Chapter I: Introduction and overview of the district

1.1 Rationale for District Human Development Report

While writing on the human development perspective, Amartya Sen quotes from Dante's *The Divine Comedy*: "Born to ascend on the wings,/ Why do ye fall at such a little wind?" Sen then adds, "The contrast between what great things human beings can achieve and what limited lives most women and men end up living is truly remarkable". One wonders if Sen is referring to Birbhum, as the district epitomises the contrast in no uncertain terms. The coexistence of a large group of illiterate agrarian population and a Central University that has had deep association with two Nobel laureates has made the district truly remarkable.

The human development perspective explicitly recognizes expansion of people's choices and freedom as the basic purpose of development. Ever since the publication of the first *Human Development* Report (HDR) by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1990, the human development perspective has been strengthening its influence on the policy makers and development administrators, and on the way they view development. Some prefer to call it a 'paradigm shift' in development discourse as it draws our attention to the more direct and important aspects of human life than growth in income. UNDP has since been persuading all the national and sub-national governments in the developing world to prepare their own human development reports. The impact of such a drive seems quite evident around the globe. Many developing countries and sub-national units within these countries have taken major steps in formulating and implementing their long-term human development plans based on the reports they have prepared. While economic growth, investment, trade, inflation and balance of payments are all quite legitimate concerns of planners and policy makers anywhere in the world, people often value achievements that do not show up immediately in investment or growth figures. Greater access to knowledge, better nutrition and health services, more secure livelihoods, security against physical violence and natural calamities, political and cultural freedoms, participation in community life - these are all among the most important aspects of living that the human development approach draws our attention to.

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The State Human Development Reports for different states in India have been instrumental in infusing human development concerns into the states' policies and programmes. The positive impact that these reports have on the state plans in the recent years can be considered as a good reason for further extending the effort to produce District Human Development Reports (DHDR). There are even more important reasons why DHDRs ought to have a place in the overall strategy to improve human development in the state. It can be argued that the problems of various services that are directly related to different dimensions of human development, such as health care and education, can be better diagnosed at the district level than at the state level. Programmes such as the District Primary Education Programme (DPEP) have explicit focus on districts as the relevant unit for implementation of the programme. Districts are also the basic implementation units of the state's health care programmes.

A District Human Development Report is therefore expected to

- i) chart the progress the district has so far made on the human development front, in terms of various indicators;
- ii) reckon intra-district disparities of different kinds between rural and urban areas, across development blocks, among social and community groups, between men and women;
- iii) analyse the evolution and current state of human development by linking them to the social, economic and demographic processes that characterize the district;
- iv) identify the possible strategies for human development in the district.

The report would focus on such basic dimensions of human development as education, health, and access to basic resources (as indicated by income and assets). However, in each of these areas district-specific factors will have to be identified and analysed. In terms of indicators of human development, Birbhum turns out to be one of the backward districts of West Bengal, as it ranked 14 among the 17¹ districts, according to West Bengal Human Development Report, 2004. The presence of a significant number of people belonging to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the Muslim

¹ Wherever Census 2001 data have been used the comparison has been done among the 17 instead of 19 districts, as the bifurcation of West Dinajpur as well as Medinipur is a more recent event than the Census.

community in the district, who are generally more disadvantaged than others, makes it important to focus on various forms of inter-group disparities. The special emphasis will be on different forms of vulnerability among various segments of population. Various indicators will be presented at different levels of disaggregation depending on the availability of data, complemented by studies based on small surveys that researchers have done. However, the richness of the concept of human development hardly matches the data that are currently available at the district and sub-district levels. On a number of variables the data available with the concerned departments do not seem adequate. This is understandable given the fact that they are collected and maintained for various administrative purposes which are somewhat different from the analytical purpose of a report like the district human development report. A district human development report, therefore, must be an exercise in optimisation given the data constraint.

The report is divided into nine chapters including the present one. In the rest of the present chapter, we present an overall picture of Birbhum, its population, land area and demographic composition with district and block level indicators. In Chapter II, progress in the area of education is analysed. Chapter III deals with public health and medical care. In Chapter IV the economic opportunities and livelihood issues will be discussed. In this chapter, the possibilities of expanding economic opportunities are also discussed. The livelihood issues cannot be fully appreciated without the related problem of vulnerability. In Chapter V, it is discussed why the issue of vulnerability is distinct from poverty per se and various indicators of vulnerability have been used to rank blocks. Various natural and other disasters like flood and epidemic of avian flu that make people vulnerable have also been discussed in this chapter. In Chapter VI we revisit some of the indicators of inter-group disparities that we discuss in Chapters I and II and relate to the policy measures adopted by the state that aim at reducing these disparities. In Chapter VII we focus on women and children. We revisit the indicators of malefemale disparity in health, education and economic opportunities and relate them to the state's attempt to reduce these disparities. The state's efforts at improving human development indicators and their distribution among different groups of people logically lead to the issues in governance. The effects of decentralisation and the need for and possibilities of convergence among various units of the state machinery are discussed in Chapter VIII. Chapter IX concludes.

1.2 The Land and the people

Birbhum is one of the 19 districts of West Bengal sharing 5.12 per cent of the land area of the state but 3.76 per cent of its total population, indicating a relatively lower density of population per square kilometre in the district (663) vis-à-vis the state (903). Between 1991 and 2001 census years, the population of Birbhum increased from 25.56 lakhs to 30.15 lakhs registering 18.0 per cent decennial growth rate, which is marginally higher than the growth rate of population in West Bengal as a whole (17.8 per cent).

The district is characterised by an undulating topography caused by the Chhotanagpur plateau that protrudes through the western borders of the district. The land terrain slopes down towards the east and merges with the alluvial plains of the Ganga. The district is triangular in shape with the river Ajoy forming the base of the triangle. The river forms the boundary between Birbhum and Bardhaman districts. The district borders the states of Jharkhand and Bihar on the west, and lies at the eastern end of the Chhotanagpur plateau. Another important river is Mayurakshi, on which a river valley project that includes the Tilpara Barrage provides irrigation for about 600,000 acres (2400 km²).

Almost all the rivers flowing through Birbhum originate in the Chhotanagpur plateau region of Jharkhand and flow across the district in a west-east direction. These rivers are seasonal in nature, and have their maximum flow in the monsoon, but dry up in summer. The district experiences occasional floods due to occasionally heavy rainfall coupled with breaches of river embankments. Excess rainfall in the upper catchment areas of the major river valley projects such as Mayurakshi, Hinglow and Dwarka raises the level of water in the reservoirs and when the excess water is released large areas of the district get flooded, which in turn seriously affects the lives of people. Proneness to disasters such as these has important implications for the district's human development strategy.

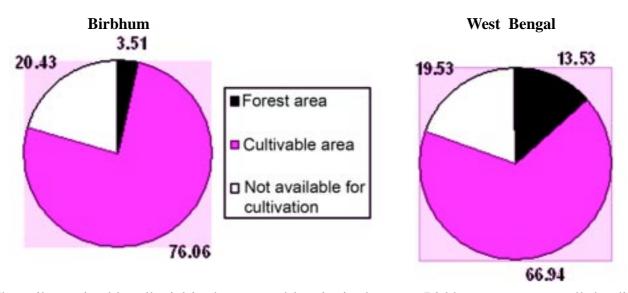
The comparatively fertile eastern portion, constituting the north-eastern Rarh region, merges with the Gangetic plain. Important geographical features in Birbhum are the *khoai* (eroded undulated patches of barren area), the red soil (*ranga mati*), with palm trees visible from a long distance and protected forest areas on the western side. However, the total area under forest as a percentage of total land area of the district is much smaller (3.5 per cent) compared to the state as a whole (13.5 per cent). The principal feature of the geology of Birbhum is the gradient of red soil. Birbhum has

some mineral reserves that are relatively unimportant in the national context but are important locally. Coal, China clay, low grade iron-ore and granite are mined in west Birbhum.

The climate on the western region near the edge of the Chhotanagpur Plateau is dry and extreme, but is relatively milder on the eastern side. Summer temperatures can be over 40°C and winter lows are about 10°C. The region receives a rainfall of around 1,300 mm per year, mostly concentrated in the monsoon. The dry plateau feature makes the land in the west less fertile compared to the plains in the east. Situated near the main railway route connecting Delhi and Kolkata, the district is easily accessed by railroad. The main railway stations are at Bolpur and Rampurhat, with regular trains to Kolkata. The area is also accessible by road from other parts of the country as it is flanked by National Highways 2 and 34 on the south and east.

The district is predominantly agricultural; 76.06 per cent of total land area is reckoned as cultivable, which is ten percentage points higher than that for West Bengal as a whole.

Figure 1.1 Land use pattern in Birbhum and West Bengal, 2004-05



The soil type is older alluvial in the east and laterite in the west. Birbhum tops among all the districts in West Bengal in terms of per capita cereal production. This cannot be attributed entirely to the high percentage of cultivable land area only. Both Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dinajpur have even higher percentage of cultivable land, but per capita cereal production in those districts lag far behind Birbhum. Productivity of cereals like rice and wheat as well as other foodgrains is higher in Birbhum compared to the state as a whole. Although the vast areas of the district remain rural, in recent times

the Bolpur-Sriniketan area has been the site of many real estate development projects such as condominiums and housing complexes for people from urban centres in West Bengal.

Table 1.1: Land use pattern in Birbhum and West Bengal, 2005-06

	Reporting area (hectares)	% forest area	% Cultivable area	% area not available for cultivation
Birbhum	451118	3.51	76.06	20.43
West Bengal	8682954	13.53	66.94	19.53

Source: Statistical Abstract, Government of West Bengal

Administratively Birbhum is divided into three Sub-divisions: Sadar, Rampurhat and Bolpur. Rampurhat is the largest of the three Sub-divisions in terms of population sharing 42 per cent of the total population of the district, followed by Sadar (33 per cent) and Bolpur (25 per cent). Some pieces of basic information on the three Sub-divisions are provided in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Select indicators by Sub-divisions in Birbhum

	Rampurhat	Sadar	Bolpur
Area (sq km)	1574.23	1782.72	1186.66
Population (lakh)	12.70	9.86	7.60
Population density			
(persons/ sq km)	807	553	640
Percentage of urban population	4.0	14.4	8.6
Number of blocks or			
Panchayat Samitis	8	7	4
Blocks or Panchayat Samitis in each Sub-division	Nalhati – I Nalhati – II Murarai – I Murarai – II Mayureswar – I Mayureswar –II Rampurhat – I Rampurhat - II	Md Bazar Sainthia Dubrajpur Rajnagar Suri – I Suri – II Khoyrasole	Bolpur-Sriniketan Labhpur Nanoor Illambazar
Total number of Panchayats	65	62	40
Number of municipalities	2	3	1
Municipalities	Nalhati Rampurhat	Sainthia Dubrajpur Suri	Bolpur

Source: Census 2001, Birbhum District Statistical Handbook 2005

Figure 1.2: Administrative boundaries of blocks in Birbhum

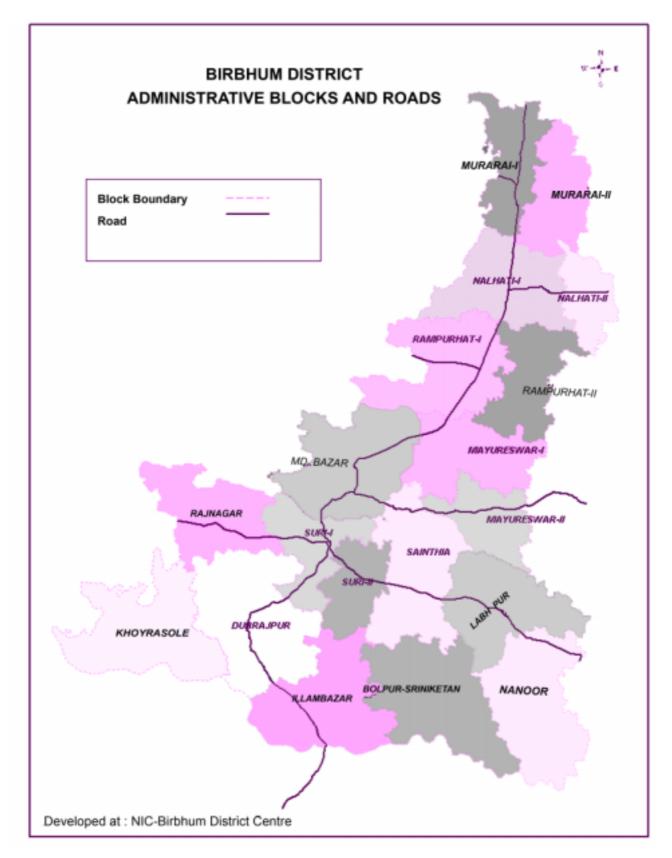
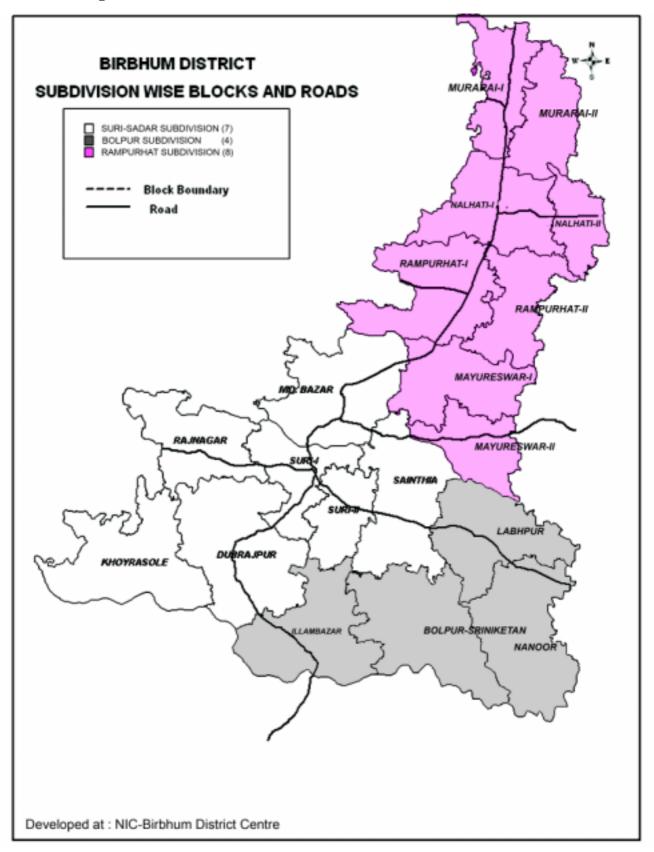


Figure 1.3: Administrative boundaries of Sub-divisions of Birbhum



Religious and Caste Composition

According to 2001 Census, 64.5 per cent of the population are Hindu and 35.1 per cent are Muslims². Between 1991 and 2001 census years, the Hindu population grew at a rate of 1.34 per cent per annum, while the Muslim population grew at a rate of 2.27 per cent. As a result of a higher rate of growth of Muslim population, the share of Muslims in total population increased from 33.1 per cent to 35.1 per cent, while the share of Hindus decreased from 66.6 per cent to 64.5 per cent.

Among the non-Muslims, a large section belongs to the Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST), which are generally considered to be socially disadvantaged classes. In Birbhum the share of SC population is 29.5 per cent as against 23 per cent in West Bengal and the share of ST is 6.7 per cent as against 5.5 per cent in West Bengal. These two categories of the disadvantaged population together constitute 36.2 per cent, which is significantly higher than the corresponding percentage share for West Bengal (28.5 per cent). In 12 among the 19 blocks in Birbhum, SC population exceeds 30 per cent (Table 1.3).

Except Rampurhat municipality, SC population in other municipalities is less than 25 per cent.³ In six blocks the percentage of ST population is more than 10. They are Rampurhat-I (13.2 per cent), Md Bazar (19.2 per cent), Sainthia (12.1 per cent), Rajnagar (15.1 per cent), Suri II (12.7 per cent) and Bolpur-Srininketan (17.9 per cent). Almost half of the population belonging to the STs live in only four blocks, viz. Bolpur-Sriniketan (15.7)4, Md. Bazar (13.2), Sainthia (10.4) and Rampurhat-I (10.4).

² The rest includes Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, others, and religion not stated.

² Since Nalhati municipality has been constituted after Census 2001, we do not have population data for Nalhati municipality from Census

⁴ Figure in the parenthesis next to each of these four blocks indicates the block's share in total ST population in the district.

Table 1.3: Population, population density, SC, ST and Muslim population (number and percentage) across blocks, municipalities and sub-divisions of Birbhum

	Populat	ion ('000))		Percentage of total population				
	SC	ST	Muslim	Total	SC	ST	Muslim	SC+ST+	Popln
								Muslim	per km²
Blocks									
Nalhati-I	69.1	9.1	97.4	175.6	33.1	4.4	46.7	84.2	836
Nalhati-II	24.2	0.9	73.2	98.3	22.5	0.9	68.0	91.4	986
Murarai-I	39.0	7.6	86.8	133.4	25.3	4.9	56.2	86.4	879
Murarai-II	31.8	0.7	130.9	163.4	17.9	0.4	73.6	91.9	959
Mayureswar-I	45.6	9.1	38.8	93.5	32.6	6.5	27.8	66.9	621
Mayureswar-II	34.6	7.6	26.9	69.1	30.6	6.7	23.8	61.1	722
Rampurhat-I	50.0	21.0	46.2	117.2	31.4	13.2	29.0	73.6	553
Rampurhat-II	52.4	0.7	74.7	127.8	33.0	0.4	47.0	80.5	874
Md. Bazar	37.4	26.8	40.5	104.7	26.8	19.2	29.0	75.0	442
Sainthia	60.3	21.2	35.1	116.6	34.3	12.1	20.3	66.7	577
Dubrajpur	55.5	8.1	50.2	113.8	34.9	5.1	31.6	71.6	461
Rajnagar	23.6	10.5	9.3	43.4	33.9	15.1	13.3	62.3	315
Suri-I	35.0	8.2	24.4	67.6	36.3	8.5	25.3	70.1	624
Suri-II	25.4	9.8	23.3	58.5	33.0	12.7	30.2	75.9	567
Khoyrasol	47.4	2.2	30.2	79.8	35.1	1.6	22.3	59.1	496
Bolpur-Sriniketan	53.2	32.0	43.6	128.8	29.9	17.9	24.5	72.3	532
Labhpur	52.1	7.3	50.7	110.1	29.5	4.1	28.7	62.3	660
Nanoor	61.8	3.8	64.8	130.4	31.9	2.0	33.5	67.3	621
Illambazar	34.8	12.7	66.7	114.2	24.0	8.8	45.9	78.7	555
Rural Birbhum	833.2	199.3	1012.5	2046.2	30.1	7.2	36.7	74.0	613
Municipalities									
Rampurhat	13.1	1.0	10.2	24.3	25.9	2.0	20.1	48.0	12813
Dubrajpur	7.2	1.0	9.1	17.3	22.0	3.1	27.9	53.0	1946
Suri	12.3	0.9	14.8	28.0	19.8	1.4	23.8	45.0	6883
Sainthia	9.2	0.6	4.2	14.0	23.5	1.5	10.8	35.8	4968
Bolpur	15.0	1.0	5.8	21.8	22.8	1.6	8.8	33.2	6122
Urban Birbhum	56.8	4.5	45.4	105.4	22.9	1.8	17.5	42.2	5170
Birbhum	889.9	203.1	1057.9	3015.4	29.5	6.7	35.1	71.3	664

Note: Nalhati Municipality was established on 26/06/2001.

Source: Census 2001

Muslims, who constitute the second largest religious community in Birbhum, are largely concentrated in the rural areas. While 8.6 per cent of Birbhum's total population live in urban areas, only 4.3 per cent of the total Muslim population find themselves in the urban areas. In other words, while the share of Muslims in total population is 35.1 per cent, their share in urban population is only 17.6 per cent. Low share of Muslim population in the urban areas indicates that a large section of the community does not get the opportunity to enjoy better amenities of urban life.

In the rural areas, concentration of Muslims varies from block to block. While Rajnagar shows comparatively low concentration of Muslims (only 13.3 per cent), there are six blocks which have more than 45 per cent Muslim population. They are Nalhati-I (46.7 per cent), Nalhati-II (68.0 per cent), Murarai-I (56.2 per cent), Murarai-II (73.6 per cent) and Illambazar (45.9 per cent) and Rampurhat -II (47.0 per cent). Except Illambazar, all these blocks are located in the northern part of Birbhum. In other words, these five northern blocks of Birbhum together account for 46 per cent of Muslim population living in rural areas (44 per cent of Muslim population living in Birbhum).

Since it has been observed that the incidence of poverty and illiteracy is higher in pockets with large shares of Muslim population, it may be a useful idea to combine the Muslims with SCs and STs and consider the combined population as disadvantaged from human development point of view. By this reckoning, in 14 out of 19 blocks, two-thirds of the population are socio-economically disadvantaged. In four blocks the share of the population belonging to these groups exceeds 80 per cent. They are Nalhati-I, Nalhati-II, Murarai-I, Murarai-II and Rampurhat-II. Curiously, these are the blocks which have very high population density. High population density lowers the per capita availability of agricultural land. In a high population density area not many people can productively engage in agriculture. Therefore, in high population density areas non-farm income earning activities need to be the focus of attention.

Urbanisation and Population Density

Birbhum is one of the few districts of West Bengal where the share of urban population is less than 10 per cent. West Bengal has a good number of towns and urban agglomerations that have a population exceeding one lakh each. There are 58 such towns and 16 such urban agglomerations, but none of them is in Birbhum. According to Census 2001, only 8.6 per cent of the population of the district lived in urban areas, whereas the corresponding average for West Bengal was 28 per cent. Even if we exclude Kolkata, Howrah and North 24 Parganas, the percentage of urban population in the rest of the 14 districts would turn out to be 17.4 per cent. Besides Birbhum, the three other districts that have less than 10 per cent urban population are Bankura (7.4 per cent), Koch Behar (9.1 per cent) and Malda (7.3 per cent). The urban population of Birbhum is spread in six municipalities (Bolpur, Suri, Saithia, Dubrajpur, Rampurhat and Nalhati) and a census town (Ahmadpur). Sadar Sub1

division is the most urbanised (14.4), followed by Bolpur (8.6), and Rampurhat (4) sub-division is the least urbanised. However, because of its large size in terms of population, more than 40 per cent of Birbhum's urban population is in Rampurhat Sub-division. Figures on percentages of urban population in Birbhum and West Bengal for the past one century are presented in Figure 1.4. The figure shows that the gap in the percentage of urban population between West Bengal and Birbhum has widened over the years. The expansion of urbanised population in some West Bengal districts is in sharp contrast with Birbhum's almost stagnant level of urbanisation in the recent decades.

Figure 1.4: Percentage of urban population in Birbhum and West Bengal (1901-2001



It is expected that the districts with low urbanisation would have comparatively low population density. It seems that the overall density of population of a district is the result of two effects. Since urban areas are much more densely populated than rural areas, low overall density largely results from low urbanisation. But this is not all. Districts with high urbanisation tend to have high population density in rural areas as well. Howrah, Hooghly and North 24 Parganas have very high density of population in both urban and rural areas. The population density of Birbhum is 663 which is much lower than the population density of West Bengal as a whole (903), or little lower than West Bengal excluding Kolkata. The density in rural Birbhum (613) is also lower than the average density for rural West Bengal (676). Figure 1.5 shows that since the nineteen fifties the density of population in West Bengal on the whole has risen much faster than that of Birbhum.

Within Birbhum district population density is not uniform. According to 2001 Census, among the Sub-divisions, population density is highest in Rampurhat (807 per square km) followed by Bolpur (640) and Suri/Sadar (553). There is a high inter-block variation in population density (Table 1.3). On the one hand, there are blocks with low population density such as Rajnagar (315). Rajnagar also has the lowest population among all blocks (around 70,000). There are five blocks all located in the northern part of Birbhum having population density more than 800. These blocks are Nalhati-I (836), Nalhati-II (986), Murarai-I (879), Murarai-II (959) and Rampurhat-I (874). Nalhati-I also has the highest population (more than two lakh) among all the blocks. Among the municipalities, Rampurhat has the highest population density (12813) followed by Suri (6883), Bolpur (6122), Sainthia (4968) and Dubrajpur (1946) (Table 1.3).

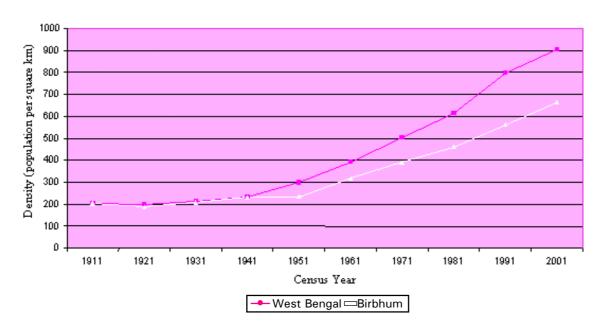


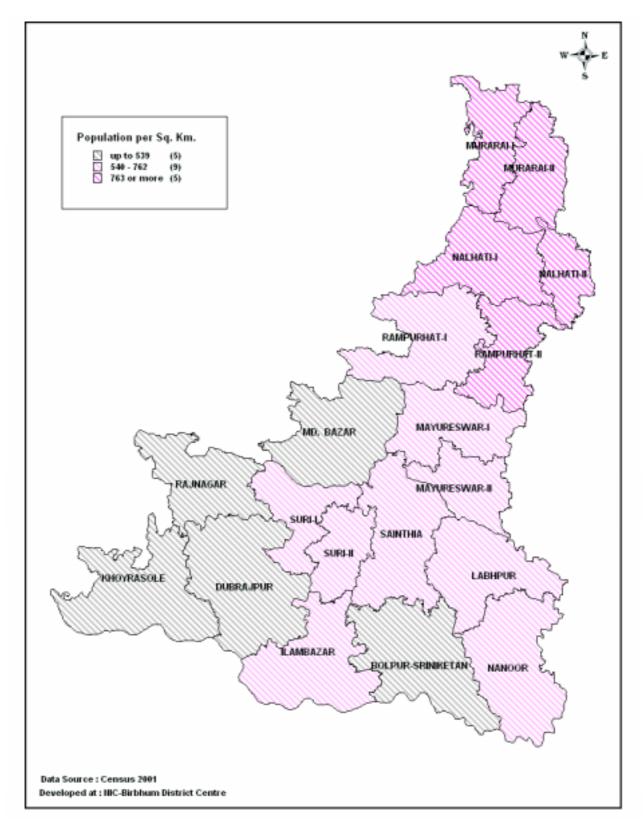
Figure 1.5: Population density in West Bengal and Birbhum (1911-2001)

High population density imposes different types of problems in rural and urban areas. In the rural areas, high population density means dependence of a larger number of people on relatively scarce land. High population density limits the scope for sustenance by the population based on local agriculture. In the absence of adequate scope for non-farm activities, people are bound to face livelihood-related problems, which in turn would severely constrain the prospect of human development. In the urban areas high population density imposes high burden on the civic amenities and makes it more difficult to ensure provision of basic services, such as drainage, drinking water and disposal of solid wastes.

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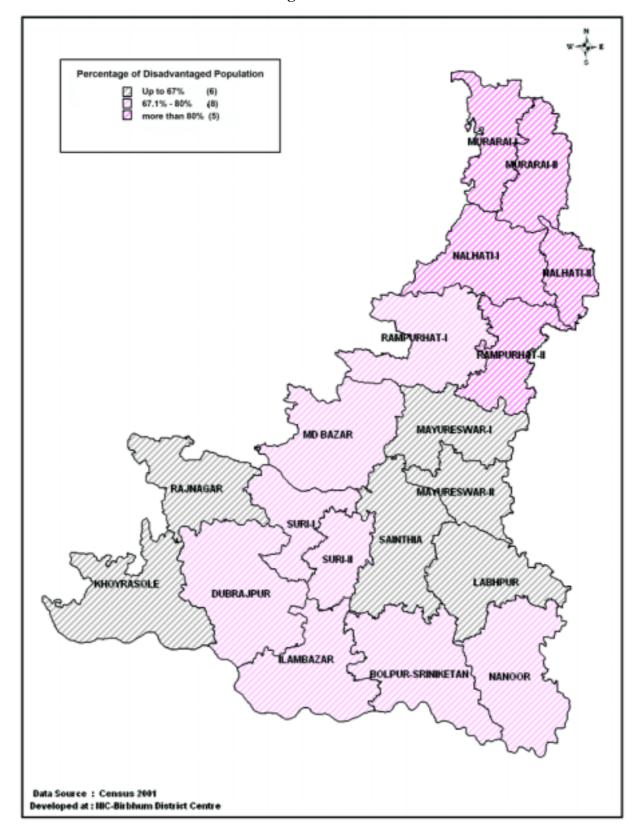
All these basic parameters on the land and its people have been discussed here to situate the human development issues of Birbhum in proper context. The connections among various issues will be made clear as we go along.

Figure 1.6: Population density across blocks in Birbhum according to Census 2001



Note: Disadvantaged population consists of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Muslims.

Figure 1.7: Percentage of disadvantaged Population across blocks in Birbhum according to 2001 Census



Appendix Table A1.1 Population composition across West Bengal districts

District	Population	Population	% of urban	% of SC	% of ST	Sex ratio
	lakh	per km²	population	population	population	
Bankura	31.93	464	7.4	31.2	10.4	952
Barddhaman	68.96	982	36.9	27.0	6.4	922
Birbhum	30.15	663	8.6	29.5	6.7	950
Kolkata	45.73	24718	100.0	6.0	0.2	829
Darjiling	16.09	511	32.3	16.1	12.7	937
Haora	42.73	2913	50.4	15.4	0.4	906
Hugli	50.42	1601	33.5	23.6	4.2	947
Jalpaiguri	34.01	546	17.8	36.7	18.9	942
Koch Bihar	24.79	732	9.1	50.1	0.6	949
Malda	32.90	881	7.3	16.8	6.9	948
Medinipur	96.11	683	10.2	16.4	8.3	955
Murshidabad	58.67	1102	12.5	12.0	1.3	952
Nadia	46.05	1173	21.3	29.7	2.5	946
N 24 Parganas	89.34	2182	54.3	20.6	2.2	926
Puruliya	25.37	405	10.1	18.3	18.3	954
S 24 Parganas	69.07	693	15.7	32.1	1.2	937
U Dinajpur	24.42	778	12.1	27.7	5.1	938
D Dinajpur	15.03	677	13.1	28.8	16.1	951
West Bengal	680.78	903	28.0	23.0	5.5	934

Source: Census 2001

Table A1.2 Growth in population of major communities across blocks of Birbhum

	Percentage of Hindus in Percentage of Muslims in					Compound annual growth rate of				
	tota	l populat	ion	t	* *		Hindu population		Muslim population	
Blocks	1981	1991	2001	1981	1991	2001	1981-91	1991-01	1981-91	1991-01
Murarai-I	38.6	35.9	43.1	61.3	64.1	56.2	1.8	4.2	3.0	1.0
Murarai-II	38.0	35.9	26.2	61.9	64.1	73.6	1.8	-1.1	2.8	3.5
Nalhati-I	48.9	47.6	52.4	50.6	51.8	46.7	2.0	2.8	2.6	0.8
Nalhati-II	56.3	47.6	31.8	43.2	51.8	68.0	0.7	-2.2	4.2	4.6
Rampurhat-I	71.0	63.0	69.8	28.7	36.6	29.0	0.9	2.8	4.6	-0.6
Rampurhat-II	66.7	63.0	52.8	33.0	36.6	47.0	1.3	-0.4	2.9	3.9
Mayureswar-I	77.0	75.9	71.9	22.6	24.0	27.8	0.9	1.3	1.7	3.3
Mayureswar-II	76.9	75.9	76.0	22.6	24.0	23.8	1.7	1.4	2.4	1.3
Md.Bazar	75.1	73.1	70.3	24.6	26.5	29.0	2.0	1.4	3.1	2.8
Sainthia	82.0	76.0	79.1	16.9	23.5	20.3	1.1	1.2	5.2	-0.7
Dubrajpur	76.5	70.7	68.3	23.5	29.2	31.6	1.0	1.2	4.0	2.4
Rajnagar	88.1	87.9	86.3	11.9	12.0	13.3	1.3	1.1	1.4	2.3
Suri-I	74.6	71.5	74.5	25.1	27.9	25.3	1.6	2.6	3.1	1.2
Suri-II	74.9	71.5	69.4	24.9	27.9	30.2	1.7	1.4	3.4	2.5
Khoyrasol	81.2	79.8	77.6	18.7	20.1	22.3	1.8	0.7	2.7	2.1
Bolpur-Sriniketan	77.7	75.4	74.9	21.7	24.4	24.5	1.4	1.5	3.0	1.6
Labhpur	74.4	73.2	71.2	25.4	26.7	28.7	1.5	1.1	2.2	2.1
Nanoor	71.3	68.2	66.4	28.4	31.3	33.5	1.2	1.2	2.6	2.1
Illambazar	57.5	57.5	53.6	42.0	42.4	45.9	2.0	1.1	2.1	2.7

Source: Calculated from Census 2001