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Urbanization Pattern—A Study Over the Districts of West Bengal

Introduction

THE rapid growth of urban population is a major problem of most of the developing countries. The urban population of India which was just 10.8 percent of the total population in 1901 has increased over time to 25.7 percent of the total population in 1991. Since in 1961 the definition of urban settlements was substantially modified, the figures prior to 1961 census are not strictly comparable with latter figures. The change in the urban population in a given geographical area over a period of time occurs due to four factors viz., natural increase, net rural to urban migration, the difference of the population of new towns added and declassified towns and finally by the population of areas added by the expansion of municipal boundaries. In most of the situations the last two factors have negligible effect on urbanization over a short period of time. Therefore, one can reasonably consider only natural increase and net rural to urban migration to be responsible for the change in urban population.

A number of studies have been done by various authors regarding urbanization pattern of India as a whole. It has been found that the western zone is the most urbanized zone and the eastern zone is the least urbanized zone in the country according to urbanization level on the basis of 1991 census data. In the eastern zone the urbanization trend is maximum in Mizoram with an urbanization level of 46.2 percent. Manipur has the second and West Bengal has the third position having urbanization levels of 21.1 and 27.4 percent respectively. The present work attempts to study the trend of urbanization in the different districts of West Bengal on the basis of census data.

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Growth of Urbanization

Table 1 shows the percentage growth of urban and rural population (i.e. the ratio of difference of relevant population of two successive censuses and the relevant population at the former census multiplied by 100) for the different districts of West Bengal over time.

TABLE 1: PERCENTAGE GROWTH OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION IN THE DISTRICTS OF WEST BENGAL DURING 1961-91

<i>WB/Districts</i>	<i>Urban decennial growth</i>			<i>Rural decennial growth</i>		
	<i>1961-71</i>	<i>1971-81</i>	<i>1981-91</i>	<i>1961-71</i>	<i>1971-81</i>	<i>1981-91</i>
West Bengal	28.41	31.73	29.49	26.38	20.36	23.01
Burdwan	58.98	59.33	49.05	19.92	12.90	13.08
Birbhum	23.82	39.08	32.26	22.73	16.42	21.03
Bankura	24.21	19.45	28.29	21.85	16.72	17.02
Midnapur	25.71	36.32	45.82	26.99	21.24	21.79
Howrah	22.84	32.09	37.62	15.69	15.98	15.26
Hooghly	31.24	38.18	28.19	27.83	11.87	19.91
24-Parganas	48.67	40.37	05.85	27.93	19.91	30.52
Calcutta	7.57	4.96	32.78	—	—	—
Nadia	32.57	53.06	36.22	29.63	28.26	28.06
Murshidabad	27.10	39.28	42.48	28.51	24.51	26.55
West Dinajpur	75.50	54.72	55.37	37.67	26.69	27.09
Maldah	33.95	42.88	91.75	31.89	25.25	26.51
Jalpaiguri	35.75	85.16	46.97	28.05	20.33	22.52
Darjeeling	24.60	56.57	45.38	25.33	23.36	24.70
Cooch Behar	35.28	26.50	38.49	38.93	25.19	20.58
Purulia	43.13	25.98	26.10	16.01	14.72	18.97

From Table 1 it is clear that urban population increased more rapidly than rural population during the period 1961-91 in West Bengal as well as in all the districts. There is a steady increase in the urban population for the districts Midnapur, Howrah, Murshidabad, and Maldah.

Table 2 shows the values of the level of urbanization (i.e. the percentage of urban population to the total population) for the different districts and West Bengal as a whole over time.

Table 2 exhibits that the increase in the level of urbanization for the state of West-Bengal over time is not very significant. But there is significant increase for some of districts viz., Burdwan, Howrah, Hooghly, West-Dinajpur, Maldah and Jalpaiguri. The

level is maximum for Howrah for all the four years. There is a significant increase of urbanization level in Maldah from 1981 to 1991. The level is minimum for Maldah in the years 1961, 1971, 1981 and for Cooch-Behar in 1991.

TABLE 2: LEVEL OF URBANIZATION IN THE DISTRICTS OF WEST BENGAL DURING 1961-91

WB/Districts	1961	1971	1981	1991(P)
West Bengal	24.45	24.75	26.47	27.39
Burdwan	18.20	22.78	79.39	35.43
Bifihum	691	101	82	8-98
Bankura	7.34	7.47	7.63	81
Midnapur	7.70	7.63	8.49	10.00
Howrah	40.48	41.93	45.12	49.54
Hooghly	25.96	26.47	29.43	30.94
24-Parganas	31.81	35.15	38.82	34.55
*Calcutta	—	—	—	—
Nadia	18.41	18.74	21.59	22.65
Murshidabad	8.54	8.45	9.36	10.41
West Dinajpur	7.48	9.34	11.17	13.33
Maldah	4.16	4.22	4.78	7.08
Jalpaiguri	9.11	9.60	14.05	16.40
Darjeeling	23.16	23.05	27.55	30.71
Cooch Behar	7.01	6.83	6.90	7.85
Purulia	6.80	8.26	9.00	9.48

*No rural area.

Table 3 shows the values of speed of urbanization (i.e. the ratio of difference of urbanization levels at two successive censuses and urbanization level at the former census multiplied by 100) of the different districts and West-Bengal over time.

From Table 3 it is clear that the speed was negative in some of the districts during the decade 1961-71. But after 1971 it is positive for all the districts. The districts Burdwan and West-Dinajpur have uniformly higher speed of urbanization than all other districts. The most interesting figure is the speed of the district Maldah during 1981-91. It is necessary to find out the reason behind such a high speed. The speed is also high for the district 24-Parganas during the decade 1981-91.

Increase in Population

Table 4 shows the values of percentage variation of population by district for rural and urban area over time (i.e. the ratio of difference in urban (rural) population at two successive censuses and the total population at the former census multiplied by 100).

TABLE 3: SPEED OF URBANIZATION DURING 1961 -91

<i>WB/Districts</i>	<i>1961-71</i>	<i>1971-81</i>	<i>1981-91(P)</i>
West Bengal	1.23	6.95	3.48
Burdwan	25.16	29.02	20.55
Birbhum	00.09	17.78	08.45
Bankura	01.77	02.14	08.91
Midnapur	-00.09	11.27	01.79
Howrah	03.58	07.61	09.80
Hooghly	01.96	11.18	05.13
24-Parganas	10.50	10.44	63.11
Calcutta	—	—	—
Nadia	01.79	15.21	04.91
Murshidabad	-01.05	10.77	11.22
West Dinajpur	24.87	19.59	19.34
Maldah	01.44	13.27	257.32
Jalpaiguri	05.38	46.35	16.73
Darjeeling	-00.04	19.52	11.47
Cooch Behar	-02.57	01.02	13.77
Purulia	21.47	08.96	05.33

In Table 4 the rural figures are generally greater than the urban figures because the rural area is higher than the urban area in most of the districts. But it can be seen that in many districts, there is an increasing trend in urban values and a decreasing trend in rural values.

Table 5 shows the indices of urban population of different districts and also for West-Bengal for the years 1971, 1981 and 1991 by considering 1961 as the base period.

From the indices of Table 5 it is clear that the increase the urban population in some of the districts viz. Burdwan, Midnapur, West-Dinajpur, Maldah and Jalpaiguri is very high compared to 1961, particularly in the year 1991.

Figures of 1981 Census

Some interesting figures are available only for 1981 which are presented in this section. Tables 6 and 7 shows the proportion of inter district male and female migrants on the basis of birth place and the place of residence at the time of census for rural to urban and for urban to rural migration respectively.

For rural to urban migration (Table 6) it can be seen that the proportions of male and female migrants are nearly equal for almost all the districts except Midnapur where the proportion of male migrants is higher than that of female. The figures also reflect the fact that the trend of migration is towards the districts Calcutta, 24-Parganas, Burdwan, Howrah and Jalpaiguri.

TABLE 4: PERCENTAGE VARIATION OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION OVER TIME
 DURING 1961-91

<i>W.B./Districts</i>	<i>1961-71</i>		<i>1971-81</i>		<i>1981-91</i>	
	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>	<i>Urban</i>	<i>Rural</i>
West Bengal	6.95	19.93	7.85	15.32	7.81	16.92
Burdwan	10.73	16.30	13.51	9.96	29.83	4.70
Birbhum	1.66	21.14	2.75	15.27	2.67	19.27
Bankura	1.77	20.24	1.45	15.47	2.16	15.96
Midnapur	1.98	24.91	2.77	19.62	3.68	19.87
Howrah	9.24	9.33	13.45	21.28	17.20	8.51
Hooghly	8.11	20.60	10.10	13.75	8.65	13.78
24-Parganas	15.48	19.04	14.19	12.90	2.99	18.03
Calcutta	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nadia	6.00	24.18	9.94	22.96	7.82	22.13
Murshidabad	2.31	18.08	3.32	22.44	4.01	24.18
West Dinaj pur	5.64	34.85	5.11	24.20	6.17	23.88
Malda	1.41	30.57	1.81	24.19	4.40	25.39
Jalpaiguri	3.26	25.50	8.18	18.37	6.63	19.80
Darjeeling	5.70	19.46	13.04	17.98	11.12	15.79
Cooch Behar	2.47	36.20	1.81	23.47	2.67	19.88
Purulia	2.93	14.92	2.14	13.51	2.33	17.67

TABLES : INDEX OF URBAN POPULATION FOR 1971-1991 (base year = 1961)

<i>W.B./Districts</i>	<i>1971</i>	<i>1981</i>	<i>1991(P)</i>
West Bengal	128.41	169.15	218.03
Burdwan	158.98	253.29	377.54
Birbhum	123.82	172.21	277.77
Bankura	124.21	148.37	190.35
Midnapur	125.71	171.36	249.87
Howrah	122.84	162.26	223.30
Hooghly	131.24	181.35	232.48
24-Parganas	148.67	208.69	220.89
Calcutta	107.57	112.90	149.91
Nadia	132.57	202.92	276.42
Murshidabad	127.10	177.02	252.23
West Dinajpur	175.50	271.53	421.88
Malda	133.95	191.39	366.99
Jalpaiguri	135.75	251.36	369.43
Darjeeling	124.60	195.08	283.61
Cooch Behar	135.28	171.12	236.99
Purulia	143.13	180.33	227.38

TABLE 6: PROPORTION PERSONS MIGRATED FROM RURAL TO URBAN IN WEST BENGAL IN 1981

Sl. No.	District	Characteristics	Enumerated in the District																Total
			Cooch Behar	Jalpai-guri	Darjee-ling	West Dinajpur	Mal-dah	Murshidabad	Nadia	24-Parganas	Calcutta	Hw-rah	Hoo-gli	Midnapur	Ban-kura	Purn-ia	Burd-wan	Bir-bhwn	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1.	Cooch Behar	M	—	0.176	0.059	0.030	0.008	0.005	0.012	0.085	0.046	0.005	0.009	0.005	0.00	0.001	0.016	0.003	0.460
		F	—	0.263	0.075	0.024	0.006	0.009	0.016	0.067	0.032	0.007	0.006	0.008	0.001	0.003	0.020	0.003	0.540
		T	—	0.439	0.134	0.054	0.014	0.014	0.028	0.152	0.078	0.012	0.015	0.013	0.001	0.004	0.036	0.006	1.000
2.	Jalpai-guri	M	0.056	—	0.171	0.022	0.008	0.003	0.010	0.077	0.060	0.009	0.013	0.005	0.001	0.001	0.016	0.005	0.457
		F	0.093	—	0.189	0.032	0.010	0.005	0.014	0.088	0.054	0.010	0.018	0.003	0.001	0.001	0.018	0.007	0.543
		T	0.149	—	0.360	0.054	0.018	0.008	0.024	0.165	0.114	0.019	0.031	0.008	0.002	0.002	0.034	0.012	1.000
3.	Darjee-ling	M	0.062	0.181	—	0.016	0.011	0.004	0.009	0.093	0.081	0.014	0.011	0.006	0.003	0.001	0.027	0.001	0.520
		F	0.046	0.185	—	0.040	0.007	0.006	0.008	0.072	0.060	0.013	0.014	0.003	0.001	0.003	0.020	0.002	0.480
		T	0.108	0.366	—	0.056	0.018	0.010	0.017	0.165	0.141	0.027	0.025	0.009	0.004	0.004	0.047	0.003	1.000
4.	West Dinajpur	M	0.016	0.047	0.102	—	0.055	0.008	0.015	0.098	0.058	0.024	0.011	0.004	0.001	0.004	0.036	0.004	0.483
		F	0.020	0.068	0.098	—	0.066	0.021	0.022	0.105	0.046	0.013	0.016	0.006	0.002	0.001	0.030	0.003	0.517
		T	0.036	0.115	0.200	—	0.121	0.029	0.037	0.203	0.104	0.037	0.027	0.010	0.003	0.005	0.066	0.007	1.000
5.	Maldah	M	0.014	0.032	0.021	0.082	—	0.032	0.012	0.171	0.087	0.013	0.003	0.008	0.001	0.001	0.045	0.005	0.527
		F	0.003	0.024	0.028	0.112	—	0.105	0.012	0.075	0.039	0.008	0.010	0.006	0.002	0.002	0.043	0.004	0.473
		T	0.017	0.056	0.049	0.194	—	0.137	0.024	0.246	0.126	0.021	0.013	0.014	0.003	0.003	0.088	0.009	1.000
6.	Murshidabad	M	0.002	0.003	0.003	0.008	0.010	—	0.029	0.142	0.090	0.025	0.042	0.008	0.002	0.002	0.120	0.050	0.536
		F	0.001	0.005	0.005	0.006	0.017	—	0.043	0.098	0.073	0.020	0.046	0.007	0.002	0.002	0.092	0.047	0.464
		T	0.003	0.008	0.008	0.014	0.027	—	0.072	0.240	0.163	0.045	0.088	0.015	0.004	0.004	0.212	0.097	1.000
7.	Nadia	M	0.002	0.006	0.005	0.005	0.002	0.021	—	0.194	0.072	0.026	0.037	0.008	0.001	0.003	0.063	0.005	0.450
		F	0.002	0.008	0.005	0.004	0.004	0.031	—	0.252	0.062	0.027	0.052	0.007	0.002	0.002	0.088	0.004	0.550
		T	0.004	0.014	0.010	0.009	0.006	0.052	—	0.446	0.134	0.053	0.089	0.015	0.003	0.005	0.151	0.009	1.000

8. 24-	M	0.002	0.004	0.004	0.003	0.001	0.003	0.022		0.282	0.046	0.043	0.015	0.001	0.003	0.040	0.003	0.472
Parganas	F	0.002	0.003	0.004	0.002	0.001	0.004	0.044	-	0.270	0.074	0.064	0.018	0.001	0.002	0.036	0.003	0.528
	T	0.004	0.007	0.008	0.005	0.002	0.007	0.066	—	0.552	0.120	0.107	0.033	0.002	0.005	0.076	0.006	1.000
9. Calcutta	M	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00		00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
	F	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	—	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
	T	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00		00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
10. Howrah	M	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.004	0.196	0.195		0.045	0.017	0.001	0.001	0.035	0.003	0.503
	F	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.006	0.222	0.121		0.071	0.038	0.001	0.001	0.029	0.002	0.497
	T	0.002	0.002	0.003	0.001	0.002	0.002	0.010	0.418	0.316	—	0.116	0.055	0.002	0.002	0.064	0.005	1.000
11. Hooghly	M	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.003	0.011	0.108	0.125	0.098		0.017	0.002	0.002	0.059	0.003	0.433
	F	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.003	0.031	0.157	0.080	0.151	—	0.056	0.005	0.003	0.071	0.005	0.567
	T	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.006	0.042	0.265	0.205	0.249	—	0.073	0.007	0.005	0.130	0.008	1.000
12. Medni-pur	M	0.001	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.003	0.010	0.187	0.247	0.103	0.032		0.008	0.005	0.040	0.002	0.642
	F	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.001	0.007	0.113	0.093	0.066	0.031		0.012	0.004	0.027	0.001	0.358
	T	0.001	0.003	0.002	0.002	0.000	0.004	0.017	0.300	0.340	0.169	0.063		0.020	0.009	0.067	0.003	1.000
13. Bankura	M	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.004	0.043	0.063	0.018	0.030	0.028	—	0.022	0.307	0.005	0.526
	T	0.001	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.003	0.008	0.079	0.093	0.034	0.060	0.04?	—	0.032	0.273		0.474
14. Purulia	M	0.000	0.000	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.002	0.040	0.040	0.013	0.010	0.016	0.032	—	0.352	0.004	0.512
	F	00	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.029	0.020	0.010	0.010	0.014	0.046	—	0.348	0.004	0.488
	T	0.000	0.001	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.001	0.004	0.069	0.060	0.023	0.020	0.030	0.078	—	0.700	0.008	1.000
15. Burdwan	M	0.001	0.003	0.004	0.002	0.002	0.010	0.034	0.106	0.096	0.036	0.133	0.012	0.008	0.008		0.026	0.481
	T	0.001	0.005	0.008	0.004	0.004	0.030	0.100	0.222	0.169	0.079	0.244	0.022	0.029	0.022	—	0.061	1.000
16. Birbhum	M	0.001	0.002	0.003	0.004	0.003	0.029	0.007	0.055	0.051	0.013	0.036	0.006	0.003	0.004	0.265		0.482
	F	0.001	0.003	0.003	0.002	0.004	0.065	0.008	0.061	0.039	0.017	0.040	0.007	0.004	0.006	0.258		0.518
	T	0.002	0.005	0.006	0.006	0.007	0.094	0.015	0.116	0.090	0.030	0.076	0.013	0.007	0.010	0.523	—	1.000

M = Male, F = Female, T = Total, 00 Figures are not available.

TABLE 7: PERSONS MIGRATED FROM URBAN TO RURAL IN WEST BENGAL IN 1981

Enumerated in the District																				
Sl. No	District of Birth	Characteristics	Cooch Behar	Jalpai-guri	Darjee-ling	West Dinajpur	Maldah	Murshidabad	Nadia	24 Parganas	Cuttack	Howrah	Hoo-gli	Midnapur	Bankura	Purulia	Burdwan	Birbhum	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
1.	Cooch Behar	M	—	0.249	0.048	0.022	0.013	0.004	0.008	0.015	00	0.003	0.001	0.010	0.003	0.003	0.007	0.003	0.389	
		F	—	0.460	0.828	0.025	0.018	0.012	0.020	0.012	00	0.007	0.005	0.007	0.001	0.003	0.010	0.003	0.611	
		T	—	0.709	0.076	0.047	0.031	0.016	0.028	0.027	00	0.010	0.006	0.017	0.004	0.006	0.017	0.006	1.000	
2.	Jalpai-guri	M	0.149	—	0.086	0.036	0.026	0.008	0.020	0.014	00	0.005	0.007	0.007	0.011	0.008	0.017	0.002	0.396	
		F	0.274	—	0.118	0.046	0.035	0.010	0.032	0.022	00	00	0.015	0.011	0.018	0.004	0.014	0.005	0.604	
		T	0.423	—	0.204	0.082	0.061	0.018	0.052	0.036	00	0.005	0.022	0.018	0.029	0.012	0.031	0.007	1.000	
3.	Darjee-ling	M	0.023	0.254	—	0.064	0.030	0.005	0.014	0.020	00	0.004	0.006	0.031	0.008	00	0.008	0.003	0.470	
		F	0.042	0.282	—	0.081	0.014	0.006	0.018	0.030	00	0.001	0.014	0.025	0.003	0.002	0.007	0.005	0.530	
		T	0.065	0.536	—	0.145	0.044	0.011	0.032	0.050	00	0.005	0.020	0.056	0.011	0.002	0.015	0.008	1.000	
4.	West Dinajpur	M	0.031	0.065	0.083	—	0.078	0.012	0.015	0.012	00	00	0.005	0.006	0.007	0.010	0.023	0.014	0.361 ¹	
		F	0.046	0.139	0.081	—	0.194	0.032	0.030	0.025	00	00	0.011	0.012	0.011	0.010	0.036	0.012	0.630 ¹	
		T	0.077	0.204	0.164	—	0.272	0.044	0.045	0.037	00	00	0.016	0.018	0.018	0.020	0.059	0.026	1.000 ¹	
5.	Maldah	M	0.016	0.026	0.047	0.168	—	0.044	0.010	0.016	00	0.010	0.010	0.015	0.008	0.004	0.020	0.019	0.41 ¹	
		F	0.013	0.020	0.019	0.289	—	0.088	0.043	0.035	00	00	0.010	0.010	0.002	0.005	0.026	0.027	0.587 ³	
		T	0.029	0.046	0.066	0.457	—	0.132	0.053	0.051	00	0.010	0.020	0.025	0.010	0.009	0.046	0.046	1.000 ⁴	
6.	Murshidabad	M	0.005	0.006	0.009	0.035	0.032	—	0.061	0.016	00	0.004	0.028	0.011	0.006	0.002	0.056	0.094	0.365 ²	
		F	0.003	0.008	0.004	0.037	0.065	—	0.133	0.024	00	0.005	0.027	0.017	0.010	0.006	0.092	0.204	0.635 ²	
		T	0.008	0.014	0.013	0.072	0.097	—	0.194	0.040	00	0.009	0.055	0.028	0.016	0.008	0.148	0.298	1.000 ²	
7.	Nadia	M	0.012	0.017	0.010	0.024	0.009	0.032	—	0.059	00	0.004	0.043	0.013	0.007	0.002	0.080	0.010	0.322	
		F	0.014	0.021	0.009	0.023	0.007	0.085	—	0.128	00	0.005	0.097	0.024	0.013	0.006	0.218	0.028	0.678	
		T	0.026	0.038	0.019	0.047	0.016	0.117	—	0.187	00	0.009	0.140	0.037	0.020	0.008	0.298	0.038	1.000	

8. 24-Parganas	M	0.006	0.011	0.008	0.011	0.005	0.015	0.086	—	00	0.014	0.055	0.029	0.007	0.006	0.033	0.011	0.297
	F	0.004	0.014	0.007	0.010	0.007	0.026	0.192	—	00	0.092	0.168	0.076	0.017	0.006	0.072	0.012	0.703
	T	0.010	0.025	0.015	0.021	0.012	0.041	0.278	—	00	0.106	0.223	0.105	0.024	0.012	0.105	0.023	1.000
9. Calcutta	M	0.002	0.009	0.010	0.005	0.003	0.008	0.036	0.172	—	0.013	0.045	0.029	0.007	0.003	0.025	0.009	0.376
	F	0.004	0.012	0.010	0.005	0.004	0.012	0.055	0.256	—	0.043	0.086	0.062	0.013	0.005	0.042	0.015	0.624
	T	0.006	0.021	0.020	0.010	0.007	0.020	0.091	0.428	—	0.056	0.131	0.091	0.020	0.008	0.067	0.024	1.000
10 Howrah	M	0.002	0.003	0.004	0.003	0.002	0.003	0.013	0.047	00	—	0.085	0.031	0.006	0.004	0.021	0.008	0.232
	F	0.002	0.003	0.003	0.003	0.003	0.009	0.022	0.147	00	—	0.331	0.156	0.014	0.007	0.056	0.012	0.768
	T	0.004	0.006	0.007	0.006	0.005	0.012	0.035	0.194	00	—	0.416	0.187	0.020	0.011	0.077	0.020	1.000
11 Hoogli	M	0.001	0.002	0.005	0.004	0.003	0.013	0.015	0.032	00	0.009	—	0.023	0.020	0.006	0.109	0.010	0.252
	F	0.003	0.003	0.005	0.004	0.002	0.017	0.056	0.105	00	0.078	—	0.072	0.044	0.009	0.329	0.021	0.748
	T	0.004	0.005	0.010	0.008	0.005	0.030	0.071	0.137	00	0.087	—	0.095	0.064	0.015	0.438	0.031	1.000
12 Medinipur	M	0.003	0.006	0.005	0.001	0.002	0.007	0.015	0.081	00	0.019	0.066	—	0.050	0.013	0.042	0.013	0.324
	F	0.002	0.003	0.003	0.004	0.006	0.010	0.021	0.155	00	0.082	0.165	—	0.145	0.018	0.048	0.014	0.676
	T	0.005	0.009	0.008	0.005	0.008	0.017	0.036	0.236	00	0.101	0.231	—	0.195	0.031	0.090	0.027	1.000
13 Bankura	M	00	0.004	0.003	00	0.001	0.003	0.007	0.012	00	0.001	0.046	0.046	—	0.029	0.091	0.007	0.250
	F	00	0.006	00	0.004	0.002	0.008	0.007	0.022	00	0.006	0.118	0.207	—	0.128	0.226	0.016	0.750
	T	00	0.010	0.003	0.004	0.003	0.011	0.014	0.034	00	0.007	0.164	0.253	—	0.157	0.317	0.023	1.000
14 Purulia	M	00	0.014	0.006	00	0.002	0.006	00	0.021	00	00	0.018	0.030	0.062	—	0.109	0.008	0.276
	F	0.002	0.011	0.002	0.006	0.009	0.008	0.005	0.010	00	0.001	0.017	0.054	0.367	—	0.211	0.021	0.724
	T	0.002	0.025	0.008	0.006	0.011	0.014	0.005	0.031	00	0.001	0.035	0.084	0.429	—	0.320	0.029	1.000
15 Burdwan	M	0.002	0.004	0.005	0.005	0.004	0.017	0.022	0.023	00	0.002	0.044	0.016	0.046	0.032	—	0.049	0.271
	F	0.001	0.005	0.002	0.007	0.010	0.065	0.055	0.040	00	0.011	0.136	0.025	0.154	0.080	—	0.138	0.729
	T	0.003	0.009	0.007	0.012	0.014	0.082	0.077	0.063	00	0.013	0.180	0.041	0.200	0.122	—	0.187	1.000
16 Birbhum	M	0.003	0.002	0.002	0.010	0.008	0.062	0.016	0.014	00	00	0.012	0.005	0.008	0.005	0.133	—	0.280
	F	0.001	0.005	0.001	0.008	0.020	0.190	0.016	0.023	00	0.006	0.022	0.017	0.023	0.016	0.327	—	0.720
	T	0.004	0.007	0.003	0.018	0.028	0.252	0.032	0.037	00	0.006	0.034	0.022	0.031	0.021	0.505	—	1.000

M=Male, F=Female, T=Total, 00= Figures are not available.

For urban to rural migration (Table 7) it is interesting to note that the proportions of female migrant are higher than the proportions of male migrants for most of the districts. Here the trend of migration is towards the districts 24-Parganas, Burdwan and Nadia. There are a large number of migrants from Maldah to West Dinajpur.

Conclusion

One should take care while using the figures of different tables since they are not always comparable over time. There are cases where some rural areas are considered as urban due to Government policy. Due to absence of rural area in most of the tables the figures for the district of Calcutta are not mentioned. In 1991 the figures for North and South 24-Parganas, Balurghat and West-Dinajpur are considered together for comparability. All the figures have been collected from the census publications of Government of India.

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