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Review Article

Elderly Crime

The Paradox of Safety: A Critical State-Wise Analysis of Crime Against the Elderly in India

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By 2050, India is set to undergo a significant demographic shift as the population aged 60 and above is expected to double. India's increasing concern with the problem of crime against the elderly. This elderly demographic not only presents social problems but also dire issues concerning the safety of the elderly population with respect to crime. This paper goes far beyond the usual narrative and descriptive frameworks based on statistical winterization of the data and presents a critical, multi-variate, inter-state analysis of the problem. The present study begins with a standardized analysis of the data base on the police reported crime data as published in the NCRB 'Crime in India' 2022 report, calculating the police reported crime rate per 100,000 seniors CRE. This, in turn, relies on the police presence to per capita income non-agricultural industries to agriculture ratio in the state.

This study contributes to the literature on interstate crime in India in three significant ways. First, the study offers the most recent and comprehensive standardized state level data set. Secondly, the empirical test of the reporting bias theory using a robust statistical model. In policy discourse, a shift is made from general crime control to prevention of violence against the elderly. Regarding the study, its unique primary findings stem from the analysis of per capita CRE in the wider context of socio-economic structure comprising non agriculture, highly educated workforce, the ratio of employed graduates to total population, density of graduates per capita, police presence, income, and per capita police budget funded by the state.

Keywords: elderly crime, victimology, india, state-wise analysis, NCRB, reporting bias, general crime rate, ANOVA, multiple regression, state capacity, social gerontology

JEL Classification: K14 (Criminal Law), J14 (Economics of the Elderly), H75 (State and Local Government), O18 (Economic Development: Urban, Rural, Regional, and Transportation Analysis), C21 (Cross-Sectional Models)

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1. Introduction

India's average age of Indian population is gradually increasing. This demographic reality, leading to new challenge in the society. Following the United Nations Population Fund's India Ageing Report (2023) ,the percentage of people aged 60 and older will rise from 10.1% in 2021 to 20.8% by 2050. This will cause increase in number of older people up to almost 347 million, surpassing the present U.S. population. Though the growing number of elderly people is a sign of progress in public health and lifespan, yet it also brings up a lot of challenges for the economy, social structure and the government, negatively affecting their stability.

In Indian traditional joint family system, fragile elderly people were always protected. But, as a consequence of economic liberalization, followed by rapid urbanization and large-scale internal migration this important part of our society has weakened (Rajan & Kumar, 2019). As more and more younger people are moving from rural areas to cities in search of better livelihoods, a new social phenomenon has emerged: a growing number of elderly people who live alone. Social isolation of elderly people are linked to higher risk of physical illness, mental weakness, and financial dependence, making them "soft targets" for a variety of crimes (Prakash, 2017). These crimes include not only serious violent crimes but also a wider range of less obvious but still serious violations, such as stealing property, committing complex financial fraud, and the deeply troubling issue of family members or caregivers abusing their charges financially, emotionally, or physically (HelpAge India, 2021).The Government of India, through the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), provides an annual statistical portrait of this problem. This data, while indispensable, presents a critical interpretive challenge. A cursory reading of the NCRB reports reveals a "paradox of safety": some of India's most developed, urbanized, and wealthy states, such as Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, consistently report high rates of crime against the elderly, while some of the most populous and socio-economically challenged states, like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, appear to be tranquil havens of safety. This counter-intuitive picture forms the central puzzle that this research paper is designed to deconstruct.

The first concept that is presented in this research is a very significant one in the field of criminology: the numbers representing public crime do not reflect the complete story. It is society that is responsible for the formation of individuals, and a multitude of factors collaborate to mould them. The reported crime rate against the elderly is influenced by at least two factors: first, the number of actual victims, which is contingent upon the degree of vulnerability of the victims; and second, the likelihood that a crime will be reported and recorded, which is contingent upon the strength of the public and the actions that the government is able to take. It is clear that individuals are capable of doing this because of the fact that they are aware of their rights, the amount of education they have received, the degree to which they trust organizations, and how easy it is to call and employ the police.

There is a significant new concept in this study that involves making this complexity obvious and testing it. In addition to elements that give people power, such as the number of people who have completed their college education, there are some things that are taken into consideration that distinguish older people, such as the location in which they reside. There is also a list of social, economic, and government restrictions that we have included. As a result of this, we are able to pose a more challenging question: Is it the case that older people in specific areas record more crimes than younger people because there is a higher overall crime rate in those jurisdictions, or are there other reasons why older people in those places are more inclined to report crimes? In this study, rather of just compiling lists of "safe" and "unsafe" locations, statistics will be utilized to break down these effects in order to accomplish the goal of gaining a more comprehensive understanding of the issue. With the help of this approach, we are able to formulate policies that are targeted and founded on evidence, and they are able to differentiate between the need to put an end to crime in general and the need to take specific measures to safeguard elderly citizens.

2. Literature Review: Theoretical Frameworks and Empirical Realities

To explore the determinants and magnitude of crime against elderly, we need to integrate theories of criminology with India’s unique socio cultural specifics.

Here we explore foundational victimization theories, the dynamics of aging in India, and the critical problem of underreporting.

Theoretical Foundations

Criminological theories help to explain why the elderly are a vulnerable group. Following the **Routine Activity Theory** posits that crime occurs when a motivated offender, a suitable target, and the absence of a capable guardian converge. Unfortunately, physically frail elderly Indians with predictable routine and perceived wealth fit this model as suitable target. Crucially, the erosion of the traditional joint family system has removed the "capable guardian"—family members who once provided informal protection—leaving many seniors isolated and vulnerable.

Complementing this, **Social Disorganization Theory** argues that crime stems from neighbourhood characteristics. As a result of rapid urbanization, the previous tight-knit social networks of villages are replaced by urban anonymity in most of the Indian cities. The limited social interaction within the community and decrease in community willingness to intervene for a common good erodes informal social controls and increases the risk for vulnerable residents like the elderly.

The Indian Context: Socio-Cultural Dynamics

These theories are uniquely related to India’s socio-cultural characteristics. The "feminization of aging"—a higher proportion of elderly women due to longer life expectancies. So, a large number of widows face multiple types of vulnerabilities, including social marginalization and economic dependency. Furthermore, they face significant, intra-familial abuse which are often unreported. They face property disputes, caregiver stress, and financial exploitation by relatives. Yet, these crimes are rarely reported as they values family honor above justice and sometimes they fear total abundance.

Though **Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act (2007)** legally obligates children to provide support and there is a provision for penalty if they fail to do so, its impact has been limited by inconsistent state-level implementation and low awareness. Many seniors remain reluctant to initiate legal proceedings against their own children.

The Criminological Conundrum and the Reporting Bias Hypothesis

The "dark figure of crime" is the big difference between crimes that happen and crimes that are reported. Any study that uses official data has to deal with this. This gap is especially big for crimes against older people because they depend on their abusers, are afraid of getting hurt, feel ashamed (izzat), and don't know how to go to or use the legal system.

This truth leads to the main idea of this work, which is the Reporting Bias Hypothesis. This idea says that official crime statistics don't show pure criminality but are strongly influenced by how eager and able people are to report a crime. So, a state with more public power—measured by things like education and economic growth—is likely to have a higher reported crime rate. This isn't because it's more dangerous, but because its people know their rights better and trust governmental institutions more. A high crime rate in a state like Kerala may mean that people are more conscious of crime, whereas a low rate in Bihar may not mean that people are safe but that they don't have enough access to justice. This project will test this idea in real life and provide us a fresh way to look at official statistics on crimes against older people in India.

3. Research Objectives and Hypotheses

Based on the research gap and theoretical framework, this study is guided by the following objectives and hypotheses:

Objectives:
in this study, the primary objective is to identify and analyze the key socio-economic, demographic, and administrative factors associated with the rate of crime against the elderly (CRE) across various states in India. The analysis aims to move beyond simple correlations to understand the complex interplay of variables that contribute to the vulnerability of the elderly population.

Hypotheses:

- **H_1:** States with a higher percentage of elderly individuals living alone will exhibit a significantly higher rate of crime against the elderly (CRE).
- **H_2:** The mean CRE will not differ significantly across states when they are grouped by the percentage of elderly living alone,

suggesting that this single factor is insufficient to explain the variance without other controls.

- **H_3:** States with a higher General Crime Rate (Gen_Crime_Rate) will have a correspondingly higher rate of crime against the elderly (CRE), indicating that elderly safety is intrinsically linked to the overall public safety environment.
- **H_4:** In a multivariate regression model, factors representing social isolation (Elderly_Alone), state capacity (Police_per_lakh), and economic structure (Non_Agri_Wc) will be significant predictors of CRE.

4. Data and Methodology

This study is based on quantitative, cross sectional data. The unit of analysis is the Indian state/Union Territory for which complete data is available. The most recent official data has been used to construct a robust statistical analysis.

4.1. Data Sources

The sources of data used in this study are given below:

Data Category	Publication Title	Publishing Body / Ministry	Year / Data Period
Crime Data (Elderly & General)	Crime in India - 2022	National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), Ministry of Home Affairs	2023 (Data for 2022)
Population Data	Report of the Tech. Group on Population Projections for India and States 2011-2036	National Commission on Population, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare	2020 (Projections for 2011-2036)
Economic Structure & Education	Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS) – Annual Report	National Statistical Office (NSO), Ministry of Statis. and Prog. Implementation	2023 (Data for July 2022 - June 2023)
Police Presence	Data on Police Organizations	Bureau of Police Research & Development (BPR&D), Ministry of Home Affairs	2022 (Data as on 01.01.2022)
Economic Development	Press Note on Provisional Estimates of Annual National Income 2022-23, and Quarterly Estimates of Gross Domestic Product for the Fourth Quarter (Q4) 2022-23	National Statistical Office (NSO), Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation	2023 (Data for 2022-23)
Living Arrangements	National Family Health Survey (NFHS-5), 2019-21: India Report	International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) and ICF	2021 (Data for 2019-21)

4.2. Variable Construction

- **Dependent Variable (Y):**
  - **CRE:** Crime Rate against Elderly per 100,000 senior citizen population.
- **Independent Variables (X):**
  - **Gen_Crime_Rate:** The state's total crime rate under the Indian Penal Code (IPC) per 100,000 total population. This serves as a crucial control for the overall crime environment.
  - **Non_Agri_Wc:** Share of the workforce (age 15+, usual status) engaged in non-agricultural sectors (%). This is a dynamic proxy for economic modernization and urbanization.
  - **Grad_Density:** Number of persons with education of "Graduate and above" per 1,000 population (aged 15+). This is a potent proxy for public empowerment, awareness, and capacity to navigate state systems.
  - **Police_per_lakh:** Police personnel per 100,000 total population. A direct proxy for state administrative capacity and police presence.
  - **PC_NSDP:** Per Capita Net State Domestic Product (converted to ₹ Lakhs for ease of coefficient interpretation).
  - **Elderly_Alone:** Percentage of the population aged 60+ living alone or with a spouse only. This is a direct measure of social isolation and the "absence of capable guardians."

4.3. Statistical Analysis Plan

The empirical analysis is structured in three stages to rigorously test the hypotheses:

1. Bivariate Analysis: A Pearson correlation will be used to test the direct linear relationship betweenCREandElderly_Alone. Visual analysis of scatter and bar plots will provide a preliminary overview.

2. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA): To test Hypothesis H_2, a one-way ANOVA will be conducted. States will be categorized into three groups (Low, Medium, High) based on the quartiles of theirElderly_Alonepercentage. The ANOVA will test if the mean CRE differs significantly across these three groups.

3. Multiple Linear Regression: To test the main hypothesis (H_4), an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression model will be estimated. This model allows for assessing the independent impact of each variable on the CRE while holding all other variables constant.

Initially, a model was estimated with Gen_Crime_Rateas an independent variable. However, the Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) forGen_Crime_Ratethat exceeded the problematic threshold of 5, indicating severe multicollinearity with other predictors, particularlyPolice_per_lakhandNon_Agri_Wc. So,Gen_Crime_Rate was excluded from the model. This approach reduces multicollinearity but introduces a potential trade-off of omitted variable bias. The final model is therefore presented as the most robust specification for assessing the independent effects of the included socio-economic and administrative factors.

The model specified for this analysis, designed to avoid multicollinearity, is:

$$CRE_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1(Non\_Agri\_Wc_i) + \beta_2(Grad\_Density_i) + \beta_3(Police\_per\_lakh_i) + \beta_4(PC\_NSDP_i) + \beta_5(Elderly\_Alone_i) + \varepsilon_i$$

4.4. Limitations of Key Variables and Proxies

While this study uses the best available official data, it is important to acknowledge the inherent limitations of the proxies used. The dependent variable, CRE, is a measure of*reported*crime, not the true underlying victimization rate, which remains an unobservable 'dark figure.' The model, therefore, predicts the determinants of official statistics. Similarly,Police_per_lakhserves as a proxy for formal state capacity but does not capture crucial variations in police efficiency, community trust, or the strategic allocation of police resources *within*a state. Finally, due to non-availability of more recent data, we could not include literacy rate and urban population density in our study. Their proxies,Grad_DensityandNon_Agri_Wc are highly correlated with broader processes of urbanization and modernization, and their effects may overlap.

5. Results and Analysis

5.1. Descriptive and Bivariate Analysis

Here, figure 1 shows the scatter plot of General Crime Rate against the Crime Rate Against the Elderly (CRE). A clear positive trend can be observed, suggesting that states with higher overall crime rates also tend to have higher rates of crime against their senior citizens. This scatterplot visually supports **Hypothesis H_3**. Surprisingly, despite their low General Crime Rate, Madhya Pradesh has second highest CRE among Indian State, marking it as a potential "true victimization hotspot."

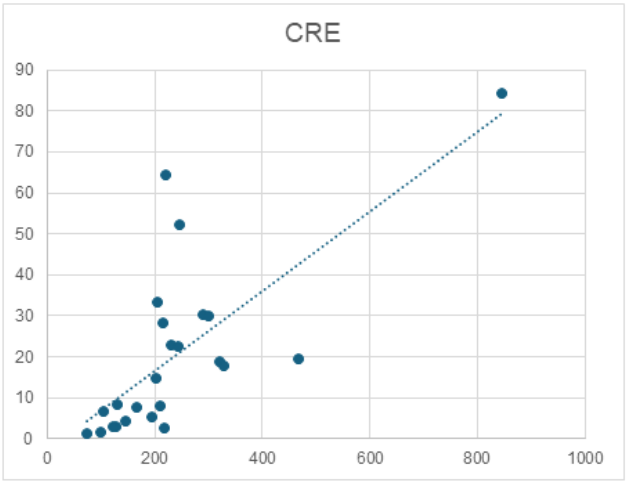

Figure 1: Scatter plot between General Crime Rates and Crime Rate against Elderly

As, following Routine Activity Theory, senior citizens are soft targets because of predictability of their daily routines and absence of “capable guardians” , we perform correlation test to formally test the direct relationship between social isolation and elderly victimization. The results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Correlation Test Results: Crime Against Elderly vs. Elderly Living Alone

Metric	Value
Correlation Coefficient (r)	0.416
p-value	0.043
Degrees of Freedom (df)	22
t-statistic	2.147
95% Confidence Interval	[0.015, 0.702]

With a low correlation coefficient which is statistically insignificant (p value 0.043, which is too close to 0.5), there is no string empirical support for **Hypothesis H_1**. This result contradicts Routine Activity Theory (Cohen & Felson, 1979).

5.2. Group-wise Comparison (ANOVA)

While a linear relationship exists, it is important to test whether this factor alone is powerful enough to create statistically distinct risk groups. States are split into three groups based on the percentage of senior citizens living alone: "low"(Elderly Alone % <=first quartile of 13.7%), "medium" (Elderly Alone % <=second quartile of 18.05%) and "high" (Elderly Alone % > 18.25%). Then we perform Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) to explore if there is a significant difference across average CREs across these three groups. The high p value (0.16) suggests that there is no significant difference across CREs for the three groups. Thus, we fail to reject H_2.

Table 2: Quartiles of Percentage of the population aged 60+ living alone or with a spouse only

Elderly Alone (%)	
1st quartlie	13.7
2nd quartile	18.05
3rd quartile	21.35

Table 3: ANOVA Summary Table (CRE by Elderly Group)

Source	Df	Sum Sq	Mean Sq	F value	p-value (Pr(>F))
Elderly_Group	2	1643	821.6	2.006	0.16
Residuals	21	8603	409.7		

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5.3. Multiple Regression Analysis

Finally, multiple regression analysis is performed to identify the determinants of CRE. The results are shown in Table 4.

The revised model (excludingGen_Crime_Rateto mitigate multicollinearity) was found to be highly significant overall (F-statistic p-value = 0.004016). The model's **Adjusted R-squared of 0.4767** indicates that these five predictors collectively explain a substantial **47.7%**o f the state-wise variation in CRE.

Table 4: OLS Regression Results for Determinants of Crime Rate against Elderly (CRE)

Variable	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	p-value (Pr(>|t|))	Significance
(Intercept)	-24.376	18.8154	-1.296	0.21151	
Non_Agri_Wc	-1.2053	0.40309	-2.99	0.00785	**
Grad_Density	0.21606	0.12439	1.737	0.09948	.
Police_per_lakh	0.15457	0.05078	3.044	0.00699	**
PC_NSDP	-3.638	5.17592	-0.703	0.49112	
Elderly_Alone	3.46396	1.13201	3.06	0.00674	**

Before we give detailed explanation of the regression results, we focus on model validity. In Table 5, the VIF scores of all the predictor variables are less than the conventional threshold level of 5, i.e, multicollinearity is not a concern.

In Table 6, the p value for Breusch-Pagan test is 0.572, confirming the absence of heteroscedasticity.

Table 5: VIF score of the independent variables of the regression model

Predictor Variable	VIF Score
Non_Agri_Wc	4.26
Grad_Density	3.6
Police_per_lakh	3.22
PC_NSDP	3.73
Elderly_Alone	2.5

Table 6: Heteroscedasticity Test Results (BP test result)

Metric	Value
Test Statistic (BP)	4.2995
Degrees of Freedom (df)	5
p-value	0.5072

The coefficients from Table 4 provide strong support for **Hypothesis H_4** and offer profound insights:

1. Elderly Alone (Social Isolation): This variable is statistically significant (p value = 0.00674) . The coefficient of 3.464 indicates that the Crime Rate Against the old is expected to grow by approximately 3.5 units for every percentage point increase in the old population that lives alone, provided that all other factors remain same.

The fact that this is the case provides strong evidence that the "absence of a capable guardian" is a significant risk factor, distinct from other developmental markers.

2. The Paradox of Police Presence: The paradox of police presence is demonstrated by the fact that the coefficient for police_per_lakh is positive and has a highly significant (p value0.00699). Statistically, it is the very definition of the "paradox of safety." There is a clear indication that a larger police density does not necessarily result in a decrease in the number of crimes that are recorded against elderly people. The Reporting Bias Hypothesis (Verma & Singh, 2016) is completely supported by this finding, which confirms the hypothesis. When it comes to reporting and recording criminal activity, states that have a stronger administrative capacity (more police) are likely to have procedures that are more easily accessible and efficient. If this is the case, then the higher CRE in these states may be a reflection of improved governmental competence and citizen trust rather than an increase in the number of crimes committed. However, the conclusion continues to be extremely significant since it provides statistical confirmation that, at the state level, a larger formal security apparatus does not correspond with a lower reported crime against seniors. This lends support to the hypothesis that official statistics are heavily influenced by state capacity.

3. Economic Structure (Non_Agri_Wc): possesses a statistically significant negative coefficient (p = 0.00785). There is an expectation that the CRE will decline by 1.2 units for every percentage point growth in the workforce that is not in the agricultural sector. This is an extremely interesting discovery. In spite of the fact that urbanization, which is frequently tied to a non-agrarian economy, is linked to the weakening of family relationships, it may also bring about various forms of community organization, increased institutional supervision, or economic opportunities that lessen some sorts of predatory crime. This indicates that the effects of modernity are not uniform; they bring about certain dangers, such as social isolation, while also posing the possibility of alleviating other dangers.

4. Education and Wealth (Grad_Density,PC_NSDP): In terms of wealth and education (Grad_Density, PC_NSDP), you have: In this particular model, neither the graduate density (p = 0.099) nor the per capita income (p = 0.491) presented themselves as predictors that were statistically significant. There is a possibility that education has a subtle impact, but it is overwhelmed by the more powerful effects of social structure and state capability. The marginal relevance of Grad_Density shows that education might play a modest influence. It can be deduced from the fact that PC_NSDP is not significant that, once other structural factors are taken into consideration, the general wealth level of a state does not have a direct and independent influence on the rate of crime against seniors that is recorded in that state.

6. Conclusion

The purpose of the study was to dismantle the "paradox of safety" that is associated with criminal activity against senior citizens in India. According to the findings of the statistical research, reported crime rates are not merely a straightforward indicator of the level of danger; rather, they are a multifaceted signal that encodes information about real victimization, social structures, and the capability of the state.

Three fundamental inferences can be drawn from the analysis. Without a doubt, social isolation is a significant risk factor that cannot be ignored. The persistent relevance of the Elderly_Alone variable, both in bivariate and multivariate situations, offers strong empirical support for Routine Activity Theory and highlights the positive role that informal guardianship plays in providing protection. According to the findings of the study, there is substantial evidence that a "paradox of safety" or reporting bias exists. The fact that there is a strong correlation between the presence of police and the reported CRE indicates that official statistics are heavily influenced by the operational capabilities of the state. It is possible that states that appear to be "safer" on paper are just those states that have the biggest barriers to reporting criminal activity. Furthermore, the type of the economic structure of a state has a nuanced effect on the situation. Despite the fact that modern, non-agrarian economies are connected with a lower CRE, they also contribute to the dissolution of traditional family structures. This suggests that complex and even contradictory societal factors are at play.

In the end, the research reveals that the concept of safety for elderly people is not a singular entity. The specific reality of their living arrangements, the administrative capacity of the state in which they reside, and the widespread economic transformations that are sweeping the nation all contribute to the formation of this phenomenon.

Policy Implications

The findings of the paper goes beyond the generic law-and-order solutions and call for a mutidimentional policy approach .

A. General Crime Control (The Foundation): one of the findings of stis study suggests (Figure1) the general safety environment matters. So, policies should aim at reducing overall crime rate (GenCrimeRate) alongwith strengthening the police force, strengthening judicial process and addressing the fundamental cause of crime like unemployment and equality to create a safer environment,

B. Targeted Interventions for the Elderly (The Specifics): The statistical significance of variables beyond the general crime rate proves that generic policies are inadequate. Tailored strategies are required:

1. For High-Capacity States (e.g., Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu): Where empowerment and reporting are likely high but so are risks of modern life, policy should focus on mitigating these specific vulnerabilities. This includes launching awareness campaigns against digital and financial fraud, introducing state supported day care for senior citizens and community senters to combat social isolation (ElderlyAlone) and ensuring mental health support.

2. For Low-Capacity States (e.g., Bihar, Jharkhand): Where the "dark figure" of crime or the problem of unreported crime is likely immense, the priority must be **building foundational access to justice**. Since low education (GradDensity) and institutional access are very poor in these states, trusted local intermediaries like Panchayats and ASHA workers may provide help to facilitate reporting, and launching grassroots legal literacy campaigns to build awareness on the elderly of their rights under the 2007 Act.

3. Learning from Statistical Outliers: States identified as significant outliers, such as Madhya Pradesh (unusually high CRE) and Kerala (potentially low CRE given its risk factors), should be thoroughly studied to understand the specific policies, social dynamics, or failures that make them deviate from the national pattern can provide invaluable lessons—both positive and negative—for all other states.

In conclusion, as India experiences a historic demographic transition, protecting the elderly citizen is not only a matter of law and order, but also a marker of economic development, which can only be achieved by identifying the determinants of crime against elderly and designing proper policies to prevent them.

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Appendix: State-wise Data on Crime Rate Against Elderly (CRE) and Key Socio-Economic, Demographic, and Law Enforcement Predictors

State / UT	CRE	Gen. Crime Rate	Non-Agri. Work (%)	Grad. Density	Police / lakh	PC NSDP (₹ Lakhs)	Elderly Alone (%)
Jharkhand	2.7	122.9	40.5	75	149	0.92	11.2
Tripura	1.7	100.2	60.1	101	321	1.46	11.2
Bihar	2.9	130.8	45.8	85	100	0.54	12
Sikkim	1.3	73.1	81.6	157	492	4.72	12.1
Assam	5.2	194.5	53	90	187	1.19	12.2
Rajasthan	22.5	244.2	38.8	120	142	1.56	12.5
Uttar Pradesh	4.4	147.2	47.9	135	133	0.84	14.1
Haryana	18.7	321.7	63.1	177	230	2.97	14.2
Chhattisgarh	33.3	205.8	30.7	97	230	1.34	16.5
Uttarakhand	7.8	167.3	64.1	215	216	2.33	16.6
Punjab	8.3	131.6	68.3	162	245	1.74	17
Madhya Pradesh	64.2	219.9	43.1	110	152	1.41	17.6
West Bengal	6.4	106.8	58.7	108	100	1.71	18.5
Odisha	14.8	205.1	49.3	98	162	1.55	19.1
Gujarat	17.8	330.4	52.8	136	148	2.5	19.3
Karnataka	28.2	216.5	59.9	162	154	3.02	20.3
Delhi	84.2	846.5	97.7	285	573	4.62	21.1
Himachal Pradesh	7.9	210.3	70.3	190	205	2.02	21.1
Maharashtra	52	247.3	60.1	159	187	2.44	22.1
Kerala	19.3	467.8	83.3	194	170	2.31	22.5
Andhra Pradesh	22.8	232	45.4	120	134	2.2	22.6
Telangana	29.6	299	62.7	164	163	3.09	23.3
Goa	2.4	218	86.8	175	213	4.9	24.2
Tamil Nadu	30	291.5	63.8	158	149	2.73	24.5