.49	-4.67	-4.93
Begusarai	-4.38	0.98	0.32	-2.00	0.18	-0.21	-5.13
Bhadrak	-0.21	-0.56	-1.82	3.81	-0.62	-0.02	0.58
Bhagalpur	-3.94	-1.32	0.49	-0.24	-1.32	-0.12	-6.44
Bhandara	3.11	2.84	-0.38	2.98	3.05	0.34	11.94
Bhojpur	-3.40	0.15	0.14	-1.15	2.39	-0.11	-1.98
Bidar	-0.28	-0.88	0.45	0.76	2.72	1.32	4.09
Bilaspur	1.32	0.50	0.07	-0.33	-1.47	-1.96	-1.88
Birbhum	-1.09	-0.22	-2.34	-1.59	0.12	-0.42	-5.55
Bokaro	-1.95	-4.22	-0.66	-2.90	-1.80	-2.68	-14.21
Buxar	-4.01	0.13	0.18	-1.89	2.23	0.04	-3.31
Chandauli	-2.62	-0.83	1.32	-0.74	1.30	1.51	-0.06
Chandrapur	2.45	1.68	-0.50	1.75	3.02	0.95	9.35
Chatra	-2.65	-3.96	-0.24	-2.41	-3.61	-1.87	-14.73
Chhindwara	0.95	3.59	0.53	1.94	2.25	-0.20	9.06
Chittoor	2.41	1.68	-0.31	0.76	4.31	0.94	9.79
Cuddapah	1.73	2.72	-0.25	2.10	3.92	2.10	12.31
Cuttack	0.77	0.77	-0.09	3.14	0.31	0.63	5.53
Dantewada	-0.13	-1.19	0.75	5.80	-4.18	-0.06	0.98
Debagarh	0.77	-0.67	-1.37	1.31	-3.27	0.64	-2.60
Deoghar	-3.03	-5.12	2.27	-3.87	-2.96	0.88	-11.83
Dhamtari	3.76	1.98	-0.45	-0.87	-0.15	0.09	4.37
Dhanbad	-1.17	-2.35	-0.59	-1.36	1.96	0.55	-2.96

Dhenkanal	-0.64	-1.55	-2.63	2.27	-1.05	-2.41	-6.01
Dindori	1.84	2.38	-0.94	-0.87	-3.63	-0.50	-1.73
Dumka `	-1.24	-3.58	0.71	-2.91	-3.62	-2.80	-13.4
Durg	3.69	2.37	0.31	-0.66	0.26	0.80	6.78
East Godavari	1.79	2.86	-1.08	1.77	3.85	1.21	10.40
Gadchiroli	1.27	1.24	-1.61	0.55	0.26	1.31	3.02
Gajapati	1.53	1.21	-0.17	0.98	-3.26	-0.68	-0.38
Ganjam	1.20	-0.33	0.05	1.07	-1.38	0.10	0.71
Garhwa	-3.58	-4.46	0.58	-1.72	-4.15	-1.36	-14.6
Gaya	-2.27	-3.28	0.53	-2.22	-2.02	0.79	-8.47
Ghazipur	-1.42	-1.33	1.60	-3.23	2.38	0.61	-1.38
Giridih	-2.41	-4.01	0.61	-2.34	-2.92	-2.25	-13.3
Godda	-3.32	-1.87	0.23	-4.00	-3.99	-1.91	-14.8
Gondiya	3.67	1.81	0.25	2.97	1.53	0.34	10.5
Gulbarga	0.12	-0.02	1.39	-0.72	0.32	-0.24	0.86
Gumla	0.58	-1.34	0.79	1.18	-3.71	-0.77	-3.27
Guntur	2.93	2.73	-0.76	0.32	4.58	2.65	12.45
Haora	1.63	-0.54	-4.05	0.21	0.02	-0.68	-3.41
Hazaribagh	-1.06	-2.40	1.31	-1.38	-0.33	0.85	-3.01
Hugli	1.70	-1.00	-2.73	1.79	2.62	1.64	4.02
Jabalpur	1.94	1.84	1.09	-0.52	0.14	1.43	5.92
Jagatsinghapur	0.12	-0.53	-1.88	5.54	0.11	-0.11	3.25
Jajapur	-1.23	-3.80	-2.97	2.49	-0.27	-0.26	-6.05
Jamui	-3.02	-3.35	1.91	-2.80_	-3.70	0.42	-10.5
Janjgir - Champa	1.68	1.62	0.62	-2.25	-0.77	-1.96	-1.06
Jashpur.	2.42	2.17	1.90	2.03	-3.25	0.70	5.97
Jaunpur	-0.40	-0.33	2.01	-3.27	4.23	0.19	2.44
Jehanabad	-2.12	-2.11	0.78	-0.42	-0.14	1.73	-2.29
Jharsuguda	1.59	-0.24	-0.14	2.43	-0.33	-0.54	2.76
Kaimur (Bhabua)	-3.72	-1.81	0.49	-1.42	-0.14	0.69	-5.92
Kalahandi	0.08	-1.06	-0.05	1.21	-3.46	-3.64	-6.92
Kandhamal	0.88	0.55	0.22	4.57	-2.53	-1.69	2.00
Kanker	3.50	1.44	0.39	2.63	-0.37	-0.06	7.54
Karimnagar	1.88	2.43	-0.17	1.92	6.97	2.53	15.37
Katni	0.15	0.20	1.00	-2.13	-0.96	1.43	-0.30
Kawardha	1.45	1.37	-0.54	-1.95	-1.06	0.53	-0.20
Kendrapara	0.81	0.20	-0.84	3.79	-1.07	0.38	3.26
Kendujhar	0.13	1.90	-1.18	0.95	-2.06	-1.22	-1.47
Khammam	1.30	2.90	-2.14	2.07	3.97	0.52	8.61
Khordha	0.61	-0.66	-1.15	4.26	1.13	1.67	5.86
Kodarma	-0.39	-3.78	2.12	-0.87	-0.89	-2.43	-6.23
Koraput	-0.37	0.45	-0.36	-0.63	-2.76	-2.49	-6.15
Korba	1.51	-1.39	0.71	0.01	-1.84	-1.96	-2.95

Koriya	1.66	-0.63	1.79	-0.77	-0.70	0.95	2
Krishna	2.89	2.77	0.04	1.21	6.40	2.37	15
Kurnool	1.21	1.94	-0.68	-1.14	2.51	1.87	5
Lakhisarai	-2.75	-1.06	0.37	-1.94	-4.03	0.01	-9
Latur	0.89	2.92	1.05	0.38	5.15	1.22	11
Lohardaga	-0.33	-2.17	0.43	2.07	-3.76	-1.47	-5
Mahasamund	2.95	1.06	0.27	-2.02	-1.82	0.09	0
Mahbubnagar	0.04	3.46	-1.76	-1.70	1.11	0.50	1
Maldah	-1.82	-0.01	-0.73	-4.12	-0.27	-3.15	-10
Malkangiri	-1.05	-1.41	-1.12	2.10	-4.20	-1.69	-7
Mandla	2.03	-0.60	-1.11	-0.13	-2.25	-0.50	-2
Mau	0.07	-0.49	2.64	0.13	5.05	-0.39	7.
Mayurbhanj	-0.06	-0.14	-0.28	1.44	-2.23	-2.70	-3
Medak	0.49	1.73	-1.07	0.89	4.43	2.42	8
Medinipur	0.60	0.29	-1.05	-1.47	-0.95	0.80	-1
Mirzapur	-3.24	-0.35	2.06	-3.40	0.75	1.08	-3
Munger	-3.45	-0.53	-0.35	0.18	-0.69	0.01	-4
Murshidabad	-1.82	-0.81	-0.86	-2.10	-0.76	-0.32	-6
Nabarangapur	-0.96	0.08	-0.96	1.75	-3.66	-2.15	-5
Nagpur	4.27	1.03	1.35	1.56	7.00	1.18	16
Nalanda	-2.29	-0.08	0.81	-1.51	-1.30	-0.70	-5
Nalgonda	0.81	3.33	-0.91	0.66	3.90	2.44	10
Nanded	0.93	0.62	0.20	-0.16	4.02	0.35	5.
Nawada	-2.59	-0.92	0.74	-2.03	-2.50	0.09	-7
Nayagarh	-1.48	-1.52	-2.81	3.06	-1.25	1.80	-2
Nellore	2.19	5.61	0.01	0.33	3.75	2.08	13
Nizamabad	2.14	-0.02	-0.14	1.57	7.34	2.01	12
Nuapada	-0.24	-1.10	-1.72	-0.50	-3.89	-2.18	-9
Pakaur	-2.95	-4.20	2.14	-0.43	-5.17	-0.77	-11
Palamu	-3.13	-3.31	-0.03	-1.96	-2.89	-3.27	-14
Pashchimi							
Singhbhum	-0.16	-2.90	1.49	-1.96	-4.12	-2.64	-10
Patna	-2.30	-1.54	0.72	0.03	0.24	1.00	-1
Prakasam	1.35	2.59	-0.83	0.80	3.32	2.32	9.
Purbi Singhbhum	1.03	-0.61	1.56	-0.72	-2.51	-2.45	-3
Puri	0.27	-1.96	-2.89	5.49	-0.76	1.66	1.
Puruliya	-0.45	-0.64	-1.26	1.34	-2.03	-3.79	-6
Raichur	0.56	-2.79	1.20	-1.38	0.44	0.18	-1
Raigarh	2.65	3.02	1.42	0.99	-1.13	0.70	7.
Raipur	2.42	1.69	0.62	-0.67	0.49	0.09	4.
Rajnandgaon	4.89	2.07	-0.50	-1.35	-0.18	0.53	5.
Ranchi	0.38	-2.75	1.12	-0.47	-2.87	1.13	-3
Rangareddi	2.16	2.07	-0.27	-0.42	5.67	2.28	11
Rayagada	0.38	-1.21	0.01	2.78	-2.90	-5.15	-6.

Rewa	0.09	1.46	1.61	-2.34	0.33	1.35	2.50
Rohtas	-2.87	-1.08	0.29	-1.09	3.63	0.42	-0.70
Sahibganj	-2.81	-1.54	2.02	-1.38	-4.23	-3.29	-11.22
Samastipur	-4.26	-0.93	0.44	-2.72	-1.38	-0.88	-9.73
Sambalpur	2.22	-1.05	0.01	3.07	-1.16	-0.20	2.88
Sant Ravidas Nagar Bhadohi	-3.16	1.60	2.55	1.51	4.31	1.33	2.92
		-1.60	3.55	-1.51	 		
Saran Satna	-2.94	-0.30	0.12	-0.47	1.50	0.23	-1.85
	-0.37	1.34	1.36	-2.35	0.75	1.52	2.25
Seoni	1.77	0.35	-0.13	-0.79	-0.17	-0.54	0.48
Shahdol	0.60	1.63	-0.04	-2.06	-1.12	0.40	-0.58
Sheikhpura	-2.66	-1.22	0.84	-1.52	-2.34	0.01	-6.90
Sidhi	-1.53	1.71	1.42	-4.18	-1.58	1.10	-3.06
Sonapur	0.29	-1.20	-0.73	1.03	-3.36	-2.93	-6.90
Sonbhadra	-3.43	-0.47	1.43	-3.74	-2.29	1.17	-7.33
Srikakulam	1.65	3.12	-1.92	-1.13	0.05	2.43	4.20
Sundargarh	1.19	0.60	1.00	2.22	-2.05	-0.18	2.78
Surguja	0.47	0.07	1.37	-0.76	-2.29	0.95	-0.20
Umaria	-0.22	1.79	-0.59	-3.10	-0.91	0.40	-2.62
Vaishali	-4.15	-0.33	-0.05	-2.42	-0.67	0.56	-7.07
Varanasi	-0.53	-0.38	3.96	-1.50	4.45	1.33	7.34
Visakhapatna							
m	1.93	-0.37	-1.43	. 0.35	0.52	1.78	2.77
Vizianagaram	2.18	2.49	-1.11	0.90	-0.13	1.93	6.27
Warangal	1.20	3.27	-1.21	0.90	3.24	1.65	9.05
Wardha	2.36	3.99	0.05	2.10	8.02	0.41	16.94
West Godavari	2.88	2.87	-1.16	-0.31	7.69	2.58	14.55
Yavatmal	1.53	3.71	-0.36	2.47	2.41	1.00	10.76

Appendix IV: Rural-Urban Inequities

Name	Modified Sopher's index literacy (R-U)	Modified Sopher's index hh electrified (R-U)	Modified Sopher's index hh availing banking servises (R-U)	Modified Sopher's index hh having telephone (R-U)
Adilabad	0.25	0.41	0.06	0.79
Anantapur	0.19	0.20	-0.17	0.76
Chittoor	0.16	0.26	0.02	0.73
Cuddapah	0.12	0.19	-0.10	0.66
East Godavari	0.13	0.27	0.13	0.65
Guntur	0.15	0.21	0.02	0.60
Karimnagar	0.24	0.10	0.11	0.81
Khammam	0.26	0.31	0.02	0.79
Krishna	0.12	0.20	-0.06	0.56
Kurnool	0.19	0.23	-0.04	0.78
Mahbubnagar	0.37	0.48	0.02	0.96
Medak	0.30	0.32	-0.05	0.87
Nalgonda	0.26	0.29	0.04	0.83
Nellore	0.16	0.27	0.00	0.78
Nizamabad	0.25	0.18	-0.14	0.64
Prakasam	0.19	0.26	-0.13	0.74
Rangareddi	0.25	0.28	0.08	0.80
Srikakulam	0.22	0.42	0.10	0.92
Visakhapatnam	0.31	0.45	0.13	1.03
Vizianagaram	0.28	0.40	0.10	0.83
Warangal	0.27	0.26	0.03	0.99
West Godavari	0.08	0.21	0.02	0.47
Aurangabad	0.18	1.20	0.35	1.08
Banka	0.21	1.07	0.42	1.04
Begusarai	0.32	0.88	0.52	1.02
Bhagalpur	0.28	0.88	0.45	1.06
Bhojpur	0.15	1.35	0.26	1.07
Buxar	0.19	1.10	0.25	0.96
Gaya	0.31	1.78	0.55	1.25
Jamui	0.32	1.14	0.41	0.91
Jehanabad	0.16	1.60	0.28	1.04
Kaimur (Bhabua)	0.22	1.12	0.40	0.86
Lakhisarai	0.17	0.85	0.21	0.72
Munger	0.23	0.86	0.40	0.83
Nalanda	0.19	1.27	0.28	0.86
Nawada	0.28	1.40	0.55	1.16
Patna	0.27	0.99	0.49	1.22

Rohtas	0.15	0.91	0.17	0.80
Samastipur	0.13	1.08	0.17	1.08
•		1		1
Sheikhaura	0.17	1.18	0.20	0.90
Sheikiipura	0.18	0.96	0.29	0.89
Vaishali	0.17	0.88	0.27	0.84
Bastar	0.44	0.58	0.56	1.45
Bilaspur	0.22	0.36	0.47	1.38
Dantewada	0.63	0.86	0.86	1.40
Dhamtari	0.05	0.16	0.26	1.21
Durg	0.10	0.22	0.42	1.05
Janjgir - Champa	0.13	0.19	0.34	1.01
Jashpur	0.19	0.81	0.58	1.36
Kanker	0.12	0.33	0.32	1.09
Kawardha	0.22	0.33	0.22	1.04
Korba	0.27	0.53	0.69	1.07
Koriya	0.20	0.80	0.68	1.02
Mahasamund	0.11	0.17	0.55	1.20
Raigarh	0.11	0.30	0.38	1.12
Raipur	0.15	0.25	0.22	1.05
Rajnandgaon	0.06	0.18	0.29	1.10
Surguja	0.32	0.75	0.67	1.48
Bokaro	0.32	0.85	0.55	1.04
Chatra	0.38	1.31	0.42	1.34
Deoghar	0.39	1.12	0.51	1.32
Dhanbad	0.16	0.37	0.29	0.70
Dumka	0.36	1.30	0.54	1.22
Garhwa	0.38	1.28	0.68	1.27
Giridih	0.39	1.24	0.40	1.33
Godda	0.43	1.14	0.71	1.27
Gumla	0.34	1.41	0.54	1.29
Hazaribagh	0.28	0.85	0.43	0.90
Kodarma	0.27	0.68	0.27	1.14
Lohardaga	0.34	1.22	0.56	1.21
Pakaur	0.53	1.42	0.75	1.21
Palamu .	0.37	1.23	0.52	1.14
Pashchimi Singhbhum	0.35	1.14	0.65	1.18
Purbi Singhbhum	0.30	0.98	0.63	1.19
Ranchi	0.28	0.99	0.60	1.28
Sahibganj	0.44	1.25	0.64	1.22
Bhandara	0.11	0.24	0.43	0.85
Chandrapur	0.16	0.32	0.31	0.73
Gadchiroli	0.10	0.44	0.43	0.85
Gondiya	0.24	0.44	0.43	0.83
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Latur	0.10	0.19	0.19	0.73

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Nagpur	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.
Nanded	0.13	0.34	0.07	0.
Wardha	0.10	0.12	0.09	0.0
Yavatmal	0.14	0.38	0.25	0.
Balaghat	0.14	0.27	0.56	1.4
Chhindwara	0.20	0.08	0.41	0.
Dindori	0.28	0.56	0.68	0.
Jabalpur	0.19	0.21	0.57	1.0
Katni	0.22	0.30	0.55	1.0
Mandla	0.28	0.45	0.63	1.0
Rewa	0.16	0.39	0.41	1.
Satna	0.16	0.28	0.36	1.0
Seoni	0.21	0.23	0.55	0.9
Shahdol	0.25	0.59	0.79	1.
Sidhi	0.24	0.52	0.69	1.2
Umaria	0.16	0.37	0.61	0.8
Anugul	0.18	0.75	0.55	1.0
Balangir	0.25	0.99	0.69	1.1
Baleshwar	0.09	0.53	0.40	1.6
Bargarh	0.16	0.64	0.56	1.0
Baudh	0.25	0.89	0.33	1.0
Bhadrak	-0.04	0.45	0.34	0.7
Cuttack	0.10	0.62	0.51	1.0
Debagarh	0.17	0.94	0.57	1.3
Dhenkanal	0.15	0.62	0.43	0.9
Gajapati	0.38	0.87	0.42	0.9
Ganjam	0.23	0.59	0.48	0.8
Jagatsinghapur	0.03	0.59	0.46	0.7
Jajapur	0.10	0.55	0.45	0.9
Jharsuguda	0.10	0.53	0.45	0.8
Kalahandi	0.33	0.97	0.38	. 1.3
Kandhamal	0.35	1.08	0.43	1.1
Kendrapara	0.06	0.59	0.34	0.8
Kendujhar	0.17	0.76	0.39	0.9
Khordha	. 0.11	0.45	0.54	0.9
Koraput	0.58	1.04	0.43	1.2
Malkangiri	0.48	1.08	0.55	0.9
Mayurbhanj	0.33	0.96	0.49	1.2
Nabarangapur	0.50	1.20	0.41	1.0
Nayagarh	0.14	0.60	0.30	1.0
Nuapada	0.33	0.95	0.61	1.1
Puri	0.04	0.62	0.61	1.0
Rayagada	0.51	0.02	0.42	1.1
Sambalpur	0.15	0.91	0.42	1.0

Sonapur	0.15	0.68	0.54	0.84
Sundargarh	0.26	0.88	0.58	1.12
Allahabad	0.23	0.68	0.34	1.02
Ballia	0.12	0.63	0.11	0.62
Chandauli	0.17	0.69	0.34	0.64
Ghazipur	0.16	0.81	0.16	0.83
Jaunpur	0.14	0.65	0.03	0.70
Mau	0.11	0.60	-0.07	0.55
Mirzapur	0.17	0.56	0.24	0.81
Sant Ravidas Nagar Bhadohi	0.11	0.47	0.06	0.61
Sonbhadra	0.44	1.14	0.73	1.11
Varanasi	0.10	0.42	0.15	0.78
Bankura	0.17	0.61	0.29	1.10
Barddhaman	0.11	0.59	0.32	0.64
Birbhum	0.17	0.58	0.34	0.86
Haora	0.08	0.55	0.26	0.94
Hugli	0.11	0.37	0.37	0.75
Maldah	0.32	0.82	0.43	1.08
Medinipur	0.08	0.73	0.30	1.04
Murshidabad	0.17	0.67	0.33	0.85
Puruliya	0.22	0.86	0.43	1.05
Bidar	0.18	0.17	0.44	0.72
Gulbarga	0.30	0.26	0.22	0.99
Raichur	0.27	0.19	0.34	0.77

Appendix V: Trends of Naxalite Related Violence

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2007	2008
OVERALL INDIA		İ	ļ				(31.3.07)	(31.3.08)
NO. OF INCIDENTS	1465	1597	1533	1608	1509	1565	403	358
POLICE PERSONAL KILLED	100	105	100	153	157	236	91	45
CIVILIANS KILLED	382	410	466	524	521	460	119	89
NAXLITE KILLED	414	216	87	225	272	141	53	74
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2007	2008
CHHATTISGARH		ļ	ļ			ļ	(31.3.07)	(31.3.08)
NO. OF INCIDENTS	304	256	352	385	715	582	145	124
POLICE PERSONAL KILLED	9	30	8	47	84	198	81	18
CIVILIANS KILLED	46	44	75 .	121	304	171	55	22
NAXLITE KILLED	10	8	15	32	74	66	33	32
JHARKHAND	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2007 (31.3.07)	2008 (31.3.08)
NO. OF INCIDENTS	353	342	379	312	310	482	116	106
POLICE PERSONAL KILLED	63	16	41	27	43	8	2	4
CIVILIANS KILLED	94	101	128	92	81	149	29	24
NAXLITE KILLED	13	21	20	7	20	13	0	22
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2007	2008
ANDHRA PRADESH							(31.3.07)	(31.3.08)
NO. OF INCIDENTS	346	577	310	535	183	138	34	26
POLICE PERSONAL KILLED	12	12	6	22	10	2	1	0
CIVILIANS KILLED	84	127	68	186	37	43	13	14
NAXLITE KILLED	87	163	47	161	133	45	13	11
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2007	2008
BIHAR						ļ 	(31.3.07)	(31.3.08)
NO. OF INCIDENTS	239	250	323	186	107	135	36	39
POLICE PERSONAL KILLED	6	26	5	24	5	22	6	4
CIVILIANS KILLED	111	. 102	166	72	40	45	7	14
NAXLITE KILLED	22	9	1	11	6	2	2	1
ORISSA	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2007 (31.3.07)	2008 (31.3.08)
NO. OF INCIDENTS	68	49	35	42	44	67	24	27
POLICE PERSONAL KILLED	7	12	4	1	4	2	1	18
CIVILIANS KILLED	4	3	4	13	5	15	3	3
NAXLITE KILLED	1	1	0	3	14	7	2	2
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2007 (31.3.07)	2008 (31.3.08)
MAHARASHTRA								(51.5.00)
NO. OF INCIDENTS	83	75	84	94	98	94	33	20
POLICE PERSONAL KILLED	3	8	6	24	3	3	0	1
CIVILIANS KILLED	26	23	9	29	39	22	7	6
NAXLITE KILLED	. 0	9	2	3	19	5	3	5

Appendix -VI

Name	Naxalite	Percentage	'Percentag	Percentage	Percentage	Percentage
	affected	forested	e ST pop.	pop.	workers	cultivators
	(1) and	areas to	to the total	Below the	other than	to the total
	non-	the total	pop.	poverty	primary	main
	affected (o)	geo. area		line	sector to the total	workers
	(0)		·	,	main	
					workers	
	A_1	A_32	A_10	A_6	A_36	A_37
Adilabad	1	37.52	16.7	18.5	34.07	35.71
Anantapur	0	2.67	3.5	22.4	33.29	33.10
Chittoor	0	13.91	3.4	36.1	32.63	33.58
Cuddapah	0	21.8	2.4	16.7	37.63	27.28
East Godavari	0	32.48	3.9	17.6	35.94	12.97
Guntur	0	8.75	4.7	7.5	32.88	19.76
Hyderabad	0	4.94	0.9	20.5	97.73	0.99
Karimnagar	1	13.77	2.6	7.9	37.53	28.65
Khammam	1	44.81	26.5	8.5	25.51	26.03
Krishna	0	3.14	2.6	12.2	41.53	12.58
Kurnool	0	12.06	2	20	30.49	24.08
Mahbubnagar	1	11.02	7.9	26.4	26.15	35.44
Medak	1	5.86	5	9.5	31.57	34.86
Nalgonda	1	1.36	10.6	11	30.83	29.63
Nellore	0	7.17	9.1	13.3	37.00	19.86
Nizamabad	1	14.13	7.1	18.1	42.46	31.45
Prakasam	0	17.04	3.9	9	29.03	27.55
Rangareddi	0	4.94	4.1	13.1	57.91	21.84
Srikakulam	0	7.66	6	10.6	30.64	26.99
Visakhapatnam	0	29.89	14.5	15.8	44.78	31.10
Vizianagaram	0	11.35	9.6	17.5	31.21	33.25
Warangal	1	25.13	14.1	19.9	31.58	34.41
West Godavari	0	11.69	2.5	8.7	30.60	14.11
Aurangabad	1	4.33	0.1	22.9	21.44	41.90
Banka	0	6.52	. 4.7	36.2	16.77	38.55
Begusarai	0	1.56	0.1	55.1	32.32	21.63
Bhagalpur	0	0.82	2.3	36.2	34.29	23.19
Bhojpur	1	0.46	0.4	46.7	25.16	39.45
Buxar	0	0.88	0.6	46.7	23.88	42.48
Gaya	1	11.01	0.1	35.6	21.92	37.11
Jamui	0	20.5	4.8	44.2	32.20	35.56
Jehanabad	1	0.25	0.1	22.9	19.26	38.40
Kaimur			_			
(Bhabua)	1	30.76	2.8	40.3	18.25	37.40

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Lakhisarai	0	16.74	0.7	44.2	21.98	35.22
Munger	0	19.52	1.6	44.2	42.97	18.67
Nalanda	1	1.94	0	62.1	22.28	36.89
Nawada	0	19.73	0.1	40.6	19.98	43.53
Patna	1	1.06	0.2	34.1	46.77	23.37
Rohtas	1	17.35	1	40.3	27.55	40.52
Samastipur	0	1.1	0.1	63	24.03	29.69
Saran	0	0.57	0.2	42.2	27.40	40.60
Sheikhpura	0	0.33	0	44.2	19.48	39.60
Vaishali	0	0.83	0.1	38.3	26.00	33.74
Bastar	1	54.77	66.3	52.8	19.75	63.56
Bilaspur	0	30.25	19.9	53.1	30.32	39.27
Dantewada	1	68.35	78.5	52.8	10.72	81.77
Dhamtari	0	31.62	26.3	32.2	22.27	43.32
Durg	0	9.19	12.4	32.7	35.98	37.03
Janjgir -						
Champa	0	3.74	11.6	53.1	19.92	53.60
Jashpur	1	36.88	63.2	30	14.97	67.23
Kanker	1	50.66	56.1	52.8	15.07	67.31
Kawardha	11	23.32	20.9	42.9	12.41	61.15
Korba	0	50.34	41.5	53.1	33.34	38.36
Koriya	0	61.58	44.4	35.9	24.08	50.31
Mahasamund	0	20.05	27	32.2	17.90	46.77
Raigarh	0	35.48	35.4	30	22.37	45.48
Raipur	0	31.62	12.1	32.2	41.72	34.51
Rajnandgaon	1	45.06	26.6	42.9	19.96	57.76
Surguja	1	45.58	54.6	35.9	15.50	61.42
Bokaro	1	29.76	12.3	49.4	55.90	22.62
Chatra	11	50.78	3.8	31.8	20.13	49.05
Deoghar	0	3.55	12.2	31.4	39.50	35.70
Dhanbad	1	5.81	8.5	31.4	60.62	9.57
Dumka	00	7.86	39.9	55.3	23.70	51.40
Garhwa	1	33.6	15.4	55.3	18.75	44.88
Giridih	1	15.78	9.7	49.4	32.16	47.43
Godda	00	18.48	23.6	55.3	22.85	39.87
Gumla	1	27.39	68.4	45.7	14.20	76.13
Hazaribagh	1	36.05	11.8	31.8	38.08	41.92
Kodarma	1	42.93	0.8	31.8	41.67	39.70
Lohardaga	1	37.36	55.7	59.3	21.19	64.02
Pakaur	0	18.71	44.6	59.3	29.66	39.34
Palamu	1	44.59	18.7	59.3	23.63	44.65
Pashchimi Singhbhum	1	37.62	53.4	45.7	33.57	47.33
Purbi Singhbhum	0	25.05	27.8	37.3	65.15	16.46

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Ranchi	1	22.5	41.8	32.6	41.08	46.81
Sahibganj	1	30.04	29.1	55.3	31.42	34.81
Bhandara	1	25.84	8.6	44.7	32.45	29.13
Chandrapur	1	34.49	18.1	31.2	34.80	30.29
Gadchiroli	1	69.78	38.3	29.9	18.45	53.26
Gondiya	1	37.92	16.4	44.7	36.06	34.57
Latur	0	0.92	2.3	28	27.84	36.73
Nagpur	0	19.83	10.9	31.8	61.56	15.65
Nanded	0	8.1	8.8	43.9	26.40	35.33
Wardha	0	13.41	12.5	44.9	32.00	28.75
Yavatmal	0	18.77	19.3	33.9	22.21	29.95
Balaghat	1	52.84	21.8	60.2	24.88	44.94
Chhindwara	0	38.47	34.7	52.9	26.14	44.94
Dindori	1	38.55	64.5	60.2	8.96	69.97
Jabalpur	0	20.57	15	26.6	64.01	16.28
Katni	0	23.35	23.1	26.6	39.40	36.14
Mandla	0	47.74	57.2	60.2	17.33	54.10
Rewa	0	10.18	12.9	29.2 •	26.12	41.97
Satna	0	22.18	14.3	26.3	35.44	36.84
Seoni	0	35.93	36.8	55.6	19.83	47.61
Shahdol	0	25.38	44.5	33.4	25.40	47.05
Sidhi	0	38.89	29.9	33.4	18.43	54.79
Umaria	0	44.14	44	33.4	21.48	49.67
Anugul	0	41.57	11.7	47.6	40.96	35.58
Balangir	0	8.04	20.6	49.3	35.61	40.32
Baleshwar	0	15.49	11.3	42.9	32.19	38.57
Bargarh	0	1.24	19.4	35.8	28.94	41.58
Baudh	0	15.09	12.5	68.5	25.31	49.70
Bhadrak	0	41.32	1.9	42.9	31.51	42.98
Cuttack	0	16.68	3.6	26.7	56.79	21.55
Debagarh	0	46.19	33.6	38.8	28.52	44.64
Dhenkanal	0	28.44	12.8	47.8	38.38	29.26
Gajapati	1	59.01	50.8	43.9	22.06	43.39
Ganjam	1	26.66	2.9	43.9	41.66	31.74
Jagatsinghapur	0	1.44	0.8	26.7	43.12	31.69
Jajapur	0	8.93	7.8	26.7	40.57	29.51
Jharsuguda	0	13.26	31.3	38.8	49.02	24.32
Kalahandi	0	27.01	28.6	74.9	23.70	40.38
Kandhamal	0	8.21	52	68.5	30.11	43.95
Kendrapara	0	40.68	0.5	26.7	30.95	43.54
Kendujhar	0	67.2	44.5	62.8	31.37	40.17
Khordha	0	15.43	5.2	21.6	68.84	14.29
Koraput	1	16.85	49.6	80.8	31.08	42.55
Malkangiri	1	37.78	57.4	80.1	14.77	70.54

Mayurbhanj	1	39.66	56.6	66.1	33.39	37.54
Nabarangapur	1	32.11	55	80.1	21.16	48.37
Nayagarh	0	21.74	5.9	21.6	32.48	38.39
Nuapada	0	43.83	34.7	74.9	25.62	49.83
Puri	0	6.06	0.3	21.6	35.51	38.72
Rayagada	1	38.64	55.8	80.1	27.47	38.45
Sambalpur	0	49.41	34.5	38.8	49.68	26.39
Sonapur	0	13.39	9.8	49.3	24.82	44.23
Sundargarh	0	42.17	50.2	38.3	49.24	32.86
Allahabad	0	3.13	0.1	25.5	48.28	35.92
Ballia	0	0.34	0	46.6	32.86	40.31
Chandauli	1	18.63	0	26.5	40.33	36.77
Ghazipur	0	0.47	0	40.4	31.26	50.92
Jaunpur	0	0.89	0	39.9	32.51	55.59
Mau	0	0.18	0	53.4	47.30	39.54
Mirzapur	1	13.96	0.1	32.2	40.65	35.23
Sant Ravidas Nagar Bhadohi	0	0	0	26.5	64.72	28.26
Sonbhadra	1	36.79	0	32.2	31.35	41.61
Varanasi	0	0.07	0	26.5	72.84	21.02
Bankura	1	3.37	10.4	58.8	35.09	33.30
Barddhaman	0	13.59	6.4	17.8	51.99	16.37
Birbhum	0	2.88	6.7	52.4	39.64	26.42
Haora	0	69.74	0.4	26.6	85.91	5.22
Hugli	0	0.14	4.2	15.7	62.52	15.46
Maldah	0	0.14	6.9	47.8	44.91	25.54
Medinipur	1	2.89	8.3	23.8	42.27	30.41
Murshidabad	0	10.43	1.3	55.9	50.01	20.71
Puruliya	1	10.43	18.3	66.7	38.93	38.00
Bidar	0	8.85	12.1	29.7	37.39	30.43
	0	7.01	4.9	42.2	37.39	33.58
Gulbarga Raichur	0	l	18.1	42.2	28.39	36.13
Natchur	<u> </u>	11.71	10.1	40.8	20.39	30.13