
Rape and Rape/Gangrape with Murder in India

District-wise Incidence of Cases

Preliminary Analysis of National Crime Records Bureau Data – Part 3¹

Introduction

In July 2014 we published a preliminary analysis of the publicly available government data about the incidence of the heinous crime of rape since the dawn of the 21st century and covering a 13-year period (2001 – 2013). This study was conducted in the aftermath of the 2012 gruesome gang-rape of Nirbhaya in New Delhi which eventually resulted in her death and the major amendments made to the existing criminal laws- both substantive and procedural based on the recommendations of the Justice J S Verma Committee. The report of this preliminary study can be [accessed here](#). The spontaneous protests led by students and other segments launched across the country had forced the hands of the government at the Union and State-level to take concrete steps to ensure the safety of women and prevent sexual violence against them.

Today we are at another historical juncture. Country-wide protests have been launched by the medical fraternity to protest the rape and murder of a young doctor in a government-run hospital in Kolkata earlier in August 2024. The Supreme Court of India has directed the setting up of a task force to protect doctors and other healthcare workers from violence they face in the line of duty. Meanwhile reports of rape, sexual assault, molestation of women and girls occurring in different parts of the country are published by the media every day. The criminal justice system has begun implementing what the Union Government calls- “decolonized criminal” laws since July this year. While it is too early to gauge their impact this is a good moment to ask whether the seminal amendments to the erstwhile criminal laws introduced through the [Criminal Law \(Amendment\) Act, 2013](#) have had any impact on the incidence of sexual crimes against women, particularly that of rape and rape-cum-murder.

Such a study can be of two kinds or a combination of both. The first kind of study will involve an in-depth assessment of the manner in which the police registered and investigated such cases to collect prosecutable evidence, the manner in which the prosecutors led the case seeking punishment for the culprits and the manner in which trial courts decided those cases and the kind of support which survivors and/or their families received from the State. Going beyond the trial stage, such a study will also have to look into the manner in which the constitutional courts dealt with these cases in appeal. All of this will require pouring over thousands of pages of case-records. Thanks to the adverse impact of governmental action against us which began more than three years ago, depleting our staff strength and restricting our ability to raise resources even domestically, we are unable to conduct such an in-depth study.

¹ This preliminary study report is released by **Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (CHRI)**, New Delhi in October, 2024.

We are grateful to the Jatashankar T. Pathak Charitable Trust (JTPCT), for their support, especially to its former Chair, the late Hansaben Pandya, who conceived of and encouraged the collaboration between the Trust's Chhelbhai Dave Police Reforms Project and CHRI. We are also grateful to the Lal Family Foundation for supporting CHRI.

So, we have tried to do what is second best- once again analyse government data about the incidence of rape and the manner of disposal of such cases by the police and courts. These statistics are published by the Union Home Ministry's [National Crime Records Bureau](#) (NCRB) as Additional/District Tables accompanying its annual [Crime in India \(CII\) reports](#).

Our preliminary study is divided into **three parts**. **Part-1 of our study report**, contains our findings about the incidence of cases of rape and rape/gang rape with murder² rape across the country and in each State and Union Territory (UT) **during the period 2014-2022**.³ We have also attempted a **comparison with the trends we observed in our 2014 study of similar data for the period 2001-2013**. **Part-2 of our study report contains our findings about the manner of disposal of cases of rape and rape/gangrape with murder by the police and trial courts across the country**.

This document which is **Part-3 of our study report contains our findings about the district-wise incidence of cases of rape and rape/gangrape with murder during the period 2015-2022 (8 years) for which data is available in a uniform and comparable manner**.

Part-3 of our study report below covers the following segments:

- *Districts reporting zero rape cases*
- *Top-10 districts reporting the highest number of rape cases*
- *Top-100 districts reporting the highest number of rape cases*
- *Identifying the most frequently occurring districts in the top-100 list*
- *Districts reporting the highest number of cases of rape/gangrape with murder*

A caveat about the nature of data used for this analysis: NCRB publishes data about the district-wise incidence of various crimes recognized as such under the erstwhile *Indian Penal Code, 1860* and other special and local laws enacted by Parliament or the State Legislatures. In addition to administrative units existing in each State and UT, within the ambit of the term 'district', NCRB includes other law enforcement authorities such as the Railway Police, C.I.D., Crime Branch, Cyber Crimes Branch, Narcotics Branch, Intelligence Wing, NRI Wing, Metro Railways Police, Economic Offences Wing in its datasets. Most of these agencies do not have the jurisdiction to investigate the two categories of crimes that are part of this study. However, the Railway Police sometimes do report the incidence of such cases and NCRB publishes such data State and UT-wise. Crime Branch also investigates such offences when directed by the respective state governments or the high courts. However, as the exact provenance of crimes reported/investigated by these agencies cannot be determined from NCRB's datasets, this study specifically focuses only on the districts that are easily identifiable on a map. Further, it must be remembered that the districts listed by NCRB in its datasets are 'police districts' whose jurisdiction may not necessarily overlap 100% with the revenue districts of the same name.

² NCRB terms this category of crimes as 'murder with rape/gang rape' which is based on the rule of 'principal offence' (offence which attracts the highest punishment). We have reversed the order of these words because in almost all cases it is the offence of rape which is committed first by the perpetrator(s) followed by murder in a bid to silence the victim forever.

³ Similar data for the year 2023 is yet to be published by the NCRB.

1) Districts reporting zero rape cases: Before delving deep into an analysis of the district-wise trends with regard to the incidence of rape and rape/gangrape with murder cases which can have a sickening effect on the reader, it is preferable to start on a positive note. There are a handful of districts every year from where not a single case of rape was reported to the police during the 8-year period under study. We have labelled them- ‘districts reporting zero rape cases’ for the purpose of this analysis.⁴ See **Tables 1-8** below, containing the year-wise list of districts from which not a single case of rape was reported to the police between 2015-2022;

- In 2015, the first year of the period under study, **there were 17 districts across 7 States and 2 UTs** which did not report any incident of rape. In **2020-** the first year of the pandemic and in **2022 this number had increased to 39 districts** which is a positive development. While the **39 districts were spread across only 5 States and 4 UTs in 2020**, in **2022 the 39 districts reporting zero incidents** of rape were spread **across 9 States and 4 UTs**. The **lowest** number of such districts (**14**) was in **2019**. However, the **numbers have expanded ever since, falling only once in 2021**;
- **Several districts in Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim, Lakshadweep and Puducherry reported zero rape cases in most of the years** covered by the period under study. However, it must be noted that **none of these districts had a clean record in every year across the 8-year period**. In other words, the crime of rape did occur in these districts also in one year or the other during the period under study;
- States like **Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Odisha, Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Kerala do not figure in the list of ‘zero rape reporting districts’ in any of the years** for the period under study. Interestingly, the **States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh both have figured at least once** on this list See **Tables 3 and 8** below.

The focus of most of the efforts to tackle the ever-rising phenomenon of rape has been on devising legal solutions- expanding the scope and ambit of the term- ‘rape’, increasing the quantum of punishment that may be imposed on the culprits, assigning the investigation of such cases to women police officers, establishing fast track sessions courts, providing compensation to survivors etc. These punitive measures are of course indispensable for their deterrent effect. Preventive measures have focused more on increased police patrolling, improving lighting infrastructure, setting up dedicated helplines, mobile apps that will track the movement of single women and taxis and autorickshaws etc. These are also essential and their votaries have argued that the number of cases of rape would have increased in their absence. However, sociological studies are also required to devise preventive measures. A good place to start is those districts which report zero incidents year after year. What factors ensure the safety of women and girls from sexual predatory

⁴ Despite categorizing them as such, we are not presuming that no incident of rape occurred at all in these districts. Multiple factors discourage survivors from coming forward to demand punishment for the culprits, such as social stigma, ridicule and humiliation that follows such occurrences, police apathy and inaction, and immense pressure brought on by the culprits themselves, family or friends or the community or local political elements against pursuing the course of justice, to name a few. Inclusion of a district in the ‘zero reporting’ category only implies that no crime belonging to the two categories under study, namely rape and rape/gangrape with murder was reported to the police requiring an investigation to be launched in that particular year.

behaviour in these districts requires? Similarly, in States like Bihar and UP, where a handful of districts reported zero incidents in at least one year, studies are required to ascertain the reasons for their absence. Preventive actions that were successful, if any, in these districts must be identified and examined for emulation on other districts across the country.

Table 1

2015	
Districts Reporting Zero Rape Cases	State/UT
Anjaw, Dibang Valley, Longding, Tawang	ARUNACHAL PRADESH
Ganderbal	JAMMU & KASHMIR
K.G.F.	KARNATAKA
Chandel, Senapati, Tamenglong	MANIPUR
Kiphire, Longleng, Tuensang	NAGALAND
East, North	SIKKIM
Pithoragarh	UTTARAKHAND
Lakshadweep	LAKSHADWEEP
Karaikal	PUDUCHERRY
17 districts	7 States (as J&K then was) & 2 UTs

Table 2

2016	
Districts Reporting Zero Rape Cases	State/UT
Anjaw, Kameng West, Tawang, Tirap	ARUNACHAL PRADESH
Dang	GUJARAT
Ganderbal, Kargil	JAMMU & KASHMIR
Tamenglong, Ukhrul,	MANIPUR
Kiphire, Longleng, Mon	NAGALAND
Coimbatore City	TAMIL NADU
Tiruppur City	TAMIL NADU
14 districts	6 States (as J&K then was)

Table 3

2017	
Districts Reporting Zero Rape Cases	State/UT
Anjaw, Kurung Kumey, Lower Dibang Valley, Subansiri Lower, Tirap	ARUNACHAL PRADESH
Motihari, Samastipur	BIHAR
Kargil	JAMMU & KASHMIR
Chandel, Churachandpur, Senapati, Tamenglong, Ukhrul,	MANIPUR
Garo Hills South	MEGHALAYA
Longleng, Mokokchung, Peren, Tuensang, Wokha	NAGALAND
19 Districts	6 States (as J&K then was)

Table 4

2018	
Districts Reporting Zero Rape Cases	State/UT
Papumpare Rural, Subansiri Lower, Tawang, Kamle	ARUNACHAL PRADESH
Lahaul & Spiti	HIMACHAL PRADESH
Kargil	JAMMU & KASHMIR
Tamenglong, Ukhrul	MANIPUR
Garo Hills East, Garo Hills North	MEGHALAYA
Lawngtlai, Lunglei	MIZORAM
Longleng, Mokokchung, Peren, Phek, Tuensang, Zunheboto	NAGALAND
Tiruppur City	TAMIL NADU

Medak, Vikarabad	TELANGANA
Uttarkashi	UTTARAKHAND
Nicobar	ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS
Diu	DAMAN & DIU
Karaikal, Puducherry	PUDUCHERRY
26 districts	9 States (as J&K then was) and 3 UTs

Table 5

2019	
Districts Reporting Zero Rape Cases	State/UT
Anjaw, Dibang Valley, Kameng East, Lower Dibang Valley, Siang Upper, Subansiri Lower, Tirap, Siang, Kamle, Leparda, Shiyomi, Pakkessang	ARUNACHAL PRADESH
Naugachia, Vaishali	BIHAR
Lahaul & Spiti	HIMACHAL PRADESH
Awantipora, Kargil	JAMMU & KASHMIR
Chandel, Churachandpur, Tamenglong, Kamjong, Kangpokpi, Noney, Pherzawl	MANIPUR
Kiphire, Longleng, Pere, Phek, Wokha, Zunheboto	NAGALAND
Tiruppur City	TAMIL NADU
Dadra Nagar Haveli	DADRA NAGAR HAVELI
Lakshadweep	LAKSHADWEEP
Karaikal	PUDUCHERRY
34 districts	6 States and 4 UTs

Table 6

2020	
Districts Reporting Zero Rape Cases	State/UT
Anjaw, Dibang, Papumpare Rural, Siang Upper, Subansiri Lower, Tawang, Namsai, Siang, Kra Dadi, Lower Siang, Shiyomi	ARUNACHAL PRADESH
Chandel, Churachandpur, Tamenglong, Ukhul, Kamjong, Kangpokpi, Jiribam, Noney, Pherzawl	MANIPUR
Lawngtlai, Lunglei, Saiha, Serchhip, Saitual, Hnahthial	MIZORAM
Kohima, Longleng, Mokokchung, Mon, Peren, Tuensang, Wokha, Zunheboto	NAGALAND
West	SIKKIM
Nicobar	ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS
Awantipora	JAMMU & KASHMIR
Kargil	LADAKH
Karaikal	PUDUCHERRY
39 districts	5 States and 4 UTs

Table 7

2021	
Districts Reporting Zero Rape Cases	State/UT
Dibang Valley, Papumpare Rural, Tirap, Kra Dadi, Leparada, Shiyomi, Pakkessang	ARUNACHAL PRADESH
Handwara	JAMMU & KASHMIR
Chandel, Churachandpur, Tamenglong, Ukhrul, Kamjong, Kangpokpi, Jiribam, Noney, Pherzawl	MANIPUR
Garohills South West	MEGHALAYA
Saiha, Serchhip, Saitual, Hnahthial	MIZORAM
Longleng, Mokokchung, Peren, Phek, Tuensang, Wokha, Zunheboto	NAGALAND
North	SIKKIM
Rudraprayag	UTTARAKHAND
Nicobar	ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS
Diu	DAMAN & DIU, DADRA NAGAR HAVELI
Lakshadweep	LAKSHADWEEP
Karaikal	PUDUCHERRY
35 districts	6 States and 4 UTs

Table 8

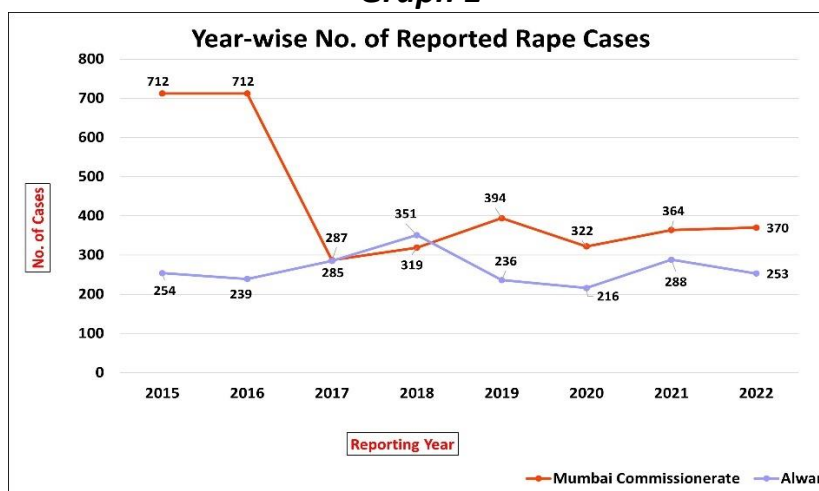
2022	
Districts Reporting Zero Rape Cases	State/UT
Anjaw, Dibang Valley, Kurung Kumey, Papumpare Rural, Siang Upper, Subansiri Upper, Pakkessang	ARUNACHAL PRADESH
Dang	GUJARAT
Chandel, Churachandpur, Senapati, Tamenglong, Kamjong, Kangpokpi, Noney, Pherzawl, Tengenoupal	MANIPUR
Garohills South West	MEGHALAYA
Champai, Lawngtlai, Lunglei, Mamit, Saiha, Serchhip, Saitual	MIZORAM
Mon, Phek, Tuensang, Wokha, Zunheboto	NAGALAND
Soreng (West)	SIKKIM
Ranipet	TAMIL NADU
Lucknow Grameen, Kanpur Outer, Varanasi Dehat	UTTAR PRADESH
North & Middle Andaman	ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS
Diu	DAMAN & DIU, DADRA NAGAR HAVELI
Handwara	JAMMU & KASHMIR
Karaikal	PUDUCHERRY
39 districts	9 States and 4 UTs

2) **Top-10 districts reporting the highest number of rape cases:** Before we discuss the findings under this category of analysis, it is important to point out that in the years 2019 and 2020 there are 11 districts instead of 10 (see **Tables 13 & 14** below). This is because, two districts tied in for the 10th spot as both reported similar number of cases for those years. In all the remaining years, during the period under study, only the top 10 districts are considered for analysis.

- While only 2 States (Maharashtra and Rajasthan) and the UT of Delhi accounted for the top-10 districts in 2016, 2021 onwards this has expanded to 5 States (Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand and Haryana);

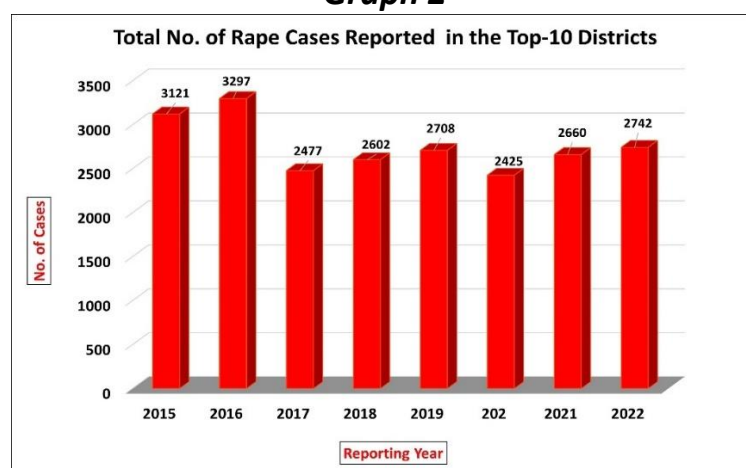
- Mumbai Commissionerate in Maharashtra and Alwar in Rajasthan** are the only **two districts** which **figure in the top-10 list in every year of the period under study** (see **Tables 9-16** below) even though the number of cases varies from year to year. See **Graph 1** below. **Mumbai Police Commissionerate** reported a very large number of cases in **2015 and 2016 (712 each)**, but the number of cases **has fallen to 370 in 2022 (52% decline)**. However, the **lowest figure (287) was recorded in 2017** in this district. **Mumbai topped the list in all years except 2017-18 when Bhopal took that spot**. Despite falling drastically in 2016, **Mumbai reported a decline in cases only once again in 2020-** the first year of the pandemic. **The numbers have been rising in all other years**. It is important to identify the reasons for the inability of Mumbai to bring down the number of reported cases steadily;

Graph 1



- Alwar in Rajasthan**, on the other hand has ranged between **216 (lowest in 2020-** the first year of the pandemic) and **351 (highest in 2018)** in terms of the number of reported rape cases during the period under study. Cases reported in Alwar have see-sawed during the period under study. While they fell in 2016, 2019 and 2020, they have only risen in the remaining years. See **Graph-1 above**;
- The **total number of cases reported from the top-10 districts** was the **highest (3,297) in 2016** and the **lowest (2,425) in 2020-** the first year of the pandemic). See **Graph 2** below;

Graph 2



- During the **first two years** of the period under study (2015 and 2016), **districts in Maharashtra and Delhi figured more frequently** in the top-10 districts. See **Tables 9-10** below. However, in the **subsequent years of 2017-2018 districts in Madhya Pradesh figure more prominently** (between 5-6 each year). See **Tables 11-12** below. **2019 onwards it is Rajasthan whose districts figure more prominently in the top-10 districts.** See **Tables 13-15** below;
- Interestingly, **Delhi's districts are no longer figuring in the top-10 list 2017 onwards.** Multiple districts in Delhi figured in the top-10 list between 2015 and 2016. See **Tables 9-10** below. It is important to identify the systemic and societal factors that have contributed to the reduction in Delhi's cases and increase in those reported in Rajasthan. **Uttarakhand made an entry into the top-10 list in 2021 with Udham Singh Nagar and added Haridwar in 2022.** See **Tables 14-15** below;

Table 9

2015		
District	State/UT	No. of Cases
Mumbai Commissionerate	MAHARASHTRA	712
South Delhi	DELHI	323
Outer Delhi	DELHI	315
West Delhi	DELHI	272
Pune Commissionerate	MAHARASHTRA	266
Alwar	RAJASTHAN	254
Thane Commissionerate	MAHARASHTRA	251
Bharatpur	RAJASTHAN	244
North-East Delhi	DELHI	244
South-East Delhi	DELHI	240
Total	2 States 1 UT	3121

Table 10

2016		
District	State/UT	No. of Cases
Mumbai Commissionerate	MAHARASHTRA	712
Outer Delhi	DELHI	372
Pune Commissionerate	MAHARASHTRA	354
Bengaluru City	KARNATAKA	321
Bhopal	MADHYA PRADESH	286
South-East Delhi	DELHI	275
West Delhi	DELHI	256
South Delhi	DELHI	246
Alwar	RAJASTHAN	239
Indore	MADHYA PRADESH	236
Total	4 States 1 UT	3297

Table 11

2017		
District	State/UT	No. of Cases
Bhopal	MADHYA PRADESH	316
Mumbai Commissionerate	MAHARASHTRA	287
Alwar	RAJASTHAN	285
Indore	MADHYA PRADESH	270
Chhindwara	MADHYA PRADESH	234
Dhar	MADHYA PRADESH	227
Gwalior	MADHYA PRADESH	225
Sagar	MADHYA PRADESH	213

Table 12

2018		
District	State/UT	No. of Cases
Bhopal	MADHYA PRADESH	356
Alwar	RAJASTHAN	351
Mumbai Commissionerate	MAHARASHTRA	319
Dhar	MADHYA PRADESH	272
Udaipur	RAJASTHAN	244
Raipur	CHHATTISGARH	217
Jabalpur	MADHYA PRADESH	216
Khargone	MADHYA PRADESH	213

Raipur	CHHATTISGARH	211
Palakkad	KERALA	209
Total	4 States	2477

Gwalior	MADHYA PRADESH	211
Bharatpur	RAJASTHAN	203
Total	4 States	2602

Table 13

2019		
District	State/UT	No. of Cases
Mumbai Commissionerate	MAHARASHTRA	394
Bharatpur	RAJASTHAN	290
Ajmer	RAJASTHAN	252
Ganganagar	RAJASTHAN	248
Alwar	RAJASTHAN	236
Bikaner	RAJASTHAN	227
Udaipur	RAJASTHAN	220
Malappuram	KERALA	206
Thiruvananthapuram Rural	KERALA	206
Palakkad	KERALA	209
Bhilwara	RAJASTHAN	206
Total	3 States	2708

Table 14

2020		
District	State/UT	No. of Cases
Mumbai Commissionerate	MAHARASHTRA	322
Bharatpur	RAJASTHAN	260
Udaipur	RAJASTHAN	228
Barmer	RAJASTHAN	227
Morigaon	ASSAM	222
Alwar	RAJASTHAN	216
Ajmer	RAJASTHAN	208
Ganganagar	RAJASTHAN	200
Bhiwadi	RAJASTHAN	196
Gurugram	HARYANA	173
Bhilwara	RAJASTHAN	173
Total	4 States	2425

Table 15

2021		
District	State/UT	No. of Cases
Mumbai Commissionerate	MAHARASHTRA	364
Udaipur	RAJASTHAN	326
Bharatpur	RAJASTHAN	303
Alwar	RAJASTHAN	288
Bhopal	MADHYA PRADESH	240
Barmer	RAJASTHAN	236
Bhilwara	RAJASTHAN	230
Ajmer	RAJASTHAN	229
Gurugram	HARYANA	222
Udhamsingh Nagar	UTTARAKHAND	222
Total	5 States	2660

Table 16

2022		
District	State/UT	No. of Cases
Mumbai Commissionerate	MAHARASHTRA	370
Pune Commissionerate	MAHARASHTRA	305
Bhilwara	RAJASTHAN	301
Bharatpur	RAJASTHAN	288
Udaipur	RAJASTHAN	283
Alwar	RAJASTHAN	253
Bhopal Commissionerate	MADHYA PRADESH	248
Udhamsingh Nagar	UTTARAKHAND	247
Haridwar	UTTARAKHAND	229
Bilaspur	CHHATTISGARH	218
Total	5 States	2742

3) Top-100 districts reporting the highest number of rape cases: While the choice of analytical categories like “zero case reporting districts” and “top 10 districts” discussed above is pretty obvious and does not require justification, the choice of the category of top-100 districts

requires explanation. Although chosen randomly as a category of analysis initially (one could as well have analysed the top-25 or top-50 districts), this choice revealed the stark reality that a large volume of rape cases is reported from only about 100 districts year after year. Out of the 600-750 police districts for which data is available during the 8-year period under study, the **top-100 category accounts for between 40-45% of the total volume of cases reported across the country**. See **Tables 17-24** below. The remaining cases are spread out across other districts.

In other words, if these top-100 districts are made the focus of intensive interventions to prevent and prosecute the crime of rape, resolutely, it might be possible, to bring down the incidence of cases to that extent i.e, 40-45%. This is an issue that goes to the heart of designing of preventive measures and ensuring the effective implementation of punitive measures. We hope policy-makers will consider this hypothesis seriously and test it out.

Before we discuss the findings under this category of analysis, it is important to point out that in the years 2015 (102 districts), 2021 (103 districts) and 2022 (101 districts) there are more than 100 districts covered in the data tables below (see **Tables 17, 23 & 24** below). This is because, multiple districts tied in for the 100th spot as they reported similar number of cases during those years. In all the remaining years during the period under study, only the top 100 districts are considered for analysis.

- **Between 14-16 States and the UT of Delhi (Chandigarh entered this list only once in 2019) account for the top-100 districts throughout the 8-year period under study.** Unlike in the top-10 category we analysed above, the number of States and UTs has not expanded during the period under study;
- During the **first four years** of the period under study (**2015-2018**), **Madhya Pradesh (MP) topped the list with between 19-26 districts** appearing in the top-100 category. However, there is a **drastic reduction in 2019-2020** when the number of districts **fell down to 5 each**. However, in **subsequent years (2021-22) the number has almost doubled to 9 per year**. The causal factors for the steep decline and the steady rise in the number of districts require in-depth study;
- In contrast with MP, **Rajasthan figured at 2nd position** in the top-100 with only 13-15 districts during the **first three years** of the period under study. In 2018 this figure reached 20 and **in all subsequent years, it has crossed 30. 2019 onwards Rajasthan tops the list of States in this category with between 32-39 districts every year**. The **data from 2022 indicates a significant decline in these figures- down to 32 from an all-time high of 39 districts in 2021**. See **Tables 17-24** below;
- **Another point of contrast is the volume of cases** reported in MP and Rajasthan during the period under study. The number of cases reported from MP accounted for between **18% and 30.4% of the total volume** from the top-100 districts. However, the cases reported from **Rajasthan account for between 34.34% to 43.65% since 2019** when it began appearing at the top of this category. **In other words, the proportion of cases reported from the districts of Rajasthan is much higher than that reported from MP earlier;**

Table 17

Top Districts in 2015			
State/UT & No. of Districts	Rape cases	% of 14687	Daily average (365 days)
Madhya Pradesh (23)	2915	19.85	7.99
Maharashtra (15)	2686	18.29	7.36
Rajasthan (15)	2228	15.17	6.10
Delhi (8)	2022	13.77	5.54
Odisha (8)	913	6.22	2.50
Telangana (7)	887	6.04	2.43
Chhattisgarh (6)	721	4.91	1.98
Uttar Pradesh (4)	423	2.88	1.16
Assam (3)	377	2.57	1.03
Kerala (3)	362	2.46	0.99
West Bengal (2)	321	2.19	0.88
Andhra Pradesh (2)	264	1.80	0.72
Haryana (2)	258	1.76	0.71
Karnataka (1)	112	0.76	0.31
Punjab (1)	101	0.69	0.28
Jharkhand (1)	97	0.66	0.27
15 States 1 UT (102 districts) Total	14687		
42.40% of country total of 34637 cases			

Table 18

Top Districts in 2016			
State/UT & No. of Districts	Rape cases	% of 15738	Daily average cases (366 days)
Madhya Pradesh (19)	2853	18.13	7.80
Rajasthan (13)	1836	11.67	5.02
Uttar Pradesh (13)	1766	11.22	4.83
Maharashtra (11)	2376	15.10	6.49
Delhi (9)	2058	13.08	5.62
Telangana (7)	1101	7	3.01
Chhattisgarh (4)	554	3.52	1.51
Kerala (4)	532	3.38	1.45
Assam (3)	377	2.40	1.03
Odisha (3)	361	2.29	0.99
Karnataka (2)	424	2.69	1.16
West Bengal (2)	346	2.20	0.95
Haryana (2)	345	2.19	0.94
Andhra Pradesh (2)	259	1.65	0.71
Gujarat (2)	233	1.48	0.64
Jharkhand (2)	213	1.35	0.58
Uttarakhand (1)	104	0.66	0.28
16 States 1 UT (100 districts)	15738		
40.41% of country total: 38947 cases			

Table 19

Top Districts in 2017			
State/UT & No. of Districts	Rape cases	% of 13302	Daily average (365 days)
Madhya Pradesh (26)	4024	30.25	11.02
Rajasthan (15)	1878	14.12	5.15
Kerala (11)	1413	10.62	3.87
Uttar Pradesh (11)	1263	9.49	3.46
Delhi (8)	876	6.59	2.40
Odisha (7)	784	5.89	2.15
Chhattisgarh (6)	788	5.92	2.16
Maharashtra (4)	690	5.19	1.89
Assam (3)	400	3.01	1.10

Table 20

Top Districts in 2018			
State/UT & No. of Districts	Rape cases	% of 14015	Daily average cases (366 days)
Madhya Pradesh (24)	3844	27.43	10.53
Rajasthan (20)	3011	21.48	8.25
Chhattisgarh (12)	1472	10.50	4.03
Kerala (8)	1085	7.74	2.97
Delhi (7)	754	5.38	2.07
Uttar Pradesh (6)	783	5.59	2.15
Maharashtra (5)	774	5.52	2.12
Assam (5)	529	3.77	1.45
Uttarakhand (3)	463	3.30	1.27

Telangana (2)	270	2.03	0.74
West Bengal (2)	238	1.79	0.65
Haryana (2)	231	1.74	0.63
Andhra Pradesh (2)	199	1.50	0.55
Karnataka (1)	130	0.98	0.36
Uttarakhand (1)	118	0.89	0.32
14 States 1 UT (100 districts)	13302		
40.86% of country total of 32559 cases			

Haryana (3)	370	2.64	1.01
Andhra Pradesh (3)	301	2.15	0.82
West Bengal (1)	192	1.37	0.53
Jharkhand (1)	177	1.26	0.48
Telangana (1)	154	1.10	0.42
Karnataka (1)	106	0.76	0.29
14 States 1 UT (100 districts)	14015	27.43	10.53
42.01% of country total of 33356 cases			

Table 21

Top Districts in 2019			
State/UT & No. of Districts	Rape cases	% of 13828	Daily average (365 days)
Rajasthan (33)	5431	39.28	14.88
Kerala (11)	1380	9.98	3.78
Delhi (9)	902	6.52	2.47
Maharashtra (6)	920	6.65	2.52
Assam (6)	730	5.28	2.00
Madhya Pradesh (5)	723	5.23	1.98
Haryana (5)	517	3.74	1.42
Jharkhand (4)	486	3.51	1.33
Uttar Pradesh (4)	417	3.02	1.14
Telangana (3)	465	3.36	1.27
Chhattisgarh (3)	350	2.53	0.96
Uttarakhand (3)	423	3.06	1.16
Andhra Pradesh (3)	294	2.13	0.81
Odisha (2)	251	1.82	0.69
West Bengal (1)	192	1.39	0.53
Karnataka (1)	143	1.03	0.39
Chandigarh (1)	112	0.81	0.31
Punjab (1)	92	0.67	0.25
16 States 2 UTs (100 districts)	13828		
43.17% of country total of 32033 cases			

Table 22

Top Districts in 2020			
State/UT & No. of Districts	Rape cases	% of 12064	Daily average cases (366 days)
Rajasthan (37)	5099	42.27	13.93
Uttar Pradesh (9)	795	6.59	2.17
Maharashtra (7)	834	6.91	2.28
Assam (7)	814	6.75	2.22
Madhya Pradesh (5)	627	5.20	1.71
Haryana (5)	583	4.83	1.59
Jharkhand (5)	549	4.55	1.50
Chhattisgarh (5)	544	4.51	1.49
Andhra Pradesh (5)	480	3.98	1.31
West Bengal (4)	457	3.79	1.25
Telangana (3)	354	2.93	0.97
Delhi (3)	290	2.40	0.79
Uttarakhand (2)	315	2.61	0.86
Odisha (1)	138	1.14	0.38
Karnataka (1)	108	0.90	0.30
Gujarat (1)	77	0.64	0.21
15 States 1 UT (100 districts)	12064		
43.02% of country total of 28046 cases			

Table 23

Top Districts in 2021			
State/UT & No. of Districts	Rape cases	% of 14299	Daily average (365 days)

Table 24

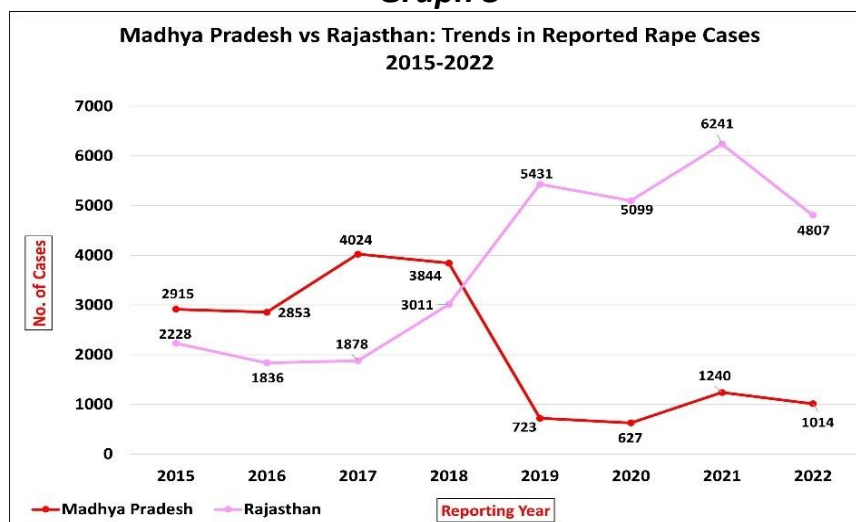
Top Districts in 2022			
State/UT & No. of Districts	Rape cases	% of 13998	Daily average (365 days)

Rajasthan (39)	6241	43.65	17.10
Madhya Pradesh (9)	1240	8.67	3.40
Maharashtra (8)	1145	8.01	3.14
Haryana (7)	939	6.57	2.57
Delhi (7)	750	5.25	2.05
Assam (6)	726	5.08	1.99
Uttar Pradesh (6)	602	4.21	1.65
Jharkhand (5)	630	4.41	1.73
Telangana (3)	395	2.76	1.08
Andhra Pradesh (3)	391	2.73	1.07
Odisha (3)	333	2.33	0.91
Uttarakhand (2)	335	2.34	0.92
West Bengal (2)	271	1.90	0.74
Chhattisgarh (2)	184	1.29	0.50
Karnataka (1)	117	0.82	0.32
14 States 1 UT (103 districts)	14299		
45.14% of country total of 31677 cases			

Rajasthan (32)	4807	34.34	13.17
Uttar Pradesh (15)	1629	11.64	4.46
Maharashtra (9)	1568	11.20	4.30
Haryana (9)	1103	7.88	3.02
Delhi (7)	719	5.14	1.97
Madhya Pradesh (6)	1014	7.24	2.78
Uttarakhand (4)	763	5.45	2.09
Odisha (4)	438	3.13	1.20
Telangana (3)	400	2.86	1.10
Jharkhand (3)	395	2.82	1.08
Chhattisgarh (2)	332	2.37	0.91
West Bengal (2)	295	2.11	0.81
Karnataka (1)	151	1.08	0.41
Gujarat (1)	104	0.74	0.28
Assam (1)	98	0.70	0.27
Kerala (1)	97	0.69	0.27
Bihar (1)	85	0.61	0.23
16 States 1 UT (101 districts)	13998		
44.42% of country total of 31516 cases			

- **When MP topped the list between 2015-2018, the daily average number of cases reported from its districts ranged between 7-11 cases.** However, after Rajasthan has begun topping the list 2019 onwards, **the daily average number of cases reported in that State has ranged between 13-17 cases.** See the last column in Tables 17-24 below. See Graph 3 below showing the contrasting trends in MP and Rajasthan;

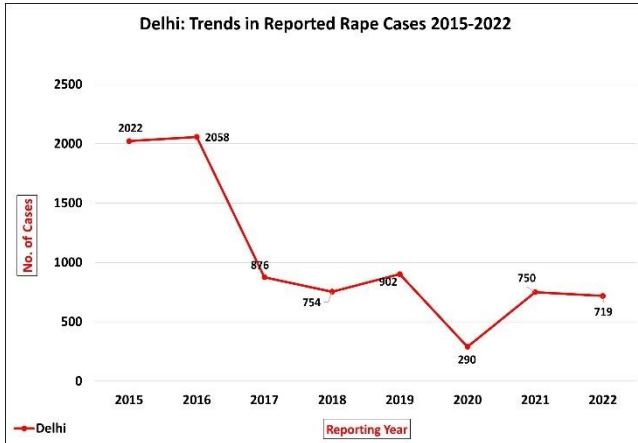
Graph 3



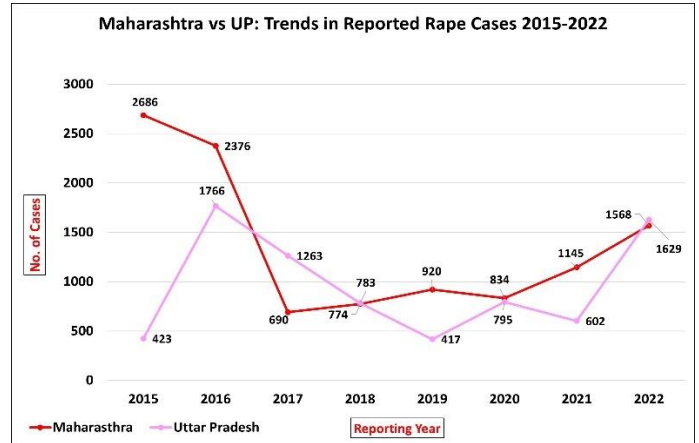
- The UT of Delhi figured on the top-100 districts list regularly with between 7-9 districts every year except in 2020- the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic when it fell to just 3 districts. However, from an all-time high of 2022 cases in 2015, the figures have dropped to

719 in 2022- the lowest during the period under study. See Graph 4 below. This trend also requires in-depth study to ascertain the preventive and punitive measures that Delhi has put in place to bring down the figures;

Graph 4

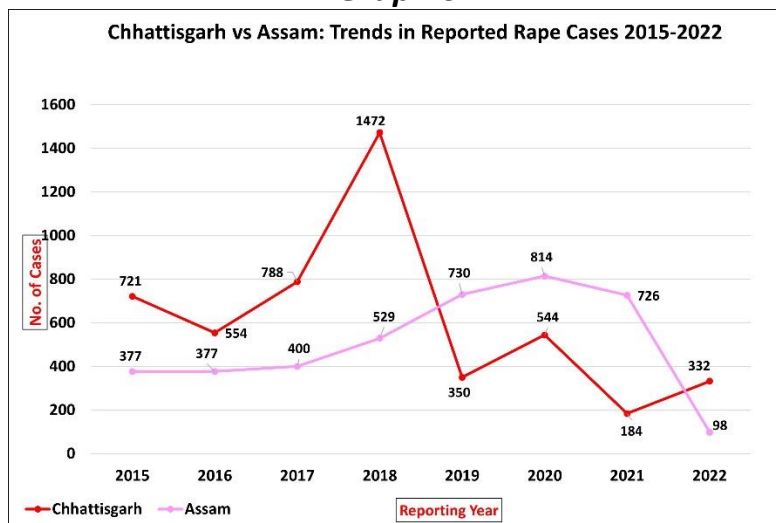


Graph 5



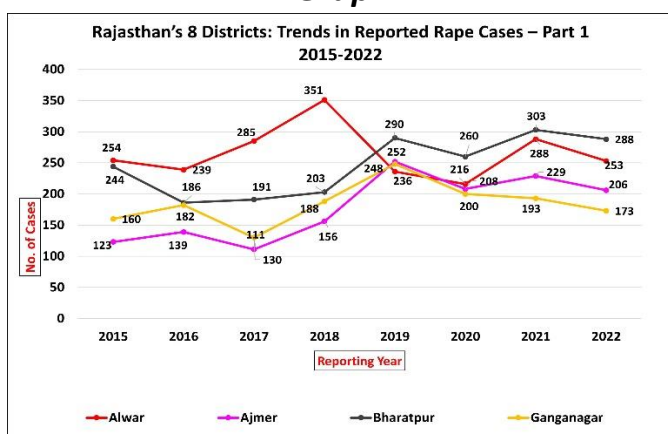
- Maharashtra’s districts figuring in the top-100 list reported 2,686 cases in 2015- the highest during the 8-year period under study.** Cases reduced to almost a quarter of that figure in 2017 (690 cases). However, the figures have been on the rise ever since, with 2020 being the only dip year. **UP’s districts in the top-100 list reported only 423 cases in 2015 and the highest-1,766 cases the following year.** Interestingly, the number of cases fell year after year but in 2020 there was a **more than 90% increase** in reported cases. **In 2022 the volume of cases (1,629) had inched close to the 2016 figure.** See Graph 5 above. The **daily average** in UP with regard to its districts in the top-100 list has also shot up from **an all-time low of 1 case in 2015 to more than 4 cases in 2022.** See Tables 17 and 24 above;
- Chhattisgarh displays a see-sawing trend in the top-100 list of districts.** From **721 cases in 2015** it reached the **highest figure of 1,472 cases in 2018** and fell down to an **all-time low of 184 cases in 2021-** the second year of the pandemic. However, while the districts of **Raipur and Bilaspur accounted for all those cases in that year, the same districts together reported 332 cases in 2022- a 75% increase.** See Graph 6 below. The causal factors for this increase as well as the see-sawing trend require in-depth study;
- Assam** which figured in all the reporting years under study, records a rising trend in the number of cases between 2015 and 2020 from **its 3-7 districts** which figured in the top-100 list. The **number of cases rose in the first year of the pandemic** which is contrary to the trend across the country. However, **after dipping to 726 cases in 2021,** the figure has **drastically fallen to 98 cases in 2022-** all reported from only one district- **Kamrup.** This phenomenon in Assam also requires in-depth study to ascertain the contributory factors. See Graph 6 below;

Graph 6

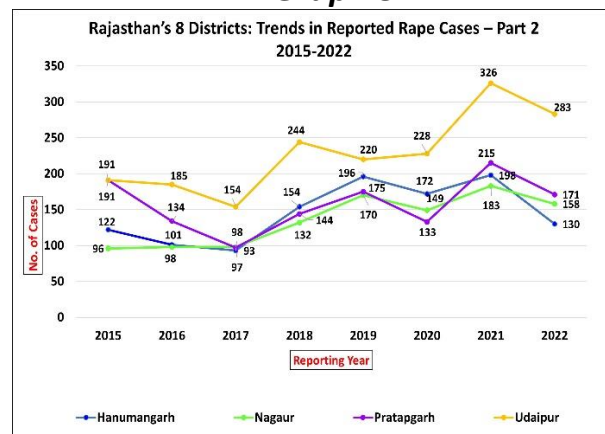


- 4) **Identifying the most frequently occurring districts in the top-100 list:** Before going into the names of the districts in this segment, it is important to point to a positive trend. **None of the districts in Goa, Himachal Pradesh, Tamil Nadu or Tripura** (apart from those which are already named in the 'zero rape reporting districts' and UTs above) **figured in the top-100 list throughout the period under study.** Other States and UTs (with the exception of States in the northeastern part of the country and Sikkim) have one or more districts figuring on this list in some year or the other, if not in multiple years (see accompanying datasets on our website);
- In Rajasthan, eight districts namely, Alwar, Ajmer, Bharatpur, Ganganagar, Hanumangarh, Nagaur, Pratapgarh and Udaipur have figured in the top-100 list in every year of the period under study though the actual number of cases vary from year to year. **Barmer, Bikaner and Sikar** and figure in the top-100 list in **seven out of eight years** of the period under study. See **Graphs 7&8 below** for the annual trend with regard to these districts. **With the exception of Pratapgarh the remaining 7 districts actually reported more rape cases each in 2022 as compared with the 2015 figures** (this despite the rising and falling numbers in the intervening years);

Graph 7

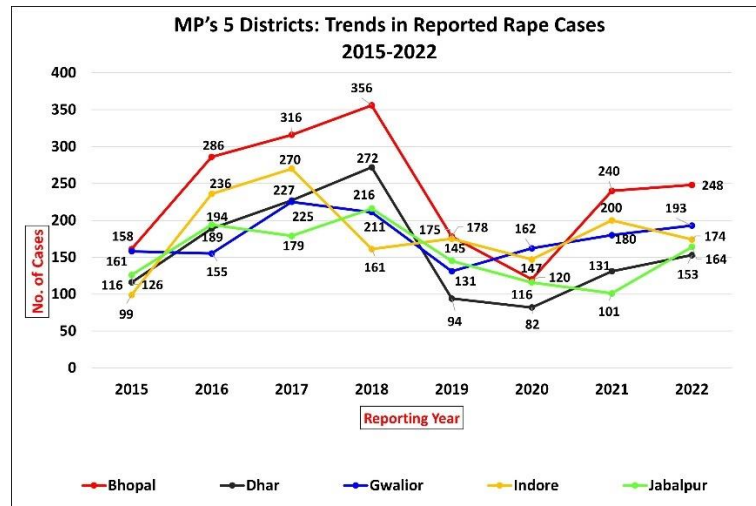


Graph 8



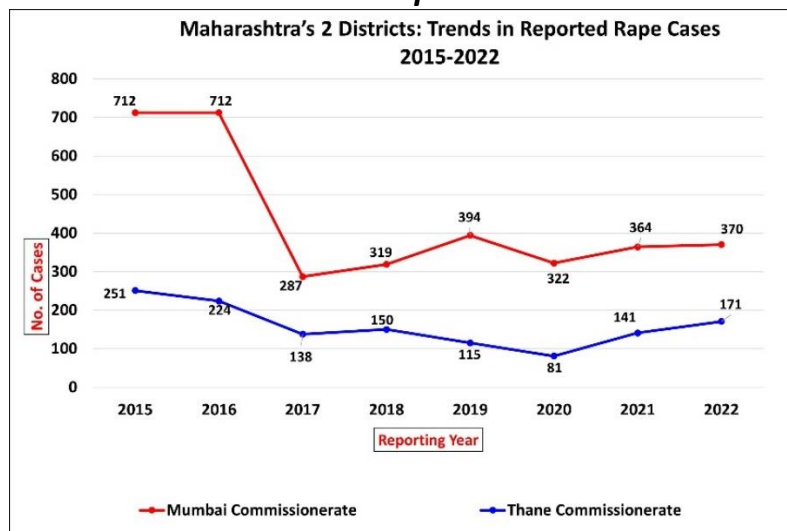
- Similarly, in MP, five districts namely, Bhopal, Dhar, Gwalior, Indore and Jabalpur have figured in the top-100 list in every year of the period under study though the actual number of cases have varied from year to year. See Graph 9 below for the annual trend with regard to these districts. All five districts reported more cases each in 2022 than the figures reported in 2015 (even though the graphs rose and fell in the intervening years);

Graph 9



- In Maharashtra, the districts under the jurisdiction of the Mumbai Police Commissionerate and the Thane Police Commissionerate have figured in the top-100 list in every year of the period under study though the actual number of cases have varied from year to year. See Graph 10 below for the annual trend with regard to these districts. The absolute numbers have declined considerably in 2022 as compared with the 2015 figures. However, the number of cases has increased after a steep decline in 2020- the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic. Pune Rural and Pune Police Commissionerate figure in seven out of eight years of the period under study;

Graph 10



- In Telangana Cyberabad Police Commissionerate has figured in the top-100 list of districts in seven out of eight years of the period under study. Similarly, Barpeta in Assam has figured this list in seven out of eight years of the period under study. South Delhi has also figured on this list in seven out of eight years of the period under study.

5) Districts reporting the highest number of cases of rape/gangrape with murder: NCRB has begun publishing district-wise data about the incidence of cases of rape/gangrape with murder only from 2017. Therefore, data is available for analysis in this category of crime only for a 6-year period i.e., up to 2022. See Tables 25-30 for the year-wise names of district reporting five or more cases of rape/gangrape with murder annually;

- While the phenomenon of rape/gangrape has occurred in several States, a handful of them are notorious for the occurrence of five or more cases in every year during the 6-year period under study. Assam is the only State whose districts figure in this category in every year since 2017-2022. Kamrup in Assam appears in this list of districts in four out of five years. In fact, the highest number of cases in any given year from a district was reported from Kamrup in 2021 (34 cases). See Table 29 below;
- Maharashtra and UP are two States which occur in this list during multiple years. Interestingly, Himachal Pradesh figures in this category of crime (Kangra with 5 cases in 2019), despite not figuring in the top-100 list of districts reporting the highest number of rape cases (as noted above). Contrastingly, Rajasthan reported less than five cases of rape/gangrape with murder per year during the period under study despite figuring in the list of top-100 districts reporting the highest number of rape cases.

Table 25

2017		
District	State	Cases
Hamirpur	UP	16
Amaravati Rural	Maharashtra	15
Rayagada	Odisha	9
Dhemaji	Assam	5

Table 26

2018		
District	State	Cases
Sagar	MP	22
Faridabad	Haryana	19
Sibsagar	Assam	15
Cachar	Assam	12
Pune Police Commissionerate	Maharashtra	8
Kamrup	Assam	7
Gumla	Jharkhand	6
Lakhisarai	Bihar	5

Table 27

2019		
District	State	Cases
Latur	Maharashtra	13
Nagpur Rural	Maharashtra	10
Chitradurga	Karnataka	9
Amaravati Commissionerate	Maharashtra	8

Table 28

2020		
District	State	Cases
Kamrup	Assam	18
Giridih	Jharkhand	6
Pratapgarh	UP	5

Kollam Rural	Kerala	8
Raigad	Maharashtra	7
Kumaram Bheem Asifabad	Telangana	6
Charaideo	Assam	6
Hojai	Assam	6
Kamrup	Assam	5
Udalguri	Assam	5
Kangra	HP	5

Table 29

2021		
District	State	Cases
Kamrup	Assam	34
Mathura	UP	13
Gumla	Jharkhand	8
Guna	MP	9
Bongaigaon	Assam	8
Hazaribagh	Jharkhand	7
Chhattarpur	MP	5
Barmer	Rajasthan	5

Table 30

2022		
District	State	Cases
Meerut	UP	18
Mathura	UP	17
Chhindwara	MP	13
Bongaigaon	Assam	12
Morbi	Gujarat	5
Shahdol	MP	5

It must be said that while some cases of rape and rape/gangrape with murder which are reported in metropolitan or other major cities across the country and acquire a high profile thanks to extensive media coverage creating the impression that these areas are unsafe for women, a larger number of cases which occur in other districts around the country deserve an equal amount of attention if not more. The purpose of this district-level data analysis is to draw public attention to this stark reality. Preventive and punitive measures that are in place in these geographies must also be reviewed for their efficacy in the same manner as the metropolitan cities.

Conclusion

Almost all media reporting of NCRB data with regard to annual crime trends in general, trends of crimes against women in particular and more specifically trends with regard to the offences of rape and rape/gangrape with murder has focused on national and state-level data and findings. Very little attention has been paid to the district-wise trends. The purpose of this study is to draw the attention of society in general and that of policymakers in particular to these micro-level trends. This is the level at which policy prescriptions must focus to contain these two categories of crimes. Given the contents of the district-wise tables which NCRB publishes year after year, it is possible to analyse trends only with regard to the incidence of these categories of offences. District-wise breakups with regard to the disposal of these cases by the police and trial courts are not being published. However, such data is available with the NCRB because the state level and country-wide statistics published in the CII reports are compiled only when district-level data is collected and added up. If micro-level data about the disposal of such cases by the police and the trial courts is also published year after year, it would be possible to review the performance of these two pillars of the criminal justice system with regard to their efforts to contain these twin categories of crimes. Until NCRB publishes such micro-level data proactively, advocates of reform must use the *Right to Information Act, 2005* to seek and obtain it for the purpose of analysis.

Further, given the findings presented in all three parts of this preliminary study, it is abundantly clear that the 2013 amendments to the criminal laws have not been very effective in curbing the crimes of rape and rape/gangrape with murder. While analysis of court records relating to these categories of crimes is crucial to understanding the efficacy of the police and the criminal courts in implementing punitive measures, a different approach is necessary to devise preventive measures. To the best of our knowledge, preventive measures devised so far make girls and women carry the burden of preventing the occurrence of these crimes- be it as mundane as imparting self-defence skills or as advanced as requiring them to adopt IT-enabled tracking services which are in essence surveillance measures. To the best of our knowledge, there are hardly any measures to prevent or remedy predatory behaviour of those who commit such crimes, namely, the boys and men. Designing such measures requires a sociological and psychological analysis of the factors that cause such predatory behaviour. Labelling patriarchal and feudal tendencies or oppression along the lines of caste and religion as the primary causes of such behaviour is only the first step in this analysis. In-depth studies are required to devise and implement methods for preventing sexual predatory behaviour. The burden of change lies on the potential predator in particular and on society at large, not women and girls who are the target of such predatory behaviour.

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