

Chapter 3

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILES OF ERSTWHILE WEST DINAJPUR
AND MALDA DISTRICTS

A city or town can not be understood only by its geographical or administrative area. It has to be explained as an organic part of a social group. It is not superimposed upon an environment at a given moment of time. Except a few cases, a city or a town is the outcome of a gradual evolutionary process, aided by certain natural and historical factors, in course of time it tends to develop an effective relationship with the environment of which it gradually becomes a part.¹ An urban centre performs different types of functions to the outlying areas and is in turn equally dependent on them to fulfil its various demands. This outlying area with which an urban centre establishes its link has been often termed as hinterland service area or region.² Urban development thus to be effective, has to maintain certain harmony with development in its setting. In this Chapter, an attempt has been made to focus on the physical socio-cultural and economic characteristics of the region particularly erstwhile West Dinajpur and Malda. In this connection, it should be noted that this research universe was undertaken in 1989, prior to the bifurcation of the then West Dinajpur District. The district has been bifurcated into Uttar and Dakshin Dinajpur by a Government Order dated April 1, 1992. The new nomenclatures of Uttar Dinajpur (North) and Dakshin Dinajpur (South) have been used and data in regard to these two

newly formed districts also given as available.

Section 1 : The District of (erstwhile) West Dinajpur :

Its Socio-economic Setting

Regional disparity is a problem common to all developing as well as developed countries. Even after 48 years of Independence a lesser tempo of economic development is seen in Eastern India as compared to the South and the West. In the Eastern region, the State of West Bengal itself represents a high degree of uneven development. While the Calcutta Metropolitan District or the District of Burdwan in the coal-iron ore belt displays a relatively high level of development, the outlying districts like Darjeeling, Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri and Malda in the North and Purulia, Bankura, Murshidabad in the West, demonstrate a sorry plight of stagnation and decay.³

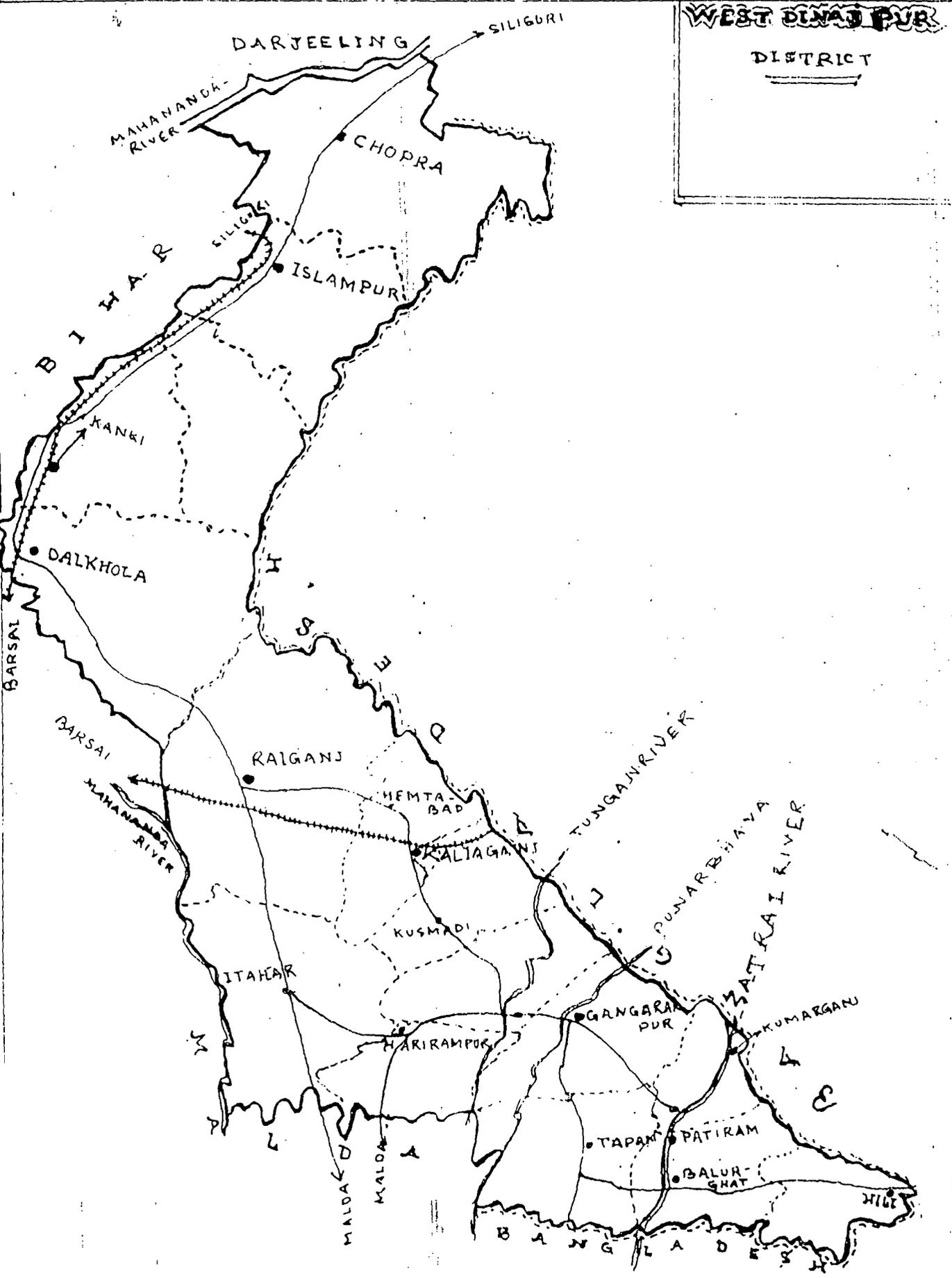
The region of North Bengal contains ample mineral deposits like China Clay, copper, limestone, Dolomite, Steatite.⁴ Still, after 47 years of independence, no real attempt has been made for effective exploration of natural resources of this region. For this reason, the pressure of population on agriculture has reached an abnormally high level in some of the backward districts in this region.

Location :

The district of erstwhile West Dinajpur (Uttar and Dakshin) lies between $26^{\circ}35'15''$ and $25^{\circ}10'55''$ North latitudes

WEST DINAJ PUR

DISTRICT



and between the longitudes $39^{\circ}0'30''$ and $87^{\circ}49'37''$ East in the Jalpaiguri Division of West Bengal. It is bounded on the North by the river Mahananda and the district of Dinajpur in Bangladesh, on the West, by the district of Kishanganj in Bihar and by the district of Malda in the South, in the East by the Districts of Rajshahi and Bogra in Bangladesh.⁵ The North-western side of the district is connected with other states like Nepal and Bhutan. The district covers an area of 5358 sq. km.⁶

Demographic Characteristics :

Erstwhile west Dinajpur as well as other districts of North Bengal are less populated parts of West Bengal. The Census of 1991 puts the population of the district at 31,27,753 of which 16,20,740 are male and 15,06,913 female.⁷ This district (before bifurcation) holds the tenth position among all the districts of West Bengal and first among the districts of North Bengal.⁸ After bifurcation, Uttar Dinajpur has now a population of 19,26,729 and Dakshin Dinajpur has recorded a population of 12,00,924 persons.⁹ (Table 3.2 shows the details of population). The largest concentration of population in the district of erstwhile West Dinajpur is concentrated in the rural areas with a population of 27,10,453 whereas the urban area accounts for only 4,17,200 persons much less in comparison to state level urban population of 18,622,014 persons.¹⁰

The growth rate of population in the district of

erstwhile West Dinajpur has not been uniform between 1901 and 1991. The rate of increase in population was rapid between 1872 and 1911. But, in the decade of 1911-21, the district suffered from de-population due to influenza, epidemic and other natural calamities. However, the rate of variation was steadily progressing from 1931, and the maximum growth rate was observed in the decade of 1961-71 (40-50%). The population growth in the district was affected during 1941-51 due to some important events. There was a big famine in 1943 followed by epidemics in 1944.¹¹ Further as a result of partition, there was some emigration of muslims to East Bengal amounted to 14,000 of whom 12,375 later returned, and the influx of displaced persons from East Bengal was to the extent of 1,15,510 which was the largest for any district barring 24 Parganas, Calcutta and Nadia.¹² The district showed steep rise in population during the four decades from 1951 to 1991. The significant cause for population growth can be ascribed for an appreciable fall in the death rate in the district. According to a report, while death rate was 15.4 in 1941-50, it fell to only 9.1 in 1957-60.¹³ At the same time, birth rate increased from 50 in 1941 to 60 in 1961. Further, with the development of trade in agricultural production, many persons from far distant have migrated to this area. Bangladesh war in 1971 again had given rise to the total population of the District.

Except in 1921, there had been a considerable increase in the density of population from 1901 to 1991. Its present density of population has increased to 585 per sq.km. from 499 per sq.km. in 1981.¹⁴

The increase in rural population had ^{in 1991} been only to the extent of 26.63% over that of 1971, while in 1971 it was 37.6%¹⁵ which marked the highest growth rate from 1901 to 1991. Before 1941 the area that constituted the district was entirely rural. At present 86.67% people of the total population are in rural areas of the district. While 27.39 per cent of the total population of West Bengal live in urban areas, in the erstwhile West Dinajpur 13.33% of the population live in urban areas. These districts are less urbanized than many other districts of the state.¹⁶ After bifurcation of the district, percentage of urban population to total population in Uttar Dinajpur accounts to 13.13% and in Dakshin Dinajpur the percentage stands as 13.67%. The town of Balurghat is the most densely populated urban area (Balurghat is presently the District Headquarter of Dakshin Dinajpur), whereas the town of Islampur is the most sparsely populated (Islampur is presently the Sub-Division town of Uttar Dinajpur District). However, the present decade has marked an appreciable increase in urban population.¹⁷

According to Census of India 1981, the total number of Scheduled Castes population in the district of erstwhile West Dinajpur was 6, 87, 094, in 1991 which increased to 9, 07, 553. In terms of percentage to total population, the Scheduled Castes population in the district rose to 29.05 per cent in 1991 from 28.57 per cent in 1981. Presently, Uttar and Dakshin Dinajpur districts have 558091 and 349462 Scheduled Castes population respectively.¹⁸

Table 3.1

Growth of Population by Sex and Year in the District of Erstwhile
West Dinajpur from 1901 to 1991

Year	Total Population	Index with 1901 as base	Male	Female	No. of Female per 100	Urban	Rural	P.C. of Urban population to total population
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1901	741284	100	386432	354852	92	..	741284	
1911	791512	107	412237	379275	92	..	791512	
1921	695536	94	360542	334994	93	..	695536	
1931	769089	104	399896	369193	92	5907	763182	0.72
1941	851523	115	443277	408246	93	6952	844571	0.82
1951	976882	132	518484	458398	88	41940	934942	4.29
1961	1323797	179	694372	629425	91	98969	1224828	7.48
1971	1859887	251	967939	891950	92	173690	1686197	9.34
1981	2402947	324	1241611	1163336	94	268726	2136221	11.17
1991	3127753	422	1610740	1506913	93	417200	2710453	13.33
Uttar Dinaj- pur	1926729		1002674	924055	92	252975	1673754	13.13
		422						
Dakshin Dinaj- pur	1200924		618066	582858	94	164225	1036699	13.67

Source : District Statistical Handbook, Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dinajpur(1995).
Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics (Balurghat, Government of West Bengal)

The maximum concentration of Scheduled Caste population is found in the Raiganj Sub-Division. These people also reside in Kaliaganj, Itahar, Tapan, Gangarampur and Balurghat. One-third of the total Scheduled Caste population of Uttar and Dakshin Dinajpur (combined) belongs to Rajbanshi and nearly one-fourth to Poliya. The next major Scheduled Caste in the district is Bagui, Namasudra, Dhobi and Hari. Of course, in the urban area of the district the same order is not observed.¹⁹

The whole of North Bengal, including the erstwhile West Dinajpur district has a sizeable Scheduled Tribe population. The percentage of Scheduled Tribe population in the erstwhile West Dinajpur is also higher than in the rest of Bengal. In this district, the Scheduled Tribe population accounts for 10.32 per cent of the total population while the state figure is only 5.59 per cent. In the rural areas, the concentration of Scheduled Tribe is higher than that in the urban areas. Total population of the Scheduled Tribes in 1981 accounted for 2,60,160 of which 132915 is male and 127245 female.²⁰ ~~xxxxxx~~ In 1991, the Scheduled Tribe population increased to 3,07,487 in the district.²¹ Santal is the main scheduled Tribe of the District. There are other Scheduled Tribes such as Oraons, Munda, Konar and Mahali. Some Malpahariya also reside in the district. Santals are found all over the district and their highest concentration is found in a large number in Tapan (presently in Dakshin Dinajpur District), Karandighi and Chopra (both included in Uttar Dinajpur District). Mundas reside in Balurghat and Hilli (Balurghat and Hilli now belong

to Dakshin Dinajpur District). The principal places of habitation of Mahalis are Balurghat, Gangarampur, Kaliaganj and Tapan (all are included in Dakshin Dinajpur District).²²

Agricultural Perspective :

The total area of the erstwhile West Dinajpur District is 534.020 hectares. Out of this, net cropped area covers 421.367 hectares. The major crops grown in the district are aman, aus, and boro paddy, jute and mesta, mustard, maskalai, barley, gram, potato and sugarcane. An insignificant amount of vegetables is also grown mainly for local consumption. The most important crop is aman paddy followed by jute.

Among the previous five (presently six) districts of this region, erstwhile Dinajpur is known as the "Grannery" of North Bengal. The surplus production of Kharif crops of the districts is distributed among the other districts.²³ In 1990-91, agricultural output of the district surpassed the production achieved in 1989-90. The index of agricultural production (base triennium 1971-72 = 100) increased from 155.24 in 1989-90 to 157.23 in 1990-91. This production has been achieved through a slight extension of the area under cultivation.²⁴

It is to be noted that in 1990-91, foodgrains production (rice, wheat other cereals and pulses) had reached a high level in the district. The following table^{37B} shows the area and production of Principal crops for the year 1989-90 and 1990-91.

The table ^{3.2b} also shows the position of the district after bifurcation in respect of agricultural production of Principal crops.

Table 3.2a

Area and Production of Principal Crops in the erstwhile West Dinajpur District

Crop	Area ('000 Hectares)		Production ('000 Tonnes)	
	1989-90	1990-91	1989-90	1990-91
Aus(Rice)	91.7	45.4	55.3	56.3
Aman(Rice)	378.3	378.7	577.3	580.4
Boro(Rice)	45.5	53.7	139.3	151.7
Wheat	35.9	28.0	1.0	0.3
Gram	1.5	0.6	9.6	10.6
Other Pulses	19.5	22.0	38.9	48.1
Rape & Mustard Seeds	48.1	49.8	276.5	299.1
Jute(1)	33.8	45.9	2.3	-
Sugarcane(2)	0.4	-	-	-
Potato	7.4	4.3	58.6	31.7
Dry Chillies	4.5	6.3	2.2	3.2
Ginger	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6

(1) Production in terms of 100 bales of 180 kg. each

(2) Production in terms of gur

Source : Key Statistics of the District of West Dinajpur 1991(1992).
Bureau of Applied Economics Statistics, Balurghat,
Government of West Bengal, 1992, p.3.

Table 3.2b

Area and Production of Principal Crops in the Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dinajpur Districts

Crop	Uttar Dinajpur				Dakshin Dinajpur				
	Area('000 Hectares)		Production('000Tonnes)		Area('000 Hect.)		Produc- tion ('000 Tonnes)		Area('000 Hectares Crop
	1992-93	1993-94	1992-93	1993-94	1992-93	1993-94	1992-93	1993-94	
Aug(Rice)	16.3	16.6	23.8	27.7	16.4	15.4	29.1	29.1	
Aman(Rice)	209.3	201.8	255.3	308.0	170.2	166.2	209.4	292.4	
Boro(Rice)	49.2	53.0	156.1	161.6	12.0	13.8	31.4	34.8	
Wheat	23.6	27.2	55.7	54.9	4.2	5.0	10.5	10.2	
Gram	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	
Other Pulses	10.0	7.2	4.7	7.2	3.4	3.7	7.6	8.2	
Rape and Mustard Seeds	31.5	30.0	24.8	21.3	28.1	26.3	15.7	16.7	
Jute (1)	53.7	46.0	371.0	395.3	11.5	11.7	99.6	103.7	
Sugarcane	0.1	-	0.5	0.1	0.1	-	0.5	0.1	
Dry Chillies	6.8	7.2	2.8	3.1	6.8	7.2	2.8	3.1	
Potato	3.0	3.5	13.3	18.6	2.8	3.0	8.2	13.9	
Ginger	1.0	-	1.0	-	1.0	-	1.0		

(1) Production in terms of 100 bales of 180 kg. each

(2) Production in terms of gur.

Source : District Statistical Handbook (Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dinajpur, Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics (Balurghat, Government of West Bengal), pp.66-71.

In the pre-Independence period, the agricultural implements used in the district were extremely primitive in nature. Dr. Buchanan has described the condition in the following way,

"The plough is of the wretched construction usual in India, and has neither coulter to cut the soil, nor mouldboard to turn in over. In some parts of the district it even wants the share or small piece of iron that usually strengthens the point"...²⁵

Masur, khesari, pepper, wheat, Tur, Mang, Maize, Tobacco and fruits like Mango, Jackfruit, Papeya, Plum, Black Berry and Bel are the subsidiary crops in the district.

Jute is usually cultivated in low lands or lands having a sufficiently high rainfall. Both the deshi or tita jute and tosha jute (*C. Dlitrus*) are grown within the district. In 1989-90 the District produces 276.5 thousand bales of raw jute. During that year, the farmers received highly remunerative prices even above the minimum statutory price.

Sugarcane is also produced in abundant quantity in the district. In 1989-90 Sugarcane was cultivated in 2,2388 hectares and the total output was 66,344 metric tonnes. It is mostly cultivated in the Islampur.²⁶ Recently Betel cultivation and sericulture have been started in this district. Betel is only cultivated in Gangarampur and Islampur. There are five public farms for the breeding of Silkworms. These farms are situated at Phulhar, Soharsi, Hemtabad, Kumerganj and Tapan.

Further, a cutting Reeling unit has been established in Karandighi. Silkworm is also cultivated privately in the district.²⁷ Pineapple of good quantity is cultivated only in the Islampur sub-division.

However, improvement in the field of agricultural crops is ascribed to the supply of artificial fertilizers, which have supplemented the traditional use of cow-dung and tank silt. An improvement in the method of paddy cultivation has borne some fruit, especially, in so far as, the Japanese method of paddy cultivation is concerned. Consumption of fertiliser in land has been increased in the district. For example, in 1971-72 the consumption of fertilisation in every hectare was 2.48%, this had been increased to 34.56% in 1982-83. In 1989-90 the total consumption of fertilisers (Nitrogen, Phosphorus and Pottasium) was 36.3 tonnes (in thousand) which has been increased to 37.0 tonnes (in thousand) in 1993-94 in the Uttar and Dakshin Dinajpur District.²⁸ (Separate data for the Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dinajpur districts are not available).

In addition to this, supply of improved quality of seeds to the farmers has been an important factor for the increase of the agricultural output. Fourteen agricultural farms have been established for this purpose. Another factor, which is responsible for the increased field rates of crops is due to the creation of medium and minor irrigation schemes including the exploitation of the copious-ground water reserves within district.

Irrigation facilities are generally provided by (a) Government canals, (b) Private canals, (c) Tanks and (d) Wells. No Government canal has yet been irrigated in this district. Although, a big project namely; Teesta Project which covers Rs.695 crores is yet to be completed. No doubt, in future this will increase the agricultural productivity tremendously. It is estimated that after completion of this project 2.046 lakh hectares of the district will be under irrigation.²⁹ In 1982-83 the total area irrigated was 72.78 thousand hectares. In 1992-93, area irrigated by different sources in the district has increased to 126.03 thousand hectares. Though modern methods of irrigation have supplemented the traditional modes of irrigation but still many parts of the district are irrigated by dunes swing baskets etc.

The traditional occupation of this region has always been farming and even today, over 80 per cent of the labour force receive their livelihood from this occupation as compared to 50 per cent for West Bengal as a whole. In this region, there is no agricultural research centre which can apply new methods of agriculture. On the other hand, the land is sufficiently fertile and additional inputs like fertilizers, seeds and water are necessary for utilization of such land. Further, it is often held that poor marketing facilities and malpractices are seriously hampering the progress. Increased number of regulated markets are necessary which would put an end to all these. Besides agriculture, dairy, poultry and fishery have

also shown ⁱⁿ considerable numbers in the district. Development in these sectors has influenced the economic life of the people in the district.

Industrial Landscape

Industrial development plays an important role in determining the socio-economic level of a region. For this reason, an analysis of the industrial development of the district would help us to understand the socio-economic position of the district.

Inter-district disparity can be seen also in the field of the industry. In regard to number of factories in West Bengal, 80 per cent of total factories are located in the three districts of Calcutta, 24 Parganas and Howrah. On the other hand, North Bengal Region accounts only 633 registered industries upto year 1990.³⁰

From the industrial point of view, the position of the ^{west} Dinajpur District is slightly better than Malda and Cooch Behar ^{erstwhile} in the North Bengal region. Although, no heavy industry has yet been established in the district except Raiganj Spinning and Kulik Paper Mill, yet the district has been included in the 'B' category by the Central Government.

According to a report prepared by the West Bengal Government a total number of 39 factories were registered in the year 1990 in the district where 2672 persons were employed.³¹ In regard to registered small scale industries, a total number of

869 units were registered during the year 1991-92 where a total number of 5,649 persons were employed.³²

Handloom is an important industry in the districts of erstwhile West Dinajpur. There are 5,000 weaving machines in the district where a large number of tribal people are engaged. Agro-based industry also possesses an important position in the district. Of the rice and oil mills as many as 178 husking mills and 56 oil mills run in the districts. There operate also 7 Dal mill and 116 Bale processing centres.³³

There are some tea gardens in the district of erstwhile West Dinajpur. Total area of tea plantation covers 1308.62 (in hectares) and total production accounted to 907 kilograms in the year 1990-91.³⁴

Cow-hides, goat and buffalo skins are stripped off in Panjipara, Dhontola, Gunjoria of Islampur Sub-Division. These raw skins of animals are supplied to Calcutta, Uttarpradesh and Madras. In every week 35,000 hides are sold in the market.³⁵

There are also some small industries which include printing cotton textiles, jute processing and bailing, jute spinning and weaving, production of jute rope, manufacture of umbrellas, production of articles from cork, bamboo, cane, etc., manufacture of shoes and other leather work, manufacture of soap bricks and tiles, manufacture of earthen images and statues, dolls and so on.³⁶

Other important factories of the district are Sillyket factory in Dalkhola and lime factory at Raiganj. From the

paper Mill different types of packaging, paper made cup-dish, sand-paper industry can be grown. Sillyket factory still supplies the raw-material for the soap industry in the district.³⁷ However, there is a possibility of growing further small scale industries like rice-bram oil, straw board, corrugated fibre board, food processing, pharmaceutical products, detergent powder, broaden spoon, hosiery netting, sewing machine, metal block, cement points mosaic tiles, aluminium utensils, battery, eliminators, football, racket, Duplex board, Flux door, cold drinks, etc. in the blocks of Balurghat, Kaliaganj, Gangarampur, Karandighi, Islampur, Raiganj, Tapan, Itahar, Kumarganj, Kushmondi, Hili, and Bansihari. Again, the whole region is rich in Cattle wealth which is the basis of the leather Industry and there is a great scope for the development of the dairy industry in producing and exporting milk, cheese, powdered milk, ghee and butter, modernization of poultry farming would increase the production and exports of chicken and eggs.

what remains true is that the region is basically agricultural in natural endowment. For this reason, the future of this district undoubtedly lies in agriculture and agro-based industries, at least for the next ten to fifteen years.

EDUCATION

Education plays a very important role in determining the socio-economic level of the people of a region. Thus an analysis of the educational progress of the district will help us

to know the socio-economic development of the districts of erstwhile West Dinajpur. In terms of percentage, as compared with 14.7 per cent of the population who were literates in 1951, 19.4 per cent of the population were found to be literate in 1961. Literacy thus increased by 4.7 per cent in the decade 1951-61. During the same period, the percentage of literacy among males increased from 21.8 to 28.9 while that of female literates increased from 6.6 to 9 per cent.³⁸ But the decade 1961-71 indicated a slow progress. In 1971 the total no. of population increased from 944,771 to 18,59,887 and percentage of literacy from 19.4 to 22.1. It indicates that the rate of literacy increased only to 2.16 per cent during the decade 1961-71. The year 1981 reveals a population of 24,04,947 and the rate of literacy 27 per cent. Thus the rate of literacy increased as 5 times high than the year 1971.³⁹ In the year 1991, the rate of literacy in erstwhile district has increased to 31.48 per cent of which male and female rate of literacy accounts 40.13 per cent and 22.19 per cent^{respectively}. The number of literates and educated persons is higher among the urban population than the rural population. After bifarcation of the district, presently, the rate of literacy in Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dinajpur is 34.55 per cent and 46.55 per cent respectively. The rate of literacy in the state is much higher which accounts 57.70 per cent.

From the view point of general education, the position of the District is better than some other districts of the North Bengal region. Total number of institutions, scholars and

teachers are higher in the erstwhile West Dinajpur (Uttar and Dakshin) District in comparison to other districts of North Bengal. But the rate of literacy is not so much high like the other districts of this region. The ^{3.3} Table reveals the whole picture. From 1978 to 1985 there was a rapid development of educational facilities in the district. All types of educational institutions have increased from 1978. The State Government attaches great importance to the promotion of education. As a result of which, 600 new primary schools, 5 Higher Secondary Schools, 61 Secondary Schools, have been established in the district upto 1985. From 1978 to 1985 High Madrasa have increased from 4 to 8, Junior High Madrasa from 88 to 93.⁴⁰

Infrastructural Facilities

Infrastructural components like power and communications are also the important indicators of the socio-economic development of a region. Only an adequate infrastructure can ensure the growth of economy of any region. By infrastructure, we generally mean the basic locational set up on which the spurt of progress depends.

Communication links and power supply constitute the two most important locational ingredients on which process of development is based. It would, thus, be worthwhile to study the state of power and communication links of the region under study to understand the existing situation and its potentiality for the future development of the region.

Table 3.3

Educational Facilities in the Districts of
Uttar and Dakshin Dinajpur

Type of Institution	1989-90	1990-91	Scholars/Students		Uttar Dinaj.	Dakshin Dinajpur
	1989-90*	1990-91	1991-92*	1992-93*	1993-94	1993-94
Primary	2602	1602	2602	1602	1396	1140
Middle	108	111	111	113	54	49
High	158	158	158	156	83	85
Higher Secondary Multipurpose	29	29	29	31	16	16
College	7	7	7	7	4	3
Professional & Technical Edn.	7	7	7	7	6	1
School						
1. Engineering/ Technical	3	3	3	3	3	-
Teachers' Training	3	3	3	3	2	1
Special Education	1	1	1	1	1	-

* Statistics of Erstwhile West Dinajpur.

Source : District Statistical Handbook (1995), Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dinajpur, Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics (Balurghat, Government of West Bengal), pp.37-38,

A. Power and Communication :

Electricity, coal mining and oil constitute the most important sources of power. Oil and coal as a source of power are non-existent in the region. So the study is to emphasise on electricity.

At the end of 1992-93, total consumption of electricity of the district was 49,403 (in thousand) KWH. Power used in the industry and agriculture were 13104 (in thousand) KWH and 9147 (in thousand) KWH respectively.⁴¹ On the other hand, Burdwan, Howrah and Calcutta generally consume above 75 per cent of the total electricity produced in the state. The regional imbalance is thus reflected in the pattern and trends of consumption of power.⁴²

There is no hydro-electric power station in the district. At present, there are four power stations situated at Balurghat, Kushmundi, Raiganj and Islampur. These power stations are owned by the West Bengal State Electricity Board. All these power stations utilize diesel engines for rotating the generators. Jalchaka Hydro-electric power station supplies electricity to the Northern part of this district. Arrangements have also been made to import some extra power from Chukha power station of Bhutan through Siliguri Power station. The power used for domestic and commercial purposes are 16870 KWH and 3898 (KWH in thousand) respectively.⁴³ The rural economic activities like

small-scale and cottage industries, irrigation by means of deep tubewells, lift pumps, agricultural operations through power-driven tools which are still to develop, would require an adequate power supply. For this reason, much larger central and state investments in power in this northern region of Bengal are necessary if a balanced growth of the entire state is to be ensured in future. The system of communications is ^{not} very well-developed. There were 346 post offices and 1 telegraph office in the erstwhile West Dinajpur. After bifurcation Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dinajpur contain 205 and 161 post offices respectively. Each has only one Telegraph Office. Most of the villages are deprived of power supply and telephone communication.

Roads and Transports

Economic progress of a region also depends on the development of cheap, fast and efficient methods of transport and communication. But the districts of erstwhile West Dinajpur suffers from several transport disadvantages. Railways constitute the strongest communication system in the realm of infrastructure. The linkage created by the railway system is a vital component of growth centres. The railway system of the district shows a contrasting feature. Goods and passenger traffic originating in Raiganj and Islampur Sub-Division can proceed to the other parts of the state by rail but the condition of Balurghat (presently district headquarter of the Dakshin Dinajpur District) has remained

as it was in 1947. It has no railway connection and the nearest railway station is at Kaliaganj 100 kilometres away.⁴⁴ The goods of Balurghat sent for export to other parts of West Bengal and other states are therefore, to be moved by buses to Kaliaganj for booking by rail. The construction of railway line from Eklakshi to Balurghat is under consideration of the Central Government. Only 128 km Metre Gauge and 88 km Broad Gauge lines run through the districts. Although Raiganj Sub-Division is connected with Katihar and Radhikapur (Bangladesh Border) by a metre gauge line, it lacks a direct connection with the other parts of the state. But the position of Islampur-Sub-Division is better in respect of the railway communication. It possesses a direct connection with the other parts of West Bengal and other states of India. Both the metre gauge and broad gauge lines serve this northern region. But due to the single line system, the movement of goods is considerably hampered and road transport is being used. In fact, the district does not have important industries worth the name and hence, neither the railway system has developed to the expected degree, nor can the linkage pattern can be said to be conducive to the growth of industrialisation of the areas.

At the time, when the district was created it had practically no communication. The roads were non-existent or were of awfully bad shape. The situation had radically changed during the last few years. Roads which run through these districts can be classified as (1) National Highway that cut into other

states also, (2) state Highway that provide for inter-district linkages and (3) District Roads. The following table indicates the distance of the Roads maintained by the P.W.D. in the districts.

Table 3.4

Strength of Different Classes of Road Maintained by P.W.D.
in the Districts of Uttar and Dakshin Dinajpur
(in kilometres)

Year	National Highway	State Highway	Major District Roads	Other District Roads	Village Roads	Total
1989-90*	168.00	152.00	193.00	-	461.00	974.00
1990-91*	168.00	152.00	193.00	-	463.00	976.00
1992-93*	168.00	152.00	193.00	-	463.00	976.00
Uttar Dinajpur						
1993-94	168.00	38.00	98.00	-	335.00	639.00
Dakshin Dinajpur (South)	-	114.00	95.00	-	145.00	354.00
1993-94						

* Statistics of Erstwhile West Dinajpur.

Source : District Statistical Handbook 1994, Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dinajpur, Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics, (Balurghat, Government of West Bengal), p.126.

In regard to roads, the portion between Dalkhola and Sonapurhat belongs to National Highways while the road between Balurghat to Buniadpur (presently in Dakshin Dinajpur District) and Buniadpur to Raiganj falls on the State Highway. The Headquarters of Kumarganj Police Station is linked with Balurghat by the major District Road which runs between Kumarganj to Patiram. The Headquarter of Gosalpokhar Police Station is connected with

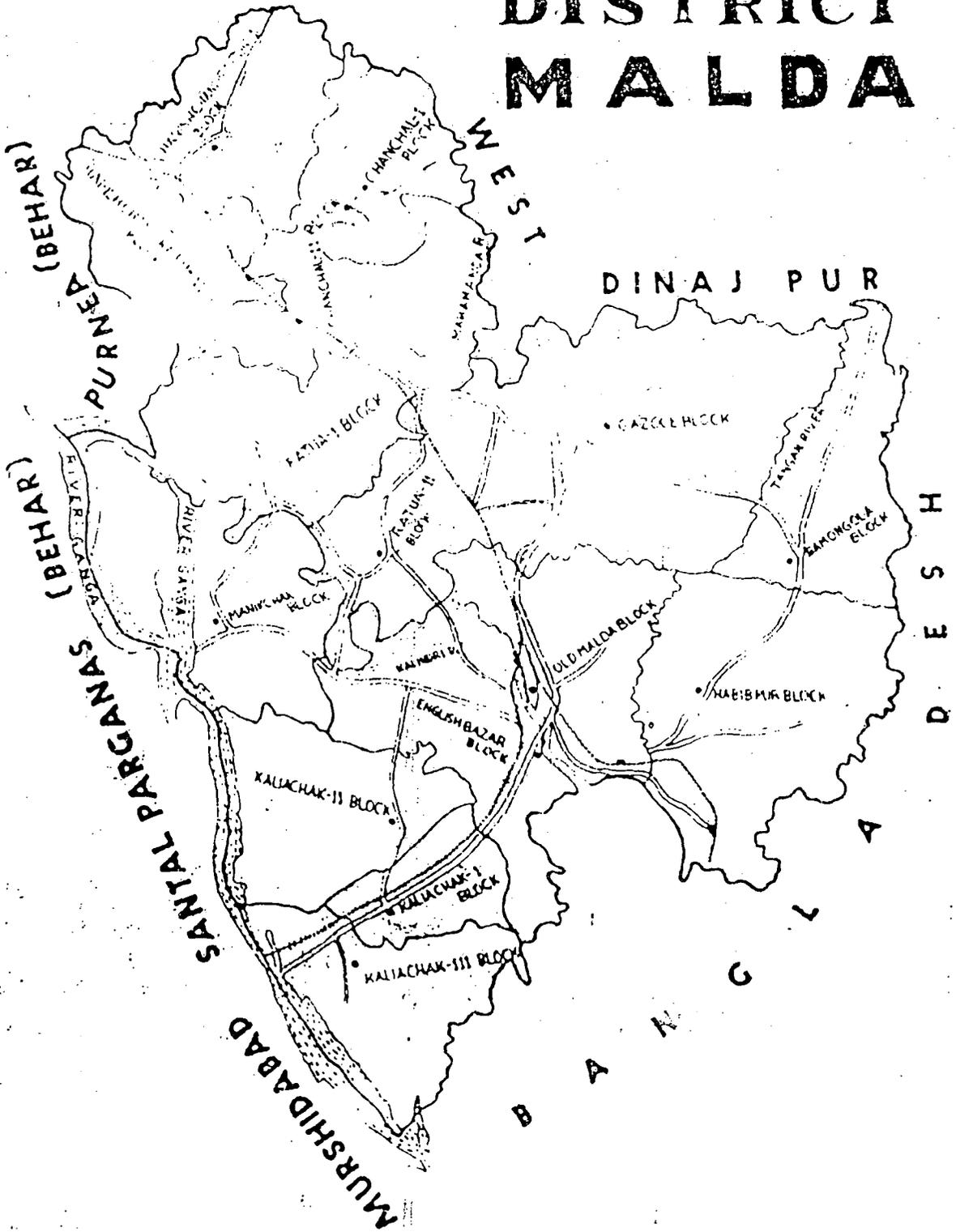
the Sub-Divisional Headquarter of Islampur by the Kishanganj Dinajpur Road which links up with National Highway. Itahar is connected with Raiganj by the National Highway which also connects Raiganj with Gajol in Malda.⁴⁵

District roads are partly metalled and longer in distance. Some extra municipal roads ~~are~~ mainly national state highways are maintained by Public Works Department which covers an area of 864 kilometres. These extra municipal roads constitute the main road links providing movement facilities and passage for high speed transport auto vehicles serving as Highways to reach distant location. The lack of this most important infrastructure certainly goes to account for the poor industrialisation of these districts. There should be two positive plans to improve the road system for the near future growth of industry. One of them should be to convert the non-metalled roads to metalled roads for better use of these roads. Secondly, village roads should be constructed so as to ensure a communication system both inter-village linkages and also of villages with district and sub-divisional towns.

Section 2 : MALDA DISTRICT : ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The District of Malda is situated in the southernmost part of the North Bengal region of West Bengal. It is the only district in the state of West Bengal which is composed of one Sub-Division Sadar with its Headquarters at Englishbazar, the seat of both the District and the Sub-Division. The district is

DISTRICT MALDA



in the population; but during the next ten years, the district prospered greatly. The first decade of the present century, however, recorded appreciable growth in population.⁴⁸

The most important event in the history of the decade between 1901 and 1911, was the opening of the Katihar-Godabari railways in 1909, which traversed the district from North-West to South-East. The railway did much to develop the district. During 1911-20, the district suffered from a serious setback, mainly due to malaria, after the rapid advance in the decade before. The years between 1921 and 1930 had experienced the decline of silk industry in Ratua and Manikchak regions, which, in turn affected the population figure adversely. During 1931-40, there was a flood in 1938, which was the only event of importance. During the decade 1940-51, the district suffered more from epidemics in 1944 than from the famine of 1943. The years of 1950-51, experienced a big spate of immigration of displaced persons from East Pakistan, presently Bangladesh.⁴⁹

The Census of 1961 disclosed a population of 12,21,923 in the district. 6,21,990 of this population were males and 5,99,933 were females. The sex ratio, that is, the number of females per one thousand males was, therefore, 965. 11,71,138 persons out of the total population of 12,21,923 dwelt in villages and only 50,785 persons resided in the two towns of Old Malda and Englishbazar or Malda. The sex ratio in the rural areas of the district as a whole, was 969 and in the urban area it was 873.

The urban population formed only 4.2 per cent of the total population in 1961 as compared with 3.8 per cent in 1951. The rural urban ratio has changed only slightly in spite of an increase of 4.4 per cent noticed in the urban population.⁵⁰

The district was inhabited by a population of 16,12,657 of which 827,706 are males and 784,951 females as per 1971 census.⁵¹ The population was distributed in the rural and urban areas in the ratio of 96:4. Not only was the degree of urbanization or the proportion of urban to total population very low in the district, the small urban population of 68,000 only was also confined to the twin towns of Englishbazar (61,335) and Old Malda (6,691). The rate of decadal growth for the district was fairly impressive and considerably above the growth rate for the state of West Bengal (26.87%). But it was far below the growth rate recorded by its northern neighbour Dinajpur (Uttar and Dakshin) (40%). District like Cooch Behar (38.67%), Nadia (38.14%) and 24 Parganas (34.53%) have all registered a higher rate of growth than that of Malda during the decade.⁵² Malda is, in fact, the only district in West Bengal besides Dinajpur (Uttar and Dakshin) and Purulia where the rate of growth in 1961-71 has been higher than in 1951-61.

As per 1981 Census, the population was 2,031,671 out of which 1,042,998 were males and 988,373 were females.⁵³ The percentage decadal variation in population between 1971 and 1981 was 36.19. This was slightly higher than the rate of growth of West Bengal (22.96).⁵⁴ The growth rate of population in Malda

District, as indicated earlier, depends, to a large extent, on the immigrants of population from the former East Pakistan (Now Bangla desh). After the Independence of Bangla Desh in 1971, the tendency of immigration has diminished. So there is no sign of extra pressure of population of Malda District in the past decade of 1971-81.

The year 1991 shows a sharp increase in the population. Since 1901, the decade 1981-91 records the highest growth rate of population in the district. The most significant factor, in this decade is the increase of percentage of urban population from 4.78 in 1981 to 7.08 in 1991.⁵⁵ This is, due to emergence of new towns in urban area of the district.

Table 3.5

Rural and Urban Population in the District of Malda

Year	Total population	Urban population	Rural population	Percentage of rural population to total population	Percentage of Urban population to total population
1901	6,03,649	17,410	5,86,239	97.12	2.88
1911	6,98,547	18,072	6,80,475	97.41	2.59
1921	6,86,174	17,202	6,68,972	97.49	2.51
1931	7,20,440	19,686	7,00,754	97.27	2.73
1941	8,44,315	27,178	8,17,137	96.78	3.22
1951	9,37,580	35,161	9,03,419	96.25	3.75
1961	12,21,923	50,785	11,71,138	95.84	4.16
1971	16,13,657	68,026	15,44,631	95.78	4.21
1981	20,31,871	97,196	19,34,675	95.22	4.78
1991	26,33,942	1,86,377	24,47,565	92.92	7.08

Source : Compiled from Census of India, 1961, 1971, 1981 and Key Statistics of the district of Malda, 1991.

The table indicates that the district is predominantly rural and the proportion of urban to rural population is very low, in comparison with the other districts of West Bengal. English-bazar and Old Malda were the only two urban centres till 1981. Unlike other district the towns are very few in Malda. This is an indication of the state of poor economy of the district which has remained almost entirely dependent on agriculture.

Agricultural Perspective

(The district is dependent entirely on agriculture and related activities. It is found that the proportion of workers engaged in the agricultural sector has gone considerably upto about 80%. The land of the district may be divided into three parts (a) the barind, (b) the tal (c) the diara.)⁵⁶ The barind lies to the east of the Mahananda river and is characterised by undulating ground. Sometimes small water courses are found in the valleys. The ground is baked hard as iron and drinking water is scarce. During summer, one can see endless series of terraced slopes, devoid of any crop, in autumn the same land is covered with green crop of winter rice (Aman). Bamungola, Habibpur belong to such barind area. The tal region is situated to the west of the Mahananda river. Harishchandrapur, Kharba and parts of Ratusa belong to this tal region. It is a low-lying area for which it is often flooded with the water of Mahananda. The principal crops of Tal area, are jute and paddy. Mango gardens which are not to be found in the Barind fairly common in tal area. There are also several very large Orchards. The diara consists of

a strip roughly eight miles in width along the western and southern sides of the district. The principal crops in the diara region are aus paddy, wheat, barley, oats and mustard. Sugarcane is also grown in some areas. This soil is of a light variety, with a sandy appearance. Diara covers Englishbazar, Sujapur, Kaliachak, Manikchak and some parts of Raibua.

However, Malda is not self-sufficient in rice which is supplied from neighbouring districts of Uttar and Dakshin Dinajpur. Among the principal crops of the district, mention may be made of aman, aus, boro paddy, barely, wheat, maize, pulses, mustard, jute, mesta and sugarcane.⁵⁷ The following table reveals the area and production of principal crops in recent years.

Table 3.6

Area and Production of Principal Crops in Malda District

Name of crop	Area (000 Hectares)		Production (000 Tonnes)	
	1992-93	1993-94	1992-93	1993-94
Aus (Rice)	25.7	27.3	28.5	30.7
Aman (Rice)	156.9	153.4	250.9	305.1
Boro (Rice)	54.2	61.6	155.6	216.2
Wheat	42.5	49.2	92.1	107.1
Gram	4.9	3.0	4.5	2.3
Other Pulses	46.9	46.7	31.6	31.5
Rape and Mustard	23.5	18.3	8.2	10.3
Jute (1)	24.5	22.2	254.5	185.1
Sugarcane(2)	3.6	2.0	21.1	10.1
Dry Chillies	1.8	1.1	0.9	0.7
Potato	1.7	2.0	16.1	20.4

Source : Key Statistics of the District of Malda (1995), Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics (Malda, Government of West Bengal).

In addition to paddy, small quantities of potato, tobacco, ginger, pepper and til are also grown. In Malda, cultivation takes place in 9 lakhs, 76 thousand acres land. Paddy is cultivated in 53% of the total cultivated land.

Malda is also famous for cocoons production. From the writings of Hunter, we have come to know that in the second part of the nineteenth century, three-fourth of the total peasants were involved in cocoons production. The present day is not also an exception. A good proportion of peasants now cultivate cocoons as it is profitable. Further, Malda is noted for its mango fruit both for quality and quantity.⁵⁸ At least 25% of the total mango trees in West Bengal are seen in Malda. Mango is cultivated in 51,000 acres of land. Mango gardens are to be found along Kalindri and Mahananda rivers. Mangos are exported not only in different parts of India but also in some foreign countries. The total transaction in mango export is above crore rupees.⁵⁹

Irrigation

The Department of Agriculture wish to introduce irrigation with river water obtained by means of pumps and deep tube-wells. This department has also been executing minor irrigation schemes such as construction of bundhs or small reservoirs of water. From a report of the Principal Agricultural Office, it is known that total 39827 hectares area has been irrigated in 1992-93.

In 1993-94 area has increased to 42355 hectares. Upto 1993-94 total number of Shallow tube-well in the district was 20161.⁵⁰ (includes electrical, diesel and manual). Indigenous method of irrigation is also found here.

Today improved agricultural techniques consist of the use of superior quantity of seeds and the use of proper fertilizer have been introduced in the district. The department of Agriculture has been trying to introduce implementation of Mould Board ploughs, Wheel Hoes, Seed Drill but these are so much costly that the impact of such improved elements in the agriculture has not yet began to be fact.

Industrial Landscape

The district of Malda which was once a commercial centre due to its sericulture-based industry, has lost its traditional glory. Modern industries are almost non-existent in Malda. Infrastructural facilities on which industrialisation depends, are also in a poor state of development. Industry plays a very minor role in the economy of Malda and remains very primitive during the last few decades. This reflects in the slow progress of urbanization in the district. It is seen from a report of the District Statistical Office, Malda that in 1992 there were 29 registered working factories where 948 persons were employed. In the year 1991-92 there were 692 small scale industrial units where 3,818 were employed.⁶¹ The most numerous is the food product factory employing 257 workers. Next comes textile and

textile product factory employing 155 persons. The other important factories are related to wood products, metal products, electricity, gas and stream repair services and chemical products. Small scale industries include the food processing sundry hardware, gold and silver ornaments, pottery, bidi making, tailoring, wooden furniture, spinning of silk (not in mills), shoe repairing, bicycle and tri-cycling repairing, manufacture of bricks and tiles, leather footwears etc. Heavy and large scale industry is absent in the district, as a result of which the district is now included in the 'A' zone category. For this reason, 25% of the total fixed capital should be paid as subsidiary by the Government to those who are willing to open new industry in this district. But yet the response is not very good. There are four industrial training centres in the district, training is imparted in weaving, block printing and jute spinning.

The soil of Malda is very fertile for cocoons production. 65% of the total cocoons production of West Bengal is found in Malda.⁶²

In the year 1993-94 8403 (in '000 Kahan) Kahan of cocoons has been produced which worths rupees 4,62,149. Future of Sericulture industry is very good. There are now 34 centres for rearing of silk worms under the Intensive Sericulture Development Project. If the infrastructural facilities are increased Sericulture industry may work as a booster in the economy of the region.⁶³

Education :

In 1951, the literates formed only 9.6 per cent of the population of the district.⁶⁴ In 1981, percentage of literates increased to 23.06 per cent thus showing an increase of 14.00 per cent only during the decades 1951-81. Literacy among males has increased from 1.6 per cent in 1951 to 31.46 in 1981. In 1951 only 4.3 per cent of the female population were literates while in 1981 the literates among females formed 14.21. In 1991, the per cent of literacy increased from 13.06 per cent to 29 per cent.⁶⁵

In comparison to other districts of North Bengal as well as West Bengal as a whole, the rate of literacy in the district for the entire population as also for the males is the lowest. So far as the female literacy is concerned, position of Malda is slightly better than Purulia (13.34%). The level of literacy in the district cannot therefore, be called satisfactory. Per capita expenditure in education was Rs.1.47 in 1951. The amount has been increased to only Rs.9.97 in 1981, which is very insignificant in comparison to other districts of West Bengal. Rate of literacy is high in Urban area rather than rural area of the district. According to 1991 Census report, urban area accounts 62.69% literacy whereas the rate of literacy in rural area is only 21.07%.⁶⁶ The maximum number of literate persons are to be found in Englishbazar both among males and females. Englishbazar accounts 65.87% of the total literate persons of Urban area due to its educational facilities.

From the description of Buchanan Hamilton, we have come to know that in the old days Primary education was given in the Village Schools known as Pathsala. English education was introduced in 1860 in the district. In 1870-71, there were one English School and three Vernacular Schools maintained by the government. Malda Zilla School was established in 1858. In 1900, renowned educationist Dinabandhu Choudhury established Durgadevi Pathsala. This is known at present Dinabandhu Durgadevi Pathsala.⁶⁷

From a report of the year 1993-94, it is revealed, that there are 1873 Primary Schools, 109 Middle Schools and 166 Secondary schools. Almost all the teachers of these schools get their salaries from the government.⁶⁸ Primary Schools are controlled by the Zilla School Board. There are four Colleges namely Malda College, Chanchol College, Sanshi College and Malda Mahila College. There are also some professional technical institutions. Among these, the most important is the Malda Polytechnic College. The courses taught are Mechanical, Civil Engineer, Electrical Engineering etc. Under the Directorate of Industries there are some technical training institutions of which the most important is the Industrial Training Institute. For handloom weaving training there is Malda Silpa Vidyapith. There is also a District Weaving School in Malda where the both boys and girls learn weaving training for one year.⁶⁹ There is a B.Ed. College at Malda and a training institution for the primary school teachers. From the following table the total picture of the educational facilities will be revealed.

Table 3.7

Educational Facilities in the District of Malda from
1989-90 to 1993-94

Type of Institution	1989-90	1990-91	1991-92	1992-93	1993-94
Primary	1873	1873	1873	1873	1873
Middle	110	110	111	109	109
Secondary	166	166	164	166	166
Higher Secondary	27	28	28	28	28
College (Degree)	4	4	5	5	5
Professional and Technical (School and College)	4	4	4	4	4
Other Institution (including Adult Education Centre)	1177	1177	-	-	-

Source : Key Statistics of the District of Malda 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics, Malda, Government of West Bengal.

Infrastructural Facilities

From the viewpoint of infra-structural facilities, position of Malda is slightly better than erstwhile West Dinajpur District. Infrastructural facilities in the district have grown up over a period of time and its potentiality except Darjeeling district in North Bengal, if utilised may lead to a healthy development in the region.

Power and Communication

In respect of power, district holds a strong position. Farakka Thermal Project is the most major source of power in the district. It plays a key role in the regional development of North Bengal as well as the state. Power is also supplied to other states of India from this project. Malda also receive power from Jaldhaka and Chukha Hydro-Electricity Project. As a result of all these sources, consumption of electricity of the district is higher than ^{erstwhile} West Dinajpur. At the end of the year 1992-93, domestic and residential consumption in the district were 35019 kwh (in thousand). The power used for the industrial and agricultural purposes was 15422 kwh (in thousand) and 9942kwh respectively. Existence of such power facilities may lead to the industrial expansion in future. In regard to communication District of Malda contain 324 Post Offices and one Telegraph Offices.⁷⁰ Urban people enjoy more communication facilities than the rural people.

Road and Transport

District of Malda, in comparison to other parts of North Bengal is well served by railway and roads. The construction of National Highways and of Farakka Bridge across the river Ganga has considerably enhanced its importance in the trade transport network.

With regard to railway communication, there are three sections of the N.F. Railway within this district. One section originates at Katihar in Bihar and ends at Singhabad in the district of Malda. The length of this route is 82.5 km.

The second section of railway runs from Old Malda to Khejuriaghat. The total length of this route is 43 km. The third section runs from Mukuria to Kumedpur which covers an area of 1.8 km.

The district is served more by roadways than the railways. The National Highway No. 34 which runs from Calcutta to Siliguri passes through the district of Malda. It enters the district at Khejuriaghat and passes via Kaliachak, Englishbazar and Gajol to Raiganj in the district of Dinajpur (Uttar and Dakshin). The length of this National Highway within the district of Malda is 107.9 km. The State Highways are three in number. The first links Englishbazar with Manikchak which is 32.2 km in length. The second State Highway is one from Malda to Gajol which is 25.8 km in length and connects the Police Station of Englishbazar. The third State Highway starts from Gajol to Buniadpur of Dinajpur (Uttar and Dakshin). The length of this road is 32.2 km between the two extreme points.⁷¹

Among the four major district roads, the longest one measuring 53.1 km in length connects Gajol, Samsi, Chanchal and Harishchandrapur. Other three district roads are

- (a) Gajol-Bamangola-Habibpur-Bulbulchandi (41.9 km)
- (b) Manikchak-Mathurapur-Ratua Road (16 km), Samsi-Ratua Road (12.9 km).

There are also seven district roads, four village roads under the government of West Bengal. Further Zilla Parishad maintains 8 major roads, 13 major roads and 105 major and minor village roads. From a Government report of 1993-94 it is revealed that Public Works Department of the Government of West Bengal maintains 592 km roads of different length, and 454 kilometer roads are maintained by the local bodies.⁷² There is also an Airport in Malda but it does not work for a long time.

SUMMING UP

Population in all the districts of erstwhile West Dinajpur and Malda is increasing very rapidly, although, decennial growth rate of population in erstwhile West Dinajpur is to some extent higher than the district of Malda. However, population trend is not explosive in all these districts. One common feature persisting in all these districts is being located on the international and national border, these districts are bound to receive a continuous inflow of immigrants from across the border. All the towns except Hili (presently in Dakshin Dinajpur) and Old Malda (Malda district) maintain a speedy growth trend in respect of population.

In regard to agricultural trend, one can say that almost all the peasants in these districts are engaged in producing Kharif crops. The future of this region undoubtedly lies in agriculture and agriculture-based industries at least for the

next fifteen to twenty years. At present the percentage of agro-based industry is very low in the region which explains why both agriculture and industry are losing their ground.

Although industrial activities, particularly small scale industries, are increasing in these districts but industry has not yet taken any strong foothold in the district of Malda and Dinajpur (Uttar and Dakshin). Most of the units functioning here are small in size, capacity and employment. Except Raiganj Spinning Mill and Kulik Paper Mill; there is no big industry in the region. In fact ruralities have not yet been absorbed in the industries in the region. On the whole it can be said that industrialisation is at its lowest ebb in comparison to South Bengal and the economy of the district is mainly dependent on agriculture.

Infrastructure facilities are also far from satisfactory. After completion of Farakka Super Thermal Project it is expected that power position in the districts will develop which may help to industrialization of the area. Further Chuka Hydro-electricity Project will also develop the power position of the districts in future.

The growing economic activity in all these districts in the field of services as well as trade and commerce has been facilitated largely due to the development of transport system. The districts are served by both railway and roads. Position of

Malda in this respect is better than Dinajpur(Uttar and Dakshin). So linkage by railway line in Uttar and Dakshin Dinajpur is absolutely necessary to wave out some of its perpetual problems. Road traffic plays a more important role in these districts having a much wider connection with the other parts of the State. This is clearly visible in the growth trend of a large number of bus routes going in different directions.

A noticeable trend is seen in the evergrowing demand of the people in all these districts for education. Although the total number of Schools, Colleges and other educational institutions have been increased but the proportion is very little in comparison to total population.

All these districts, to say the least are essentially backward, dependent on traditional agricultural operations. The service trade and commercial sectors are ill-developed to accommodate the surplus labour force of the country side. None of the towns of these districts is industrial, still people from the countryside flock to the towns being lured by the meagre advantages offered by the latter. The result is that paucity of resources seems to be the most important hurdle in the way of resource mobilisation for effecting urban development. What is needed now is planned economic growth that envisages industrialisation and sound urban management.

References

- 1 Sahai, Jugendra (1980). Urban Complex of an Industrial City [Allahabad, Chugh Publications), p.203.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 West Bengal (1971). Sponsored by Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry, (New Delhi, Oxford and IBH Publishing Co), p.35.
- 4 Choudhuri, M.R.(1971). The Industrial Landscape of West Bengal (Oxford and IBH Co.), pp.48-49.
- 5 Sengupta, J.C. (1965), West Dinajpur, West Bengal District Gazetters (Calcutta, Government of West Bengal), p.1.
- 6 Key Statistics of the District of West Dinajpur, 1992 (1992). Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics (Balurghat, Government of West Bengal), p.1.
- 7 District Statistical Handbook 1994 (1995). Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dinajpur, Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics (Balurghat, Government of West Bengal), p.15.
- 8 Urban West Bengal (1993). Institute of Local Government and Urban Studies (Calcutta, Government of West Bengal).
- 9 District Statistical Handbook 1994, Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dinajpur, op.cit., p.15.
- 10 Key Statistics of the District of West Dinajpur, op.cit., p.1.
- 11 Census of India 1961 (1965). West Bengal District Census Handbook, West Dinajpur (Calcutta, Government Printing Press), p.XIV.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid.

- 14 Key Statistics of the District of West Dinajpur, op.cit., p.1.
- 15 Census of India (1981). Series 23, West Bengal Paper I of 1981, Series 23, Supplement, Provisional Population, Totals, p.45.
- 16 Key Statistics of the District of West Dinajpur, op.cit., p.1.
- 17 District Statistical Handbook, 1994, Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dinajpur, op.cit., p.14.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Madhupurni(in Bengali) (1994). Special Issue on West Dinajpur District, p.35.
- 20 Census of India 1981, Series 23, West Bengal, op.cit., p.46.
- 21 District Census Handbook, Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dinajpur, op.cit., p.94.
- 22 Madhupurni, op.cit., p.94.
- 23 Paschim Dinajpur Zilla Parisader Smarak Grantha (1986). (in Bengali) (Balurghat, Paschim Dinajpur Zilla Parisad), p.87.
- 24 Economic Review 1992-93 (1994). Government of West Bengal (Calcutta, State Planning Board), p.51.
- 25 Sengupta, J.C. op.cit., p.99.
- 26 Annual Plan on Agriculture, 1989-90 (1991). Government of West Bengal (Balurghat, Principal Agricultural Office), p.39.
- 27 Tufan (in Bengali), Year III, Issue No.15.
- 28 District Statistical Handbook 1994, Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dinajpur, op.cit., p.164.
- 29 Madhupurni, op.cit., p.164.
- 30 District Statistical Handbook 1994, Uttar Dinajpur and Dakshin Dinajpur, op.cit., p.110.

- 31 Economic Review 1992-93, op.cit., p.110.
- 32 Ibid.
Ibid., p.145
- 33 Information collected from Industrial office, Raiganj,
 Uttar Dinajpur.
 Economic Review, 1992-93, op.cit., p.145.
- 34 Key Statistics of the District of West Dinajpur, op.cit., p.9.
- 35 Paschim Dinajpur Zilla Parishader Smarak Grantha (1986)
 (in Bangali), Monogram published by the Erstwhile
 West Dinajpur Zilla Parishad (Balurghat, West Dinajpur
 Zilla Parishad), p.105.
- 36 Ibid., p.104.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Sengupta, J.C., op.cit., p.193.
- 39 District Census Handbook, West Dinajpur 1981(1982)
 (Calcutta, Government Printing Press), p.XIII A.
- 40 Madhupuri, op.cit., p.77.
- 41 District Statistical Handhook 1994, Uttar Dinajpur and
 Dakshin Dinajpur, op.cit., p.104.
- 42 Economic Review, 1992-93, op.cit., p.159 (Total figures of
 Howrah, Calcutta and Burdwan calculated from the report).
- 43 District Statistical Handbook, 1994, Uttar Dinajpur and
 Dakshin Dinajpur, op.cit., p.104.
- 44 Sengupta, J.C., op.cit., p.139.
- 45 Ibid., p.137.
- 46 Sengupta, J.C. (1969). West Bengal District Gazetteers Malda
 (Calcutta, Government of West Bengal), P.1.
- 47 Ibid.

- 48 Mitra, A. (1954). District Census Handbook, Malda, Census 1951 (Delhi, Manager of Publications), p.xiii.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Ray, B. (1965). District Census Handbook, Malda, Census 1961, (Calcutta, Government of West Bengal), p.xiv.
- 51 Ghose, B. (1979), District Census Handbook, Malda, Census 1971, (Calcutta, Government of West Bengal), p.4.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Ghosh, S.N. (1984). Final Population Total - Census of India-1981 (West Bengal, Director of Census Operations), p.16.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Urban West Bengal (1993). (Calcutta, Institute of Local Government and Urban Studies), p.38.
- 56 Guha Ray, Sidhartha (1989) (in Bengali), Malda, (C (Calcutta, Subamarekha), p.25.
- 57 Ibid., p.26.
- 58 Ibid., p.27.
- 59 Madhurumi, Special Issue on Malda (1985) (Calcutta, Sisir Sankar), p.142.
- 60 Key Statistics of the District of Malda (1995). (Malda, Bureau of Applied Economics and Statistics), p.3.
- 61 Economic Review 1992-93, op.cit., p.145.
- 62 Guha Ray, Sidhartha, op.cit., p.39.
- 63 Key Statistics of the District of Malda, op.cit., p.7.
- 64 Sengupta, J.C. (1969). West Bengal District Gazetteers, Malda, op.cit., p.205.

- 65 Urban West Bengal 1993-94, op.cit., p.40.
- 66 Key Statistics of the District of Malda, op.cit., p.4.
- 67 Guha Roy, Sidhartha, op.cit., p.67.
- 68 Key Statistics of the District of Malda, 1990, op.cit., p.4.
- 69 Guha Ray, Sidhartha, op.cit., p.68.
- 70 Key Statistics of the District of Malda (1994), op.cit., p.5.
- 71 Sengupta, J.C.(1969), op.cit., p.137.
- 72 Key Statistics of the District of Malda (1994), op.cit., p.8.

: : : : :