

## Original Article

# Marathwada's Developmental Challenges: A Comprehensive Analysis

Arvind Ramrao Doiphode,

PhD Scholar (Political Science), Savitribai Phule Pune University

Manuscript ID:  
BN-2026-030221

ISSN: 3065-7865

Volume 3

Issue 2

February 2026

Pp. 112-118

Submitted: 15 Jan 2025

Revised: 27 Jan 2025

Accepted: 15 Feb 2026

Published: 28 Feb 2026

DOI:

[10.5281/zenodo.19849578](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.19849578)

DOI link:

<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.19849578>



Quick Response Code:



Website: <https://bnir.us>



### Abstract

Despite recurring policy attention and sizeable public expenditure, Marathwada continues to display a durable development deficit that is visible in agricultural vulnerability, uneven irrigation outcomes, weak employment diversification, and persistent gaps in human development and public service delivery. This paper reframes Marathwada's backwardness as a policy-outcome problem rather than a mere resource shortage: the region's development trajectory is shaped by cumulative causation, political economy dynamics in sectoral allocations, and implementation frictions that weaken conversion of budgets into durable capabilities. The study adopts an indicator-based, district-comparative secondary data strategy and integrates an 'as-of 2026' district matrix covering irrigation intensity, crop diversification, child mortality (IMR/UI5MR proxy), female literacy, primary and community health facility gaps, non-farm employment share, and district planning fund utilization. Findings indicate that irrigation outcomes remain fragmented and do not systematically translate into resilient cropping portfolios; districts with relatively higher irrigation (e.g., Latur in the compiled matrix) can still show elevated mortality and fiscal-utilization constraints, suggesting that infrastructure presence alone is insufficient without reliable operation, maintenance, and complementary services. Human development outcomes reveal significant within-region divergence, especially across gendered education and health infrastructure availability. The paper argues that the region's stagnation is reproduced by reinforcing feedback loops: climatic risk, concentrated water-intensive political choices, delayed project completion, thin industrial ecosystems, and administrative capacity limits in planning and execution. Policy implications emphasize outcome-linked fiscal governance, a reorientation toward drought-resilient water productivity, region-specific industrial and skills strategies, and institutional reforms that build accountability from planning to service delivery.

**Keywords:** Regional Backwardness; Public Policy Evaluation; Political Economy; Cumulative Causation; Irrigation Backlog; Drought Vulnerability; Non-farm Employment; Female Literacy; Health Infrastructure; Maharashtra

### Introduction

Developmental backwardness is a multidimensional condition characterized by persistent deficits in capabilities, productive assets, and institutional effectiveness that jointly constrain human well-being and economic mobility. In the Indian federal context, regional disparity often persists not because policies are absent, but because the translation of policy inputs into outcomes is uneven across space. Marathwada—administratively comprising Beed, Dharashiv (Osmanabad), Latur, Nanded, Parbhani, Hingoli, Jalna, and Chhatrapati Sambhajnagar (Aurangabad)—exhibits this pattern: recurrent drought exposure and agrarian volatility are well known, yet the more analytically demanding question is why repeated interventions do not stabilize outcomes across sectors. This paper proposes that Marathwada's developmental challenge is best understood as an interaction between structural constraints (rain-fed agriculture, weak industrial ecosystems, limited urban absorption capacity), political economy (sectoral choices, spatial bias in investment and service provisioning), and implementation frictions (delays, maintenance failures, capacity constraints, and weak outcome monitoring). The research problem is formulated as a policy-outcome mismatch: what mechanisms prevent public policies and budgets from producing durable improvements in irrigation productivity, health access, women's capabilities, and employment diversification?

**Creative Commons (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)**

This is an open access journal, and articles are distributed under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International Public License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/), which allows others to remix, tweak, and build upon the work noncommercially, as long as appropriate credit is given and the new creations are licensed under the identical terms.

### Address for correspondence:

Arvind Ramrao Doiphode, PhD Scholar (Political Science), Savitribai Phule Pune University

Email: [doiphode.arvind@gmail.com](mailto:doiphode.arvind@gmail.com)

### How to cite this article:

Doiphode, A. R. (2026). Marathwada's Developmental Challenges: A Comprehensive Analysis. *Bulletin of Nexus Journal*, 3(2), 112–118. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.19849578>

The study is significant because it shifts the analytic focus from episodic drought relief to the institutional and distributional determinants of long-run underdevelopment, offering an evaluation-oriented framework suitable for district planning and regional development policy. The analysis is guided by three questions: (i) which sectoral deficits are most persistent and which vary meaningfully across Marathwada districts; (ii) how do irrigation, cropping patterns, health and education capabilities, and labour-market structure interact to reproduce vulnerability; and (iii) which governance and policy design features can plausibly strengthen the conversion of expenditure into outcomes?

### Review of Literature

Classic theories of regional imbalance argue that development is path-dependent: growth and public investment create cumulative advantages in already-strong regions, while lagging regions face persistent disadvantages due to weak markets, limited institutional capacity, and out-migration of skills and capital. Myrdal's cumulative causation framework emphasizes 'backwash effects' whereby labour and capital flow toward dynamic centres, undermining peripheral accumulation unless countered by strong 'spread effects' through policy and institution building. Hirschman's unbalanced growth perspective similarly highlights the role of linkages: without deliberate strategies to create forward and backward linkages, peripheral regions remain trapped in low-productivity equilibria. Empirical studies on Maharashtra have repeatedly documented intra-state disparity, with western Maharashtra outperforming Marathwada and Vidarbha on industrialization, irrigation coverage, and income dynamics. Research also highlights how drought-prone regions experience not only production shocks but social reproduction shocks—distress migration, informalization of labour, and gendered burdens that weaken long-term human capital. Within Marathwada, scholarship and policy commentary link water governance and crop choices to political economy, noting the persistence of water-intensive cropping in drought contexts and the limited availability of reliable water-use data for planning. These analyses suggest that vulnerability is institutional as much as climatic. However, a gap persists in systematic integration of multi-sector outcome indicators with policy-process mechanisms at the district scale. Much literature either emphasizes agrarian distress without connecting it to district fiscal capacity and service delivery, or treats social indicators without linking them to labour-market structure and irrigation productivity. This paper addresses the

gap by combining a district indicator matrix with a mechanism-oriented policy evaluation lens, emphasizing how sectoral deficits interact and how governance failures can lock-in disadvantage.

### Theoretical Framework

The analysis integrates three complementary frameworks. First, cumulative causation is used to explain how repeated shocks and weak institutional responses can generate reinforcing negative feedback loops. In Marathwada, climatic stress interacts with incomplete irrigation outcomes, constrained non-farm absorption, and human development deficits, producing cycles of low productivity and low state capacity. Second, a political economy lens examines how distributive politics, sectoral prioritization, and spatial bias shape the geography of investments and services. Policies are not merely technical choices; they are embedded in bargaining over water allocation, industrial incentives, and the political visibility of certain crops and infrastructure. The sugarcane–water nexus in a drought-prone landscape is analytically central because it reveals how high-reward, high-water activities can persist even when they weaken collective resilience. Third, a public policy evaluation framework differentiates inputs (budgets, projects), outputs (assets created), outcomes (service reliability, capability improvements), and impacts (resilience, poverty reduction). This approach allows identification of failure points: design flaws (misaligned incentives), implementation failures (delays, quality deficits), and maintenance failures (non-functional assets and unreliable service delivery). Together, these frameworks support a causal narrative that is both theory-grounded and policy-relevant.

### Research Methodology

The study employs secondary data analysis and document review. The unit of comparison is the district, enabling within-region heterogeneity to be analysed rather than assuming a uniform 'Marathwada effect'. The empirical strategy is indicator-based and mechanism-oriented: district indicators are interpreted as signals of underlying institutional and structural constraints, and are triangulated with government reports, audit observations, and policy documents. An 'as-of 2026' district matrix is used as an organizing device, capturing irrigation intensity, crop diversification (Simpson index), child mortality proxy (IMR/U5MR), female literacy, PHC and CHC gaps (approximated shortfall), non-farm employment share, and DPDC utilization. While the matrix aggregates information from multiple sources, its analytical value lies in comparative

patterns and plausible mechanisms, not in claiming definitive causality. Reliability is strengthened through source triangulation (survey reports, administrative statistics, and audit documents), metadata discipline (clear definitions, denominators, and reference years), and conservative inference that avoids over-interpretation of single-year fluctuations.

**Limitations include**

- (i) non-uniform reference years across indicators,
- (ii) imperfect comparability of facility shortfall measures across datasets, and
- (iii) limited public availability of consistent district-level economic accounts. These are addressed by explicitly documenting definitions and by using the indicators primarily to structure the policy-outcome discussion.

**Table 1. District Indicator Matrix (Compiled as of 2026)**

District	Irrig. (%)	Crop Divers. (Index)	IMR/U5MR	Female Literacy (%)	PHC Gap	CHC Gap	Non-farm Emp. (%)	DPDC Util. (%)
Beed	15.7	0.801	22	76.3	~20	~22	16.2	72
Dharashiv (Osmanabad)	20.5	0.888	19	83.7	~12	~13	21.5	74
Latur	60.3	0.829	24	83.3	~14	~15	29.2	40
Nanded	15.8	0.802	27	71.9	~22	~25	22.1	68
Parbhani	25.4	0.811	25	73.4	~17	~19	19.4	65
Hingoli	23.3	0.850	32	76.5	~28	~35	15.8	62
Jalna	22.0	0.775	28	71.8	~18	~20	24.8	70
Chhatrapati Sambhajinagar	25.0	0.816	26	83.1	~15	~18	38.5	78

Note: The matrix is intended for comparative analysis and should be accompanied by a documentation sheet specifying the source, definition, denominator, and reference year for each indicator. Where values are shown with ‘~’, they represent approximate gaps compiled from facility norms/shortfall reporting and should be validated with district health planning records.

Sector-wise Analytical Discussion

**A. Agriculture and Irrigation Crisis**

Marathwada’s agrarian economy remains structurally vulnerable because rainfall variability interacts with limited and uneven irrigation outcomes and weak risk-mitigation institutions. The development problem is not that irrigation infrastructure is absent in aggregate, but that reliability, distribution, and water productivity remain insufficient to stabilize farm incomes across districts. The district matrix illustrates two analytically important patterns. First, low irrigation shares in several districts (e.g., Beed and Nanded) plausibly restrict the adoption of higher-value or longer-duration cropping portfolios and amplify sensitivity to monsoon shocks. Second, even where irrigation shares are relatively higher (as the compiled value for Latur suggests), vulnerability can persist if irrigation is operationally unreliable, energetically costly, or allocated toward water-intensive crops rather than diversifying risk. Crop diversification indices in the matrix indicate that diversification exists but is not necessarily aligned with risk reduction. Diversification can be ‘distress

diversification’ into low-return, low-input crops rather than a transition to remunerative but resilient farming systems. The political economy of crop choices is crucial here: water-intensive crops can remain attractive due to assured procurement, local processing interests, and political linkages, even when they degrade regional water security. Policy commentary on Maharashtra’s drought debates has noted the persistence of sugarcane in water-stressed settings, implying that irrigation policy must be analysed as a governance issue rather than purely an engineering issue. Audit-based perspectives strengthen this interpretation by highlighting how delays and outcome shortfalls in surface irrigation projects can lead to a ‘stock of assets’ without corresponding delivery of assured irrigation benefits. Such patterns reinforce cumulative causation: unstable agriculture reduces local surplus, weakens non-farm demand, drives distress migration, and constrains district administrative capacity through fiscal and social pressures.

**B. Industrial Backwardness and Investment Geography**

Industrial development in Marathwada has been shaped by the geography of infrastructure, market access, and policy incentives that historically favoured established growth poles. While some districts—particularly Chhatrapati Sambhajinagar—have stronger industrial visibility, the region overall has not achieved the scale and diversity of manufacturing and services necessary to absorb labour leaving low-productivity

agriculture. The non-farm employment shares in the district matrix reinforce this: several districts remain relatively dependent on agrarian and informal work, while the better-connected urban-industrial district shows a higher non-farm share. The persistence of industrial backwardness can be explained through linkage failures. Weak supplier networks, limited local skill ecosystems, and constrained logistics reduce the probability that new investments generate durable forward and backward linkages. At the same time, incentive regimes that are formally 'region-neutral' can be functionally spatially biased because firms locate where transaction costs are lower and complementary services—finance, engineering services, reliable utilities—already exist. Annual investment and industrial promotion reports in Maharashtra indicate sustained emphasis on investment facilitation, yet the distribution of benefits depends on land availability, infrastructure readiness, and administrative facilitation capacity, which vary across districts. A political economy reading suggests that without region-specific targeting—land banks, plug-and-play estates, skills pipelines, and logistics upgrades—Marathwada can remain trapped in low-investment equilibrium. For policy evaluation, the key metric is not approvals or MoUs, but realized employment creation and supplier network formation.

### **C. Education Inequality and Gendered Capability Constraints**

Education outcomes are central to regional development because they shape productivity, labour mobility, and the bargaining power of households in markets and institutions. The female literacy figures in the district matrix signal a persistent capability constraint and within-region divergence. Lower female literacy is not merely an education-sector issue: it is tightly linked to early marriage, reproductive health outcomes, labour-force participation, and the intergenerational transmission of disadvantage. In Marathwada, education inequality is reproduced through multiple channels. First, agricultural volatility and distress migration disrupt schooling continuity and increase dropout risk. Second, inadequate transport and safety constraints can disproportionately reduce girls' access to higher secondary and tertiary education, especially in dispersed rural settlements. Third, where non-farm job growth is weak, returns to education are perceived as uncertain, which can reduce household willingness to invest in prolonged schooling. From a policy evaluation perspective, the critical link is between education provisioning (schools, teachers, scholarships) and conversion into completed years of schooling and employable skills. Region-specific strategies

therefore require a continuum approach: retention mechanisms for migration-prone households, targeted support for girls' secondary transitions, and alignment of vocational pathways with local and nearby labour markets.

### **D. Health Infrastructure Deficits and Mortality Outcomes**

Health infrastructure deficits manifest both as facility shortfalls and as service unreliability—shortages of staff, medicines, referral transport, and functioning diagnostics. The matrix's PHC and CHC gap approximations highlight that several districts face sizeable shortfalls, suggesting constrained primary care coverage and referral capacity. Mortality indicators—infant and under-five mortality—are sensitive to these systemic weaknesses, especially when they coincide with maternal undernutrition, sanitation deficits, and irregular antenatal and postnatal care. An important analytic caution is that district mortality estimates depend on the source and method. Survey-based estimates (such as NFHS district factsheets) provide district-level patterns, while civil registration and sample registration systems provide more robust state-level annual estimates. Nonetheless, consistent evidence across major national datasets indicates that child survival improvements are strongly associated with maternal education, timely immunization, skilled birth attendance, and effective newborn care—areas where primary and community health systems are decisive. For Marathwada, the interaction between migration, women's health burdens, and weak service coverage can amplify risks. Field and policy commentaries on the sugarcane labour economy indicate that migrant households often live in poor sanitation conditions with limited health access, creating specific vulnerabilities for women's and child health. Consequently, health policy for the region must combine infrastructure filling with service quality and continuity for mobile populations, backed by district-level monitoring of functional capacity rather than sanctioned posts alone.

### **E. Employment Structure, Distress Migration, and Informalization**

The employment challenge in Marathwada is not only unemployment but the dominance of low-quality, seasonal, and informal work with limited upward mobility. The non-farm employment share provides a coarse indicator of labour market diversification; lower shares suggest continued dependence on agriculture and allied seasonal activities, while higher shares may reflect urban-industrial employment and services. Importantly, non-farm shares can also mask informality: construction and low-end services may

expand without generating stable incomes or social protection. Seasonal migration, especially linked to sugarcane labour circuits, illustrates how agrarian vulnerability is externalized through labour mobility. Migration can function as a coping strategy but also as a mechanism of reproducing disadvantage when it disrupts education, weakens access to public services, and deepens informal dependence. Gendered dimensions are particularly salient: women's labour participation in migrant circuits can be high, yet the work is physically intensive and often occurs under poor living conditions, which can translate into adverse health outcomes. From the standpoint of cumulative causation, migration can have ambiguous regional effects: remittances may support consumption and debt service, but sustained out-migration of skills and youth can erode local innovation capacity. Region-specific employment policy must therefore be built around local absorption—industrial clusters, agro-processing, and service hubs—while improving social protection and portability for migrant workers.

#### **F. Public Expenditure, District Planning, and Policy Outcomes**

Public expenditure is central to regional development, yet the relationship between allocation, utilization, and outcomes is frequently weak. The district matrix's DPDC utilization figures illustrate meaningful variation, which should be interpreted as a governance signal rather than a purely technical statistic. Lower utilization can arise from delayed administrative approvals, procurement bottlenecks, capacity shortages in line departments, or weak coordination across agencies. However, high utilization does not automatically imply strong outcomes if spending is concentrated in low-impact works, is not maintained, or lacks outcome monitoring. Audit institutions have repeatedly emphasized the importance of accountability in public spending and the risks of weak internal controls. Performance audits of major sectors, including irrigation, provide a critical policy lens: they show how projects can remain incomplete, how benefits can be below potential due to distribution and maintenance failures, and how monitoring often focuses on expenditure rather than service delivery. For Marathwada, this implies that fiscal governance reform must prioritize outcome-linked planning, transparent project pipelines, and systematic public disclosure of completion, functionality, and beneficiary distribution. A policy-outcome framework suggests three concrete shifts: first, align district plans with measurable outcome indicators (water productivity, learning completion, functional facility coverage).

Second, strengthen inter-departmental coordination and technical support for district planning. Third, embed independent audit and social accountability mechanisms to reduce capture and improve the quality of expenditure.

#### **Key Findings**

First, Marathwada's backwardness is best characterised as a multi-sector policy-outcome gap: budgets and projects do not consistently translate into stable capabilities across agriculture, health, education, and employment. Second, irrigation intensity is uneven and, in several districts, remains too low to buffer monsoon volatility; even where irrigation is higher, resilience depends on reliability, distribution, and water productivity rather than asset creation alone. Third, crop diversification indicators do not automatically imply risk reduction; diversification can reflect distress adaptation rather than an enabling transition to remunerative resilient farming systems.

Fourth, health facility gaps and service unreliability plausibly contribute to persistent child mortality burdens; district-level mortality patterns should be triangulated across survey and registration systems to strengthen policy targeting. Fifth, female literacy remains a critical capability constraint and a mediator of health and labour outcomes; district disparities indicate that the region is not uniform and requires micro-targeted interventions. Sixth, non-farm employment remains insufficient in several districts, reinforcing dependence on seasonal and informal work and amplifying the role of distress migration as a coping mechanism. Seventh, variation in DPDC utilization suggests that administrative capacity and governance bottlenecks shape development outcomes; utilization must be evaluated together with outcome indicators and asset functionality. Eighth, political economy factors—especially water-intensive crop choices and spatially biased investment—interact with institutional weaknesses to reproduce cumulative causation, limiting spread effects from growth centres. Ninth, audit and evaluation evidence indicates that strengthening monitoring from expenditure to outcomes, and from sanction to functionality, is essential for reducing the policy-outcome gap. Tenth, region-specific development planning must integrate water productivity, human development, and employment diversification in a single results framework, rather than pursuing disconnected sectoral schemes.

#### **Conclusion**

Marathwada's developmental challenge is not reducible to drought episodes or to a single

sectoral deficit. The region's backwardness is reproduced through interacting mechanisms: climatic volatility, uneven and often unreliable irrigation outcomes, weak industrial linkages and non-farm absorption, gendered capability constraints, and administrative and fiscal frictions that dilute the effectiveness of public policy. The district matrix compiled as of 2026 demonstrates meaningful within-region variation, underscoring that policy design must be district-sensitive and outcome-focused. The theoretical integration offered here—cumulative causation, political economy, and policy evaluation—clarifies why input-heavy interventions can fail to produce durable outcomes when institutions do not support maintenance, equitable distribution, and accountability. Advancing development in Marathwada therefore requires not only greater investment but a re-engineering of governance systems that convert investment into capabilities and resilience.

### Policy Recommendations

Policy recommendations should prioritise measurable outcomes and institutional reform. Irrigation policy should shift from project completion alone to assured delivery and water productivity, with transparent water accounting, maintenance funding, and incentives for micro-irrigation and drought-resilient cropping. Agricultural support must integrate climate risk management, extension, and market access to enable a transition from distress diversification to resilient value-oriented farming. Industrial policy should adopt region-specific targeting: develop serviced industrial land, strengthen logistics and utilities reliability, and establish skills pipelines linked to local clusters and nearby urban labour markets. Education policy should prioritise girls' secondary completion, migration-sensitive schooling continuity, and employability-oriented skilling pathways. Health policy must fill PHC/CHC functional gaps, strengthen referral systems, and ensure continuity of services for migrant populations. Fiscal governance reforms should link district planning funds to outcome indicators and public disclosure, combine utilization tracking with functionality audits, and institutionalise independent evaluation. A district results framework that integrates water productivity, human development, and employment diversification can strengthen accountability and help shift the region from cyclical relief toward structural transformation.

### Acknowledgement

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all those who contributed to the successful completion of this study titled "*Marathwada's Developmental Challenges: A Comprehensive Analysis.*"

First and foremost, I extend my heartfelt thanks to my respected teacher/guide for their valuable guidance, constant encouragement, and constructive suggestions throughout the preparation of this work. Their academic support and insightful feedback greatly helped in shaping this study.

I am also thankful to my institution for providing the necessary academic environment, resources, and reference materials required for conducting this analysis. The availability of research articles, government reports, and scholarly sources played an essential role in understanding the socio-economic, environmental, and developmental issues of the Marathwada region.

I would like to acknowledge researchers, policymakers, journalists, and organizations whose published data and studies helped in analyzing critical concerns such as agrarian distress, water scarcity, regional imbalance, and infrastructure challenges affecting Marathwada.

My sincere appreciation goes to my family and friends for their continuous motivation, patience, and moral support during the completion of this work.

### Financial support and sponsorship

Nil.

### Conflicts of interest

The authors declare that there are no conflicts of interest regarding the publication of this paper

### References (APA Style)

1. Comptroller and Auditor General of India. (2022). Report No. 4 of 2022: Performance Audit on Outcomes in Surface Irrigation, Government of Maharashtra. <https://cag.gov.in/en/audit-report/details/44246>
2. Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Maharashtra. (2022–2025). Statistical Abstract of Maharashtra (latest available volumes). <https://mahades.maharashtra.gov.in/>
3. Government of India, Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner. (2023). Sample Registration System (SRS) Statistical Report 2023.

<https://censusindia.gov.in/nada/index.php/cata>

- log/46172/download/50420/SRS\_STAT\_2023.pdf
4. Government of India, Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner. (2023). SRS Bulletin (Vol. 58, No. 1). [https://censusindia.gov.in/nada/index.php/catalog/46178/download/50426/SRS\\_Bulletin\\_2023\\_Vol\\_58\\_No\\_1.pdf](https://censusindia.gov.in/nada/index.php/catalog/46178/download/50426/SRS_Bulletin_2023_Vol_58_No_1.pdf)
  5. International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) & ICF. (2021). National Family Health Survey (NFHS-5), Maharashtra State Report (2019–21). DHS Program. [https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR374/FR374\\_Maharashtra.pdf](https://dhsprogram.com/pubs/pdf/FR374/FR374_Maharashtra.pdf)
  6. International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS). (2021). National Family Health Survey (NFHS-5) portal (state and district factsheets). <https://www.nfhsiips.in/nfhsuser/nfhs5.php>
  7. Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India. (2023). Rural Health Statistics (latest available). <https://hmis.nhp.gov.in/#!/standardReports>
  8. National Health Systems Resource Centre. (2021). Health Dossier: Maharashtra (using NFHS-5 and other sources). [https://nhsrcindia.org/sites/default/files/practice\\_image/HealthDossier2021/Maharashtra.pdf](https://nhsrcindia.org/sites/default/files/practice_image/HealthDossier2021/Maharashtra.pdf)
  9. NITI Aayog. (2022). District Nutrition Profile: Osmanabad, Maharashtra. <https://www.niti.gov.in/sites/default/files/2022-07/Osmanabad-Maharashtra.pdf>
  10. NITI Aayog. (2022). District Nutrition Profile: Jalna, Maharashtra. <https://www.niti.gov.in/sites/default/files/2022-07/Jalna-Maharashtra.pdf>
  11. NITI Aayog. (2022). District Nutrition Profile: Aurangabad, Maharashtra. <https://www.niti.gov.in/sites/default/files/2022-07/Aurangabad-Maharashtra.pdf>
  12. Government of Maharashtra. (2023–2025). Economic Survey of Maharashtra (latest available). <https://mahades.maharashtra.gov.in/>
  13. Maharashtra Industrial Development Corporation. (2024). Income & Expenditure 2023–24 (public financial statement). <https://www.midcindia.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/07/Income-Expenditure-2023-24.pdf>
  14. MAITRI (Government of Maharashtra). (2024). FDI Annual Report 2023–24. <https://maitri.maharashtra.gov.in/wp-content/uploads/pdf/FDI%20Annual%20Report%20-%202023-24.pdf>
  15. Economic and Political Weekly. (2016). Scarcity of Good Governance. EPW, 51(16). <https://www.epw.in/journal/2016/16/editorials/scarcity-good-governance.html>
  16. Economic and Political Weekly. (2019). Harvest of Uteruses. EPW, 54(29). <https://www.epw.in/journal/2019/29/commentary/harvest-uteruses.html>
  17. Bhide, S., & others. (2006). Regional Structures, Growth and Convergence of Income in Maharashtra. Economic and Political Weekly, 41(18). <https://www.epw.in/journal/2006/18/special-articles/regional-structures-growth-and-convergence-income-maharashtra.html>
  18. Deokar, P. (2009). Regional Disparity in Agricultural Development of Maharashtra. Economic and Political Weekly, 44(6). <https://www.epw.in/journal/2009/06/special-articles/regional-disparity-agricultural-development-maharashtra.html>
  19. Hirschman, A. O. (1958). The Strategy of Economic Development. Yale University Press.
  20. Myrdal, G. (1957). Economic Theory and Underdeveloped Regions. Duckworth.
  21. Sen, A. (1999). Development as Freedom. Oxford University Press.
  22. Drèze, J., & Sen, A. (2013). An Uncertain Glory: India and Its Contradictions. Princeton University Press.
  23. Press Information Bureau, Government of India. (2023). Trends in mortality indicators (SRS). <https://www.pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1894904>
  24. Public Health Department, Government of Maharashtra. (2025). Departmental report/brief (includes SRS references). <https://cdnbbsr.s3waas.gov.in/s3f6eece9f1643651799ede2740927317a/uploads/2025/08/2025081946322959.pdf>