

# **Social Justice and the Agency Of Women: The Kerala Story**

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## **Introduction**

Many scholars of international development regard the experience of the state of Kerala in India as distinctive and extraordinary. Kerala's uniqueness stems from the fact that despite low levels of per capita income and a high unemployment rate, the state has made exceptional strides in several areas of social development such as health, education, literacy, and demographic transition. The state of Kerala is often invoked as a testimonial to the statement that development and quality of life cannot always be measured purely in traditional economic terms. Further, the social justice paradigm engendered in Kerala appears to have been accomplished without external aid and in the absence of a violent revolution.

In attempting to document the reasons behind the success of the Kerala's social justice model, researchers have drawn attention to the state's history of progressive redistribution measures like land reforms, and a wide network of the public distribution system (Franke and Chassin, 1995). Beyond the redistribution aspects, many researchers find comfort in attributing Kerala's development to historical factors, the welfare oriented policies of the state government especially with regard to education and a generous minimum wage, and the role of a socially engaged population (See, Kapur, 1998 for a summary). Critics of the Kerala experience on the other hand highlight the paradoxes of social development without economic growth (Tharamangalam, 2003). However, despite the plethora of literature on the sustainability or the lack thereof in the Kerala story, few studies have chosen to highlight the accomplishments of women in the social development of the state. The purpose of this paper is to address this shortcoming by

explicitly examining the role and agency of women in Kerala's successes with social growth. The following section motivates the study by offering a perspective on development that is conceptually broader than material well-being and economic attainments. The state of Kerala will be assessed on this broader notion of development. Moreover, our specific purpose in this paper is to evaluate the status of women in Kerala because of its unique growth pattern. In order to serve that purpose the paper is organized in the following manner. Section 1 describes the status of women in India and in relation to Kerala. Section 2 discusses the status of women all over the world with special reference to the women's living conditions in Asia. Section 3 makes comparison of living conditions of women in Kerala and in other Indian states. Section 4 makes the summary of our findings and the conclusion.

### **Section1. Motivation**

According to Sen (2001), *“success in economic growth must be ultimately judged by what it does to our daily lives - human capabilities, enhancement of well-being, and freedom”*. In other words, the process of development should be assessed not merely through traditional economic measures such as per capital income but also in terms of its impact on the quality of life and human well-being. Indeed, empirical evidence shows that there is no direct association between economic attainments and the quality of life. While countries such as Sri Lanka and Jamaica have raised their quality of life in the absence of economic growth, a high growth country like Brazil has made very little progress on transforming human conditions. Similarly, Costa Rica's achievements with literacy and health rank it on the same plane with Singapore even though the former is

classified on the basis of per capita income as a lower middle income country while Singapore is ranked as a high income country. These experiences suggest that the development process ought to be viewed in terms of human development which broadens the scope of development from material attainments, or the means for development to outcomes that are either desirable in themselves or desirable because of their role in building human capabilities. This is not to negate the notion of a “growth-mediated progress” framework - but an argument for broadening perspective as human development can also be an instrument of generating economic successes of the more standard kinds that can in turn enhance human freedoms even more.

This study is also significant as Kerala is often not discussed in discussions of development that are preoccupied with cross-national comparisons. In assessing Kerala’s achievements on this broader notion of development, Table 1 presents data from the national Human Development Report that ranks states on the basis of the Human Development Index (HDI). The table shows that Kerala remains at the top of the Report. In so far as specific indicators of human development are considered, Kerala’s 2002 birth rate of 17.9 per 1000 compares favorably to an All India birth rate of 25.8 per 1000. Similarly, Kerala’s death rate of 6.4 per 1000 is considerably lower than the All India rate of 8.5 per 1000. On the literacy front, Kerala’s literacy rates have been considerably higher than those for the rest of the country. As displayed in Table 2, the comparison between the literacy rates for All India and those for Kerala over the past 100 years is striking. In terms of the gender distribution of Kerala’s literacy rates, a female literacy rate of 87.86 percent and male literacy rate of 94.2 percent appear unique when compared to the corresponding national figures of 54.16 percent and 75.85 percent respectively.

Another feature of Kerala hailed as “striking” by Dreze and Sen (2002) in their comparative study of hunger and public action is the comparatively low incidence of severe malnutrition among children and adults in Kerala. Only 1.5 percent of Kerala’s children suffered from severe under nutrition in 1982; at the same time, India the corresponding percentage was 6.1 for India as a whole (Dreze and Sen, 1989). Recent comparisons by Sen (1994) are even more striking. The survival rate of Keralites is higher than that of African Americans and the female literacy rate is higher in Kerala than the literacy rate in every province of China. Selected quality of life indicators for Kerala and other Indian states are presented in Table 3 that clearly demonstrates that despite high unemployment and a low rate of growth of per capita income, Kerala has made remarkable progress on quality of life indicators. Moreover low per capita income notwithstanding, Kerala has achieved the fastest rate of poverty reduction among all Indian states and this is no mean feat given its population of 32 million. Moreover, according to the broader notion of development adopted by this paper poverty is not simply a lack of income but a state of deprivation that limits human capabilities. It is undoubtedly this notion of development that has prompted Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen, to note that Kerala’s success in reducing poverty is far more significant for than the slow growth of its economy (Sen).

As mentioned above the purpose of this paper is to underscore the agency of women in Kerala’s human development achievements. Such a focus is important for many reasons as discussed below.

**Women’s Agency and Social Change:**

A discussion of women’s agency for social progress has been long neglected in the literature on development literature. In the specific context provided by Kerala, such a

discussion will help highlight not just the fact that women must enjoy greater well-being and social justice in any society. Instead, the following discussion will assert that that women's agency can *create* social justice - it is an integral part of the development process, not just an outcome of development.

As gender-based inequalities persist in most developing economies, including India, given the intervention by other agencies, women's own agency in securing gender justice is important. As for critics that say "why", gender inequality does not diminish with economic growth (see ch 7). In fact sometimes high economic growth can worsen the lot of women (see p 273). Even when economic development can enhance women's empowerment (literacy, LF participation) this takes time and is slow and indirect.

1. If economic growth does reduce gender disparities, it happens by other variables such as female literacy and LF participation rates that are closely aligned to women's agency. Of course, these require supplementation by public action in education, women's ownership, political participation.
2. Agency of women (women's empowerment) can directly improve the well-being of men and children. There is evidence that suggests that female literacy which relates to women's agency can reduce infant mortality rates. The positive link between female education and child survival can be direct as arising from the position of the woman within the unit as well as indirect stemming from role of women in politics and public life. (lit p. 19)
3. The empowerment (thorough literacy, economic independence, female LF participation, political organization etc) can have a strong impact on fertility rates and demographic change. Why is fertility reduction important? Population

- growth is a worry for India where there is already so much pressure on environmental resources and infrastructure (see pp 196-197).
4. It is in this context a reduction in fertility rates becomes important. Steady fertility declines have been associated with women's agency. (see p 199 for lit review). The importance of gender equity and women's empowerment for fertility decline can also engender lower levels of mortality. The recognition that mortality reduction is an essential requirement of sustained fertility decline gives us further reason to put women's agency at the center of the analysis. Other variables - role of education, female job opportunities, status of women, cultural factors (equity in HH decisions) are also important.
  5. Women's own agency is also important in very general terms - insofar as human agency is now being considered a part of the development process. Women's voice can have an impact on public policy and social change successes with social justice.

This paper, therefore, attempts to depict that women's role is an equally powerful and important factor contributing to the unusual pattern of development in the state of Kerala. In fact, the Kerala model owes more to women than to men. The paper will also demonstrate the unequivocal proposition behind the Kerala model of development that gender related development is different from the usually conceived norms of economic development.

## **Section 2. The Role of Women in the world and in Kerala's development**

Kerala has often been referred to as the 'land of women'. Historically the state has been quite different from the rest of the country in terms of the indicators of women's

development. Starting with the turn of the last century, the state had a favourable sex ratio (1004) which gradually picked up and reached 1058 in 2001. This should be compared with the all India figures, which in 2001, was only 933. The 2001 census reflects that Kerala is the only Indian state where the sex ratio is above the equality ratio and is at a 100 year high. Similarly, in terms of literacy, life expectancy, and mean age at marriage, women in Kerala were much above their counterparts elsewhere in the country. In 1950 when India became a Democratic Republic, the female literacy rate at the national level was merely 7.9 percent. Kerala's female literacy at the same time was four times higher (32 percent). Similarly in 1950, while the female life expectancy at the national level was only 31.7 years, the same was 42.3 years in Kerala. Thus, historically a favourable ground was set for Kerala's women while most of the Indian states were deplorably poor in this regard. Perhaps this paved the way for the outstanding achievement of Kerala in terms of women's development, and as a result, the increase in the overall human development. Today Kerala's female literacy is 88 percent (54 percent at the national level) and life expectancy is 72.4 years (60.4 years at the national level).

The Kerala model of development owes its attributed success to the achievements in the areas of health and education where the contribution of women is particularly significant. Several factors have contributed to the success. The matriarchal system that prevailed among some of the dominant communities in the past, the progressive social movements, government policies, and a historically conducive climate are a few of the factors that have been identified as contributors to the success of women in Kerala. The traditional matriarchal system gave women the freedom to access several services that have not



traditionally been offered to women. Education is among the opportunities offered to women in Kerala. The first girls' school in the private sector of the state was established in 1819. In the following years, a Government Girls School (1859) and a training school for women teachers (1887) opened. These early achievements in literacy and education have positively influenced the status of women in the state. Today, as previously discussed, Kerala ranks the first among the Indian states in terms of performance on the Human Development Index (HDI), Gender Development Index (GDI), Gender Equality Index (GEI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM). States such as Haryana and Punjab, which have very high levels of economic development and per capita income, are states having greatest gender disparity and lower overall levels of human development. In contrast, states such as Kerala, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Tamilnadu rank high in terms of gender development, as well as overall human development. These findings prompt the following hypothesis: *Economic development does not guarantee gender equality and gender development is a pre-requisite for overall human development.*

Seers (1979) defines economic development as a process that should “*satisfy certain conditions pertaining to the capacity to obtain physical necessities particularly food, employment, equalization of income, education, political participation and societal independence*”. However, as economic development literature abundantly demonstrates, the development process is rarely achieved by all segments of society at the same time. In fact, as Kuznets' inverted U shape hypothesis shows, as economic development begins, income distribution is initially unequal. Consequently, the following questions arise: What is the benefit of economic growth to some disadvantaged sections of society such as women and minorities? Has there been a significant improvement in the living

conditions of women in world over and in case of Kerala in particular? As Visvanathan (1997) points out, “despite careful planning and channelizing of funds, the gap between rich and poor in developing countries has widened. There are many instances of strong economic growth but the “trickle down” effect failed to reach the majority of the poor”. In last few years the focus of studying women development has changed from “women in development” (WID) to “women and development” (WAD) to “gender and development” (GAD).

Influenced by the work of Boserup (1970), WID represents the earliest school of thought favored by the liberal feminists’ viewpoint. It also focuses on the impact of development on women’s lives and livelihoods and attempts to include women into the development process as workers and producers. However, criticisms of the WID approach are abundant. As seen in Bandarage (1984) and Visvanathan (1997), this approach limits the scope of analysis since it overlooks the structural and socioeconomic factors that form the basis for gender inequalities. This concern was taken into consideration by the second approach, WAD. As Mitra (2003) mentions, WAD stems from the Marxist feminist studies which document the changing role of women in economic production as a result of diverse historical factors such as local class structure, articulation of specific regions and sectors of production. Hence, with this approach women are seen as a part of wider social change. Moreover the supporters of WAD criticize Boserup’s work by pointing out his inability 1) to recognize the capital accumulation during colonial period in the hands of male dominated decision making and 2) the cultural aspects of the development process. (See for example, Beneria and Sen (1997) and Kabeer (1994) ).

In the 1980s, a more holistic perspective emerged in terms of “Gender and Development” (GAD). Based on the work of Young (1997) this approach evaluates the role of women in economic development in terms of their education, health, culture and social issues. While the GAD viewpoint shares a limited number of characteristics with the other approaches, WAD relies upon not only the contribution of women to the production process, but also their involvement and experience with development in all aspects of life.

In terms of empirical evidence on women’s economic development a comprehensive study was done by USAID for the status of women in Asia, which contains over half of the world’s female population. In comparison to the status of women in other countries, Asian women live in higher levels of poverty with significantly poorer living conditions. Worldwide, women live 10 percent longer than men. However, in Asia, women only live 2 percent longer than men on average. The percentage is smaller and even becomes nonexistent in countries such as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal. Asian maternal mortality rates are among the highest in the world: 56 percent of 585,000 maternal deaths occur throughout the region. Additionally, there are 30 times more pregnancy related injuries, infections, and disabilities. Not surprisingly, while the overall literacy rates in Asia are among the world’s lowest, the gender disparity in education is very evident. One of the main demands of feminist and leftwing organization has been to lower this disparity by including more women in decision making process at all levels, particularly at the level of IMF and World Bank. Further discussion of the demands of organizations can be read in Antrobus and Christiansen-Ruffman (1999) and Bandarage (1984).

### **Section 3. Women and the Kerala Model of Development**

The gender dimensions of Kerala model can be brought into light by analyzing the contributions of women in areas of development like health and education. Not only that the women had not lagged behind the men in their achievements in education and health areas, but they have also played substantial role in the development of these two sectors in the state. In fact statistics (from different human development reports) tell us that the women have played a higher role than men in the development of education and health sectors of the state, which is never recognized by those who analyze and praise the Kerala model. Had the women in Kerala been not able to listen to the call for development and not able to rise to the occasion to perform well, the Kerala Model would not have come into being.

A simple regression of HDI (as dependent variable) on GDI (as independent variable) using state wise data will substantiate the fact that, higher the GDI, achievements of women, the higher the HDI in the state indicating there by the contribution of women to overall HDI growth.

Human Development Index (HDI) is the indicator used for measuring the level of human development in a country. It was under the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), started in 1990, the first attempt to measure the level of human development as a composite index based on three most important factors that reflect human development, viz., literacy rate, life expectancy and per capita income. The UNDP's Human Development Report 1990 provided these composite indices for different countries for the first time. The computation procedure for this HDI has undergone improvement over the years, though basically it is still based on the three indicators used in the beginning. The latest formulae used for computing HDI for different countries have been used in working out the HDI for different States in India in its 'National

Human Development Report 2000', from which we have drawn the HDI data for the present paper.

The concept of Gender Development Index (GDI) is same as that of HDI but adjusted to account for inequalities between men and women. Since no data on per capita income for women is available separately, in the computation of GDI, the data on women labor force is used as proxy for income data. The data on literacy rate and life expectancy, of course are available for women separately and therefore made use of in the computation of GDI. This is specifically mentioned in the National Human Development Report referred to above.

The data on HDI and GDI are given in table I.

**Table I - HDI and GDI for 16 Major Indian States**

State	HDI	GDI
Andhra Pradesh	0.4	0.371
Assam	0.379	0.347
Bihar	0.354	0.306
Gujarat	0.467	0.437
Haryana	0.489	0.37
Karnataka	0.448	0.417
Kerala	0.603	0.565
Madhya Pradesh	0.349	0.312
Maharashtra	0.523	0.492
Orissa	0.373	0.329
Punjab	0.529	0.424
Rajasthan	0.356	0.309
Tamil Nadu	0.438	0.402
Uttar Pradesh	0.348	0.293
West Bengal	0.459	0.399
India	0.423	0.388

(Source: A. K. Shiva Kumar "UNDP's Gender Related Development Index". A comparison for Indian States, Economic and Political Weekly, April 6, 1996)

The regression equation is of the form,

$$\text{HDI} = a + b\text{GDI} + u$$

And the results of the regression are given in as follows:

**Table II - Regression Results**

No. of Observations		Co-efficient	Standard Error	t-Value	Adjusted R-Square
15	Intercept	0.06211	0.038826	1.599698	0.870651
	X-Variable	0.967148	0.099105	9.758814	

The coefficient for GDI (the X variable here) is not only positive (0.9671) but statistically significant also at one percent probability level. It shows the very strong direct relationship between the two and the significant contribution of GDI to the growth of HDI. Kerala would not have achieved a comparatively high HDI if the women of Kerala lagged very much behind men as in most other Indian states.

### **Euclidian Squared Deviations Method**

The second approach to analyzing gender influence on the Kerala model of development is using Euclidian Squared Deviations Method. It measures the development distance between the different states with the help of different development indicators. In this analysis, 11 indicators for women's development for 16 major Indian states are identified and are taken from the National Human Development Reports.

The indicators represent the following,

- X1 - Sex Ratio 2001
- X2 - Female Life Expectancy 1992-96
- X3 - Female Infant Mortality 1991
- X4 - Female Death Rate 1997

- X5 - Female Labor Force Participation Rate 1999-00  
 X6 - Percentage of Women with anemia 1998-99  
 X7 - Female Literacy Rate 2001  
 X8 - Female enrolment in schools 6-11 age 1991  
 X9 - Intensity of Female education\* 1993  
 X10 - Literacy Rates for Schedule Caste Women 2001  
 X11 - Gender Equality Index 1991

*\* Is the weighted average of the enrolled students from class I to class XII to the total enrolment in Classes I to XII, the weights being 1 for class I, 2 for class II and so on*

The data used for the analysis are given in Table III. The data clearly indicate that women in Kerala are far better than their counterparts elsewhere in the country with regard to all the variables defined above.

**Table III - Selected Development Indicators for Women in 16 Major Indian States**

Indicators	X1	X2	X3	X4	X5	X6	X7	X8	X9	X10	X11
AP	978	63	51	7.4	54.2	49.8	51.7	46.7	4.17	20.92	0.801
AS	932	56.6	87	9.9	24	69.1	56.03	42.9	4.3	42.99	0.575
BI	921	58.2	89	10.2	26.3	63.4	33.57	26.1	3.66	7.07	0.469
GJ	921	62.5	82	7.5	44.6	46.3	55.61	57.1	4.69	45.54	0.714
HA	861	64.3	54	8	27.4	47	56.31	56.2	4.78	24.15	0.714
HP	970	61.4	81	7	63.4	40.5	57.08	70.7	5.12	41.02	0.858
KN	964	64.5	72	7	45.4	42.4	57.45	57.2	4.34	25.95	0.573
KR	1058	75.8	41	4.9	35.3	22.7	87.86	91.1	5.48	74.31	0.825
MP	920	54.7	136	10.9	50.7	54.3	50.55	40.9	4.42	18.11	0.662
MH	922	66.2	76	6.7	46.3	48.5	67.51	65.1	4.64	41.59	0.793
OR	972	56.6	111	10.7	40.6	63	50.97	48	4.09	20.74	0.639
PU	874	68.6	53	6.8	33.9	41.4	63.55	63.2	4.96	31.03	0.71
RJ	922	59.6	79	8.7	50.2	48.5	44.34	26.3	3.83	8.31	0.692
TN	986	64.8	51	7.2	47.6	56.5	64.55	74.8	5.2	34.89	0.813
UP	898	56.4	104	10.6	29.1	48.7	42.97	28.8	4.33	10.69	0.52
WB	934	63.1	51	7.3	22.2	62.7	60.22	42.4	4.03	28.87	0.631
INDIA	933	61.4	79	8.6	38.5	51.8	54.03	45.4	4.46	23.76	0.676

*AP-Andhra Pradesh, AS-Assam, BI-Bihar, GJ-Gujarat, HA-Haryana, HP-Himachal Pradesh, KN-Karnataka, KR-Kerala, MP-Madhya Pradesh, MH-Maharashtra, OR-Orissa, PU-Punjab, RJ-Rajasthan, TN-Tamil Nadu, UP-Uttar Pradesh, WB-West Bengal*

A keen observation of the above table will clearly show the significantly higher values for the state of Kerala on almost all the development indicators than the rest of India. The sex ratio (X1) of Kerala at 1058 shows the favorable proportion of females in the state when compared to an All India figure of 933. And also Kerala is the only state with a sex ratio of more than thousand. The female life expectancy (X2) of Kerala is 75.8 which is much higher from the other states in India and it is also higher than the male life expectancy, which is much characteristic of the developed world. Female infant mortality rate (X3) is lower at 41 per thousand, than all the other Indian states and also the all India rate of 79 per thousand. The spread of education and more than 90% literacy rate of the state are the most distinguished features of the Kerala model itself. And when we look at the female literacy rate (X7), the state of Kerala is far above all the other Indian states, at 87.86%, and also much higher than the all India rate of 54.03%.

Squared Euclidian Coefficient Matrix has been used to explain the distance between states with regard to women's development, taking all the 11 variables defined above. The (i,j)th element in the Squared Euclidian Matrix measures the distance with respect to the 11 indicators between the ith and jth States.

$$D_{ij}^2 = (X_{1i} - X_{1j})^2 + (X_{2i} - X_{2j})^2 + \dots + (X_{11i} - X_{11j})^2$$

**Table IV - Squared Euclidian Distance Matrix**

	AP	AS	BI	GJ	HA	HP	KN	KR	MP	MH	OR	PU	RJ	TN	UP	WB
AP	0	5268.952	6613.563	5048.966	14553.61	2153.694	946.6305	13931.43	10744.64	4868.855	4048.845	11862.73	4572.888	1320.586	10386.43	3290.074
AS		0	2242.789	1339.26	7225.034	4660.346	2987.571	24985.08	4134.607	1871.804	3036.134	6151.046	2900.393	6158.927	3300.368	1610.467
BI			0	3629.903	6853.378	8083.066	4888.202	34845.4	3530.767	4733.879	4261.913	7017.52	1016.079	10330.75	1090.536	3114.036
GJ				0	5142.66	2998.297	2356.388	24301.51	4131.134	280.2812	4501.685	3537.067	2518.516	5811.326	3481.179	2416.793
HA					0	14453.24	11284.93	44502.7	11205.63	5078.589	16174.69	412.3244	6179.769	16662.57	5054.077	5842.036
HP						0	864.3312	13134.14	7392.907	2849.244	2931.829	11120.9	5757.673	1783.436	9870.039	5348.872
KN							0	14833.17	6687.73	2229.315	2262.35	8710.503	3338.266	1569.617	7013.102	2528.73
KR								0	36857.6	22764.47	20440.65	37649.93	31556.3	9067.081	40637.61	22617.25
MP									0	5231.548	3567.963	10497.18	3663.853	13338.56	2267.851	8599.02
MH										0	5076.93	3173.854	3222.284	4936.956	4642.012	2292.051
OR											0	14134.6	4508.832	5070.881	6395.504	5619.483
PU												0	5628.82	13128.83	5437.655	4674.346
RJ													0	8449.132	1674.171	2861.992
TN														0	14206.39	4496.651
UP															0	5217.527
WB																0



*AP-Andhra Pradesh, AS-Assam, BI-Bihar, GJ-Gujarat, HA-Haryana, HP-Himachal Pradesh, KN-Karnataka, KR-Kerala, MP-Madhya Pradesh, MH-Maharashtra, OR-Orissa, PU-Punjab, RJ-Rajasthan, TN-Tamil Nadu, UP-Uttar Pradesh, WB-West Bengal*

The cell entries in this table therefore indicate a summary measure of the women's development distance between any two given states, taking all the eleven indicators together. For example, the elements in 8th column and 8th row are the summary measures of Kerala's female development distances from 15 other major states. It could be easily verified that the entries in this column and row are the highest, compared to the development distances of all other states, except in a couple of cases. This shows that women's achievements in Kerala widely differ from those of their counterparts in other states. Moreover, a comparison of the absolute values of the 11 selected development indicators given in table III for various states, taken individually, clearly indicates that the values for Kerala are uniformly much higher than those for other states.

#### **Section 4. Conclusion**

Putting these two together, the obvious conclusion is that that the women in the other states in India are nowhere near the women in Kerala in their development achievements. Obviously, this higher development achievement of women has contributed significantly to the overall distinct development pattern of the state that is often referred to as Kerala Model of Development.

## ANNEXURE

**Table 1: Human Development Index 2001**

STATE	Value	Rank
Andhra Pradesh	0.416	10
Assam	0.386	14
Bihar	0.367	15
Gujarat	0.479	6
Haryana	0.509	5
Karnataka	0.478	7
Kerala	0.638	1
Madhya Pradesh	0.394	12
Maharashtra	0.523	4
Orissa	0.404	11
Punjab	0.537	2
Rajasthan	0.424	9
Tamil Nadu	0.531	3
Uttar Pradesh	0.388	13
West Bengal	0.472	8

Source: Human Development Report 2001, Planning Commission

**Table 2: Literacy Rates: All India & Kerala**

YEAR	ALL INDIA	KERALA
1901	5.35	11.42
1911	5.92	13.31
1921	7.16	19.02
1931	9.50	21.34
1941	16.10	NA
1951	16.67	40.47
1961	24.02	56.85
1971	29.45	60.42
1981	36.03	78.42
1991	52.21	89.81
2001	65.38	90.92

Source: Kerala State Planning Board

**Table 3: Selected Social indicators and Per Capita State Domestic Product**

STATE	Life Expectancy at birth, '01-06		Infant Mortality Rates (per 1000 live births) '00			Birth Rate (per 1000) 2000	Death Rate (per 1000) 2000	2000 SDP per capita (current Rupees)
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	TOT			
Andhra Pradesh	62.79	65.00	66	64	65	21.3	8.2	16373
Assam	58.96	60.87	66	83	75	26.9	9.6	10198
Bihar	63.12	64.79	62	61	62	31.9	8.8	5108
Gujarat	63.12	64.10	50	67	62	25.2	7.5	19228
Haryana	64.64	69.30	63	71	67	26.9	7.5	23742
Karnataka	62.43	66.44	65	47	57	22.0	7.8	18041
Kerala	71.67	75.00	15	13	14	17.9	6.4	19463
Madhya Pradesh	59.19	58.01	81	93	87	31.4	10.3	10803
Maharashtra	66.75	69.76	46	50	48	21.0	7.5	23726
Orissa	60.05	59.71	98	92	96	24.3	10.5	8547
Punjab	69.78	72.00	45	62	52	21.6	7.4	25048
Rajasthan	62.17	62.80	76	81	79	31.4	8.5	11986
Tamil Nadu	67.00	69.75	49	54	51	19.3	7.9	19889
Uttar Pradesh	63.54	64.09	81	87	83	32.8	10.3	44397
West Bengal	66.08	69.34	54	47	51	20.7	7.0	16072

Source: Economic Survey, 2002-2003

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